ETHNOLOGY OF EASTER ISLAND

000

By
ALFRED MÉTRAUX

BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM
BULLETIN 160

HONOLULU, HAWAII
PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM
1940

[Title Page]
[I]

000

THE AUTHOR ALONE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR
THE STATEMENTS IN THIS PAPER.

[Title Page II]

800

CONTENTS

PAGE
Introduction 3
  Acknowledgments 5
  Geography 7
    Climate 10
    Water sources 11
  Plant life 12
    Wood resources 15
      Toro-miro 16
      Hau 17
      Makoi 17
      Marikuru 17
      Sandalwood 17
      Unidentified trees 18
  Animal life 18
  Population 20
  The physical relationships of the Easter Islanders 24
  Language 30
  Names of Easter Island 33
  European contacts 36
  Meteorology 49
    Nights of the moon 49
    Months 51
    Sun and stars 52
    Winds 54
Traditional history 55
  Settlement period 55
    Sources 55
    Discovery and settlement 56
      Hotu-matua 58
      The fight with Oroi 65
    The war between the Long-ears and the Short-ears 69
    The war between Tuu and Hotu-iti 74
    Destruction of the images 86
  Genealogies of kings 88
    Reconstructed genealogies 93
  Polynesian traditions of voyages to Easter Island 94
    From Rapa 94
    From Rarotonga 95
    From Mangareva 95
The individual in society 97
  The household 97
  Paternal authority 98
  Relationship terms 98
  The life cycle 101
    Birth 101
      Pregnancy 101
      Delivery 102
      Birth feast 103
    Childhood 103
      Seclusion 104
      Feast house 105
      Initiation rites 105
      Puberty 106
      Adoption 107

000

Page
- Sexual license ... 107
- Marriage ... 108
  - Marriage laws ... 108
  - Polygyny ... 110
  - Marriage ceremony ... 110
- Status of women ... 111
- Divorce ... 113
- Adultery ... 114
- Death ... 115
  - Funeral rites ... 115
  - Suicide ... 118
- Concepts of life after death ... 119

Social organization ... 119
- Tribes ... 120
  - Geographical distribution of tribes ... 124
- Lineage ... 126
  - Geographical distribution of lineages ... 127
- Villages ... 128
- Classes of society ... 129
  - King ... 129
    - Possession of divine mana ... 130
    - Tapus ... 131
    - Dress ... 132
    - Residence ... 132
    - Succession to power ... 133
    - Influence over nature ... 133
    - Supervision of semi-religious activities ... 134
    - Royal insignia ... 135
    - Political power ... 135
  - Priests ... 136
  - Experts and craftsmen ... 136
    - Rongorongo men ... 137
  - Warriors ... 138
  - Serfs ... 139
  - Secret societies ... 139

Salutations ... 140

Property rights ... 142
- Joint property ... 144

Crime and punishment ... 144
- Thievery ... 144
- Punishment of theft ... 146
- Vengeance ... 147

War ... 149

Cannibalism ... 150

Agriculture and cooking ... 151
- Ground cultivation ... 151
- Cultivated plants ... 153
  - Sweet potato ... 153
  - Taro ... 154
  - Yam ... 155
  - Ti ... 155
  - Sugar cane ... 155
  - Bananas ... 156
  - Gourds ... 157
  - Paper mulberry ... 157

000

Page
- Turmeric 158
- Arrowroot 158
- Coconut 159
- Foreign plants 159
- Comparison with cultivated plants on other Polynesian islands 159
- Wild plants of economic value 160
  - Moki-oone 160
  - Bulrushes 160
  - Nightshade 160
  - Plants eaten in time of famine 160
  - Ngaoho 161
  - Moss 161
  - Seaweed 161
- Fire 161
- Oven 162
- Preparation of food 162
- Serving of food 164
- Food etiquette 164

Material culture 165
- Weapons 165
  - Stone throwing 165
  - Spears 165
    - Obsidian spear points 166
  - Clubs 169
    - Long-handled clubs 169
    - Short-handled clubs 169
  - Wooden swords 169
  - Comparison with other Polynesian weapons 170
- Fishing 172
  - Angling 174
    - Fishhooks 174
    - Lashing of snood 182
    - Line and rod 182
    - Bait 182
    - Conger fishing 183
  - Nets 183
    - Dip nets 184
    - Bag nets 185
    - Set nets and seines 186
    - Casting nets 187
    - Turtle nets 187
    - Sinkers 187
    - Comparison with other Polynesian fishnets 188
  - Fish spears 189
  - Turtle watchtowers 189
  - Eel snaring 190
  - Fishing by hand 191
    - Octopus 191
    - Crayfish 191
  - Reef fishing 191
- Houses 192
  - Caves 192
    - Coastal caves 192
    - Inland caves 192
  - Thatched houses 194
    - Dwelling houses 194

000

Page
- Community houses 201
- Kitchen shelters 201
- Boat houses 201
  - Comparison with other Polynesian thatched houses 201
- Stone houses 203
  - Chicken houses 203
  - Stone houses at Orongo 203

Canoes 204
- Comparison with other Polynesian canoes 207
- Rafts 208
- Paddles 208

Cordage 210

Mats 210

Baskets 210

Tapa 213
- Comparison with tapa on other Polynesian islands 214

Clothing 216
- Clothing for men 216
- Clothing for women 217
- Cloaks 218

Personal adornment and decoration 219
- Hairdresses 219
- Headdresses 219
  - Feather headdresses 220
  - Comparison with other Polynesian headdresses 227
- Ear ornaments 228
- Neck ornaments 229
  - Bone ornaments 229
  - Shell ornaments 229
  - Wooden ornaments 230
- Tortoise-shell belts 235
- Comparisons with other Polynesian ornaments 235
- Body painting 236
- Tattooing 237
  - Implements 237
  - Designs 238
  - Social significance of tattooing 248

Wooden images 249
- Male images (moai kavakava) 251
  - Ornamental head carvings 252
  - Ornaments added to the figure 253
- Moai tangata 253
- Female images (moai paapaa) 253
- Grotesque images 255
- Bird-man images 256
- Double-headed images 257
- Significance of wooden images 259
- Comparisons with other Polynesian wooden images 263

Good-luck objects 263
- Images for protection of houses 265
- Engraved skulls 266

Dance accessories 267
- Dance paddles 267
- Objects carried in hand 269

Petroglyphs 270

Paintings 272

000

Page
- Stonework 272
  - Stone implements 272
    - Adzes 272
      - Type 1 272
      - Type 2 273
      - Unclassified adzes 274
      - Modern imitations of old adzes 276
      - Hafting 276
      - Comparisons with other Polynesian adzes 276
    - Chisels 276
    - Picks 278
    - Knives 278
    - Obsidian tools 280
      - Implements of unknown use 280
    - Rubbing stones 281
    - Comparisons with other Polynesian cutting implements 282
  - Sanctuaries 283
    - Image ahus 283
    - Semi-pyramidal ahus 284
    - Ahu-poepoe 287
    - Rectangular ahus 287
    - Comparisons with other Polynesian religious structures 288
  - Stone masonry 288
  - Stone images 290
    - The quarry 291
    - Statues on the ahus 291
    - The statues of Rano-raraku 293
    - Isolated statues 294
    - Small stone images 297
    - Stone headdresses for statues 298
      - Pillars on ahus 300
      - The hat quarry 302
    - Transportation of stone statues 303
    - Significance of stone statues 304
    - Comparisons with other Polynesian stone images 306
- Religion 307
  - Gods 308
    - Major gods 309
      - Hiro 309
      - Tangaroa 310
      - Rongo 310
      - Makemake 311
      - Tive and Hova 311
      - Ruanuku 315
      - Atua-metua 315
      - Tiki 315
      - Oreooreo 315
    - Lesser gods 316
    - Spirits and ghosts 316
  - Creation chant 318
  - Priests 320
    - Divine possession 324
  - Sorcerers 325
  - Omens 325
  - Tapu 326
  - Religious ritual 327
  - 329

Page
Offerings and sacrifices to the gods 329
Human sacrifices 329
Ceremony to invoke rain 330
Private rites 330
Bird cult 331
Orongo 331
Islands of the bird cult 332
Mataveri 332
Feast of the bird-man 333
Comparisons with other Polynesian cults 341
Treatment of disease 341
Recreation 343
Feasts 343
Paina 343
Koro 346
Koro house 348
Areauti 349
Puke 350
Kaunga 350
The feast of the boat 351
Games 351
Surf-riding 351
Concealing an object 352
Sham battles 353
Throwing game 353
Top spinning 353
Kite flying 353
String figures 354
Introduced toys 354
Gambling 354
Music and poetry 354
Instruments 354
Singing 355
Dances 359
One-foot dances 359
Modern dances 361
Dress for dances 362
Tales 362
The cycle of Ure-a-vai-a-nuhe 363
Origin of the bone fishhooks 363
The story of Ure 364
Ure-a-oho-vehi and the two spirits 365
Tuu-ko-ihu and the tapa cloak 366
The lizard woman and the gannet woman 367
The bad spirit Raerae-hou and the good spirit Matamata-pea 368
Origin of the turmeric 369
Te Moko-arangi-roa and the helping spirit 369
Raraku, the killer of spirits 370
The woman with the long arm 370
Nune and his sisters 371
The child changed into Nanue 372
The turtle Veri-pupura-vai-a-pakia 372
Uho and the turtle 372
The story of the octopus Akaverio of Hanga-tee 373
The origin of the yam Onaku-o-te-takatore 374

000

Page
- The magic flight 374
- The kidnapped soul 375
- The floating tree 376
- The origin of the Mataa spears 376
- Ratoka 377
- Moko 377
- The revenge for the eels 378
- The fight between Heterski and Taereka 378
- Pepe and his wife 381
- The thirsty warrior and his captive 381
- Victory of Tuu foretold 382
- The mysterious pirate 382
- Matakaroa 382
- The Nga-ruti brothers 383
- The murder of the daughters of Raparangi 383
- The revenge of Ure-atoro-humu-kena 384
- The revenge of Aio 385
- The revenge of Hera-kekeu-nui 386
- Engo 386
- The two cannibals 387
- The two friends 387
- The jealous sisters 388
- The ugly man with a beautiful voice 388
- The good doctor 389
- Tupeti, the successful farmer 389
- The battle of the islands 389

Tablets 389
- Rongorongo men 389
- Tablets 392
- Easter Island script 400
- Comparisons with other Polynesian mnemonic devices 405

Conclusions 412
Bibliography 421
Index 430
Figures 1-58 in text.
Plates 1-7.

[p. viii is blank]

Ethnology of Easter Island

By Alfred Métraux

Bernice P. Bishop Museum Fellow, 1936-37

INTRODUCTION

Most of the material published in this monograph is the result of field work that I carried out as a member of the Franco-Belgian Expedition to Easter Island (1934-1935). First plans for this Expedition were conceived by the Institut d'Ethnologie de l'Université de Paris and by the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle in Paris. The Belgian Government and scientific institutions gave their support to this enterprise which became a joint undertaking by the two countries. The Expedition was originally composed of Mr. Charles-Louis Watelin, French archaeologist, Dr. Henri Lavachery, Conservatuer aux Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Dr. Israel Drapkin, Chilean physician, and me. Mr. Watelin died at sea in the Patagonian channels on the way to Easter Island. 114 122

The French Navy transported the members of the Expedition to Easter Island aboard the man-of-war *Rigault-de-Genouilly* which was then making a cruise from France to Indo-China. We returned to France aboard the Belgian training ship *Mercator*. The writing of this volume was made possible through a Bishop Museum Fellowship that enabled me to come to Honolulu and to work up my material at Bishop Museum.

Conditions for anthropological research on Easter Island are especially distressing. I know of few places in the Pacific where so little remains of the ancient culture. The rare traditions that linger in the memory of a small group of natives have been recorded over and over again by visitors to the island. The present population of 456 natives is entirely derived from the 111 natives left after the abandonment of the island by the French missionaries in 1872. This single fact shows how little chance exists for the preservation of old traditions. Viriamo, the mother of my informant Tepano, is the only living person who witnessed the functioning of the ancient culture. As she is over 100 years old and her memory is uncertain, she was of little help in my inquiries. 178 115

My chief informant was Juan Tepano who, although about 60 years of age, is the oldest man on the island. He speaks fluent Spanish, having spent seven years in Chile. He was Mrs. Routledge's interpreter and has retained from that contact a keen interest in the past. He is intelligent, quick, and proud of his reputation as the *maori* in the old folk[illegible] When other natives are asked about their ancestors they always refer to Juan Tepano. The information that I received from others was generally attributed to him. If Tepano reads these 115

[p. 3]

[p. 1 & 2 have no textual material]

115 lines I hope that he finds here the expression of my gratitude for the enthusiasm with which he imparted to me the sum of his knowledge. In collaborating so completely, he showed much generosity since he was convinced that any bit of information about the past of Easter Island was worth a fortune.

I owe much to Victoria Rapahango, one of the last descendants of the king's family, who checked all my notes and helped me in the reconstruction of ancient techniques. She is perhaps the last person who perpetuates on Easter Island the traditions of nobility and culture of the old Polynesian aristocracy.

114 The archaeological investigation of the island was undertaken by Dr. Lavachery, who will publish separately the results of his survey of the north coast. Our joint work was carried on in a spirit of harmony that is one of my most pleasant memories of the Expedition. Dr. Drapkin, who was delegated by the Chilean Government to study the problem of leprosy on the island, willingly collaborated with us. He made most of the natural history collections for the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Paris, studied the demography and the blood groups of the natives, and generously gave medical assistance to the natives.

Throughout my stay, from July 1934 to the beginning of January 1935, I
123 tried to live with the natives as intimately as possible. I doubt that a longer visit would have added much to my material. However, I regret that I did not have sufficient time to study the acculturation problems, which I hope will be the aim of a future expedition. Likewise the time was too short to complete a detailed survey of the archaeology of the island. It would be desirable for a
172 group of trained archaeologists to devote an entire year to making plans of the innumerable ruins scattered throughout the island. No new information could be expected from such a survey, but the ruins are unprotected and constantly threatened with destruction by the natives or careless visitors.

The published literature on Easter Island is considerable. Most of it has
127 been listed in the excellent catalog of Father Martin Gusinde. I have consulted all the publications mentioned in it and others that have appeared since 1922. I am convinced that no important source has escaped my attention and that the reader will find in this book all the available documentation on the island.

114 A few days after we left Easter Island, it was visited by the Templeton Crocker Expedition. Dr. H. L. Shapiro, Anthropologist of the American Museum of Natural History and a member of that Expedition, studied the physical anthropology of the modern population, and has contributed to this book a chapter on the racial composition of the islanders.

126 All the legends and traditions that I collected were recorded in the Easter Island language. For reasons of economy, only a few examples of native text are published here. The original manuscripts are filed in the Library of Bishop Museum where they are available to students of Polynesian linguistics. These texts are accompanied by vocabularies and by additional chants.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

000

Sincere appreciation for the opportunity to carry on this research is here expressed to Dr. Paul Rivet and to Professor Marcel Mauss who planned the Expedition and invited me to participate as anthropologist. I have to thank Commandant Platon of the Department of the French Navy for permission to travel aboard the *Rigault-de-Genouilly,* and M. Henri de Vos, General Director of the Administration of the Belgian Navy, for the hospitality I received on the training ship *Mercator.* I wish to express admiration and gratitude to Commandant Vandesande and Captain Becu of the *Mercator* for cooperating enthusiastically in our work and making pleasant and interesting our return journey across Polynesia.

His Excellency M. Alessandri, President of Chile, took a personal interest in our Expedition and granted the assistance of all departments of the government, particuarly the Departments of the Interior and National Defense. I wish to express my deep gratitude to the Chilean authorities for their courtesy and willing cooperation. I am especially indebted to His Excellency M. Louis de Sartiges, French Minister to Chile, who gave valuable help in organizing the Expedition.

For permission to stay on Easter Island I have to thank the Compania Explotadora de la Isla de Pascua (Williamson and Balfour Co.), owner of the island, who aided our Expedition in every possible way. I thank here Mr. W. B. Cater, administrator of the island, for his valuable information and his help. We owe a particular debt of gratitude to Mr. Murdoch Smith, the manager of Easter Island, and to Mrs. Smith who extended to us the most gracious hospitality during our stay on the island. I thank the Governor of Easter Island, Mr. Cornejo, for his courtesy and assistance, and Dr. Otto Wilhelm for his friendly attentions during his visit to the island.

Thanks are due to my friend Georges-Henri Rivière, Sub-director of the Musée d'ethnographic de Paris, to Mrs. Diyonne Charles Ratton, and to the members of the staff of the Musée d'ethnographie de Paris who planned and executed the exhibition of our archaeological and ethnographical collections after our return to France.

My debt to Bishop Museum is particularly great. Without its cooperation and hospitality this work would probably not have been written. Professor Herbert E. Gregory kindly made available the facilities of the Museum and arranged for my appointment as a member of the staff. Dr. Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) has generously assisted me in the working up of this material and to him I owe many ideas expressed in this book. I am also indebted for advice and suggestion to Kenneth P. Emory, Edwin G. Burrows, and Ernest Beaglehole. May they find here my deep appreciation for their friendship and constant cooperation.

000

I am grateful to many other colleagues and friends for the assistance they have rendered. Miss Yvonne Oddon, Librarian at the Trocadero Museum, Paris, has carried on bibliographical investigations and has forwarded copies of many texts that were not available in Honolulu. Miss Margaret Titcomb, Librarian of Bishop Museum, has described and photographed many rare Easter Island specimens in various European museums. Mr. Roland Grünevald, Chief of the Oceanic Department at the Trocadero, has given me photographs and drawings of objects in my collections deposited at the Trocadero Museum. Dr. Hans Nevermann, head of the Oceanic Department of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, has generously sent photographs and detailed descriptions of many specimens in the Geiseler collection. Dr. Walter Kaudern, Director of the Göteborgs' Museum, Sweden, permitted me to study directly old specimens preserved in that Museum. Dr. Gerhard Lindblom forwarded photographs and drawings of all the Easter Island specimens in the Etnografiska Museet of Stockholm. Mr. Charles Ratton of Paris kindly authorized me to publish photographs of rare objects in his private collection. Dr. Aureliano Oyarzun, Director of the Museo Historico de Chile, put at my disposal several valuable books from his own library. Reverend Father Alejandro Vicuña, Director of the National Library of Chile, assisted me in bibliographical researches. Dr. Carl Skottsberg kindly checked the chapter on Easter Island plants. Father Maurice Desmedt communicated several interesting data from the archives of the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Braine-le-Comte, Belgium. Dr. André Guillaumin of Paris and Miss Marie Neal, Dr. Harold St. John, and Mr. F. R. Fosberg of Bishop Museum determined the Easter Island plants. Dr. C. K. Wentworth, Geologist at Bishop Museum, and Professor Alfred Lacroix, Secretary of the French Academy of Sciences, helped me in organizing the chapter on geology. Mr. Y. Berlioz of the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle de Paris identified the Easter Island birds. I am under obligation for their assistance to Dr. Alfred Tozzer, Director of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, to Dr. J. Alden Mason of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, to Mr. Edward Gifford of the University of California, to Dr. Frank M. Setzler of the National Museum in Washington, and to Dr. Lawrence W. Jenkins, Curator of Ethnology at the Peabody Museum in Salem. Miss Tamei Tsuchiyama collaborated in editing the section on folklore. The drawings were made by E. Y. Hosaka.

I extend my sincere appreciation to Mrs. Eloise Christian for her sympathetic and constant cooperation in helping to write the English manuscript. I am most grateful to Miss Frances E. Williams who has assumed the editing of my manuscript and has brought to her task much understanding and meticulous care.

GEOGRAPHY

Few places on the earth are more isolated than Easter Island, lying 1,600 131
miles from Mangareva and about 1,100 miles from Pitcairn, the nearest inhabited islands, and about 2,230 miles from the South American coast. It is the easternmost Polynesian island. Its exact position is 27° 08′ 6″ south latitude and 190° 25′ 54″ west longitude (fig. 1, *a*). The island is triangular in shape with a total area of about 55 square miles. It is exactly 9 miles long from southwest to southeast, 9 2/3 miles from west-northwest to east-southeast, and 13 miles from northeast to southwest.

Easter Island is a typical volcanic island, formed by a series of eruptions 133
originating on the floor of the ocean. Recent petrographic analyses show that no rocks of continental type occur in the structure of the island (11, p. 1609).[1] The lapilli in the ashes of Rano-raraku are exclusively volcanic; no traces of metamorphic rock have been detected (50, p. 41). All craters are extinct and there is no evidence of recent action.

Soundings have revealed depths of 1,145 fathoms at 10 miles from the coast and 1,770 fathoms at 20 miles, thus establishing the existence of a submerged platform around the island "of unknown extent which attains depths generally of 30 to 40 fathoms a mile from the shore" (50, p. 35).

The triangular shape of the island is due to the position of three large volcanoes at the angles—Te Revaka (Rano-aroi) at the northwest point, Rano-kao at the southwest point, and Puakatiki at the eastern point (fig. 1). The highest summit is Te Revaka, generally called Rano-aroi after a small crater lake (*rano*) on its southeastern slope. It is about 1,730 feet above sea level and forms part of the bulkiest volcanic mass of the island. This complex area is composed of a cluster of cones and craters extending in several directions. The water contained in the Rano-aroi constitutes a shallow marsh, overgrown with bulrushes, which overflows into a gorge and a partly underground channel (11, p. 1594). On the northern and western sides of this land mass, wave erosion has developed precipitous cliffs 500 to 600 feet high.

Rano-kao is about 1,050 feet high. Its crater, filled by a fresh-water lake nearly a mile wide and 390 feet above sea level, is the most important reservoir on the island, though it is thickly carpeted with peat, leaving but small openings of free water. The lake, surrounded by steep cliffs, is accessible at only a few places. The shores of the lake, sheltered and humid, support abundant vegetation. Most of the trees growing in the interior of the crater are of recent introduction but in ancient time the vegetation was also more luxuriant here than in any other spot on the island. Here too, bulrushes and reeds are plentiful. The southern side of Rano-kao has been eroded by wave action to form a vertical

---

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to Bibliography, p. 421.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

102
103
131
133

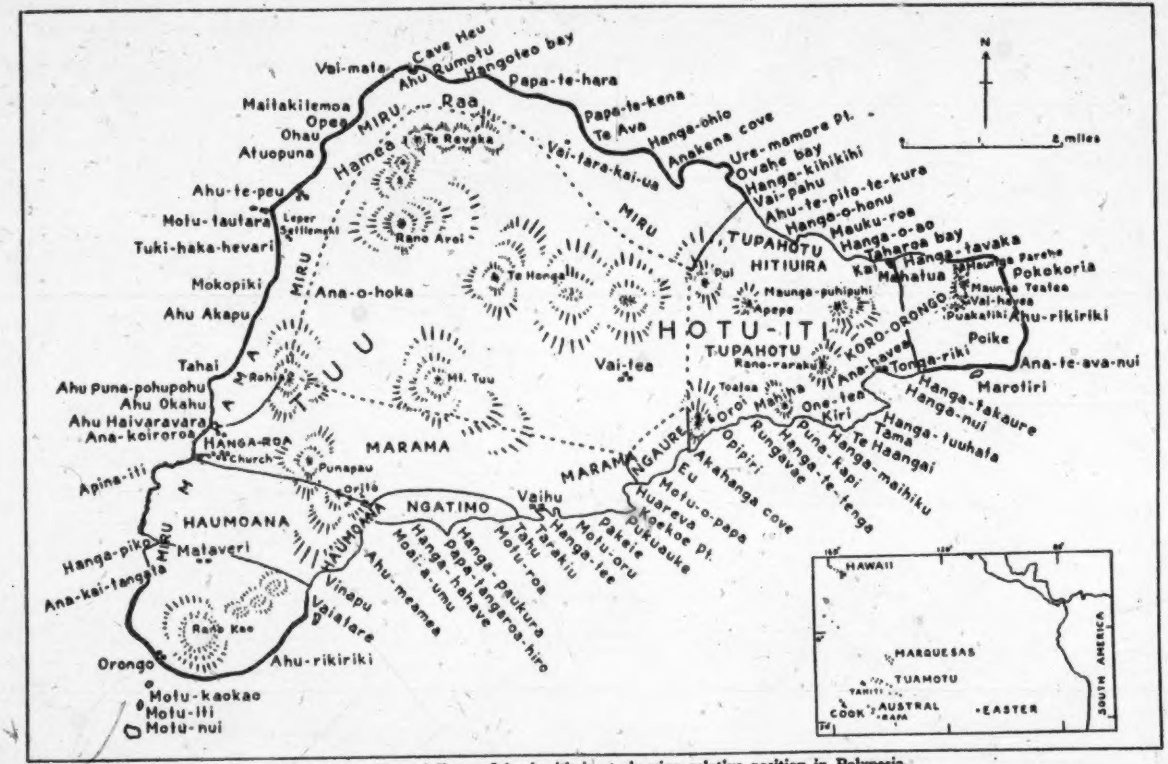

Vai-mata
Cave Heu
Ahu Rumotu
Hangoteo bay
Papa-te-hara
Mailakilemoa
Opea
MIRU
Raa
Ohau
Te Reveka
Atuopuna
Hamea
Papa-te-kena
Te Ava
Hanga-ohio
Anakena cove
Vai-tara-kai-ua
Ure-mamore Pt.
Ovahe bay
Hanga-kihikihi
Vai-pahu
Ahu-te-pito-te-kura
Hanga-o-honu
Mauku-roa
Hanga-o-ao
Taharoa bay
Hanga-tavaka
Maunga Fareho
Pokokoria
Ahu-te-peu
Motu-tautara
Leper Settlement
Rano Aroi
Tuki-haka-hevari
Mokopiki
Ahu Akapu
MIRU
Ana-o-hoka
Te Honga
MIRU
TUPAHOTU
HITIUIRA
Pui
Maunga-puhipuhi
Apepe
Kai
Mahatua
Maunga Teatea
Vai-havea
Puakatiki
Ahu-rikiriki
HOTU-ITI
KORO-ORONGO
Poike
Tahai
Ahu Puna-pohupohu
Ahu Okahu
Ahu Haivaravara
Ana-koiroroa
TUU
Rohiha
Mt. Tuu
Vai-tea
TUPAHOTU
Rano-raraku
Ana-havea
Tonga-riki
Ana-te-ava-nui
Marotiri
Teatea
Koroi
Mahina
One-tea
Kiri
Hanga-takaure
Hanga-nui
Hanga-tuuhata
Tama
Te Haangai
HANGA-ROA
Church
Punapau
MARAMA
Apina-iti
Orito
NGATIMO
Vaihu
MARAMA
NGAURE
Opipiri
Rungavae
Puna-kapi
Hanga-maihiku
Hanga-te-tenga
Akahanga cove
Eu
Motu-o-papa
Huareva
Koekoe Pt.
Pukuauke
HAUMOANA
Hanga-piko
MIRU
Mataveri
Ana-kai-tangata
HAUMOANA
Ahu-meamea
Moai-a-umu
Hanga-hahave
Papa-tangaroa-hiro
Hanga-paukura
Tahu
Motu-roa
Tarakiu
Hanga-tee
Motu-oru
Pakeie
Vinapu
Vaiatare
Rano Kao
Orongo
Ahu-rikiriki
Motu-kaokao
Motu-iti
Motu-nui
N
2 miles
150°
120°
90°
HAWAII
MARQUESAS
TUAMOTU
TAHITI
COOK
AUSTRAL
RAPA
EASTER
SOUTH AMERICA

FIGURE 1.—Map of Easter Island with inset showing relative position in Polynesia.

133

cliff 1,000 feet high. At Orongo it has been reduced to such a thin wall that it will eventually crumble, giving the sea access to the interior of the crater.

The eastern headland of Poike with its summit Puakatiki, 1,250 feet above sea level, was isolated in the geologic past. It was connected with the rest of the island when it was elevated (11, p. 1592). Wave erosion has considerably reduced its former symmetry.

Except on the seaward side where they have been undercut by the waves, the volcanic masses, composed chiefly of ash and tuff, have been little modified by erosion. They retain their original rounded form and their gentle, smooth slopes which are entirely covered with grass.

The low-lying coastal plains between the three volcanoes have been formed by lava flows or by a succession of uplifts. This region includes part of the western coast between Te Revaka and Rano-kao, the northern coast from Anakena to Mahatua, and the central tract of the island including the southern coast with the exception of the peninsula of Poike and the southwestern promontory. There are also some narrow, level strips produced by lava flows along the northern slopes of Te Revaka, particularly a small plain called Hangoteo on the bottom of an ancient, partially destroyed crater.

From the plains rise parasitic ash craters which radiate outward from Te Revaka. The famous Rano-raraku (quarry of the images, pl. 1, *A*) is the most easterly of a line of five volcanoes beginning at Te Revaka. Like Rano-kao, Rano-raraku was eroded by the sea and contains a lake surrounded by a belt of bulrushes. To the same system of craters belongs Punapau, a low cone of pumice in whose crater the natives quarried the big red cylinders placed on the heads of the statues. Mount Orito is in part composed of black rhyolitic obsidian from which the natives chipped weapons and implements.

The hills on which Gonzalez planted crosses in 1770 are three cones on the north slope of Poike. They are called Maunga Vai-heva, Maunga Teatea and Maunga Parehe. The last of these volcanoes has been destroyed by wave erosion.

The basaltic coast along the low portions of the island is jagged and in some places fringed by an escarpment from 50 to 100 feet high. Sandy beaches are few. The largest is at Anakena Bay (200 feet wide) and other small ones are at Ovahe, La Pérouse, and Vaihu. There are no sheltered harbors large enough for modern ships. Off the coast are small isolated rocks called *motu*. The two largest are Motu-nui and Motu-iti, real islets haunted by thousands of sea birds. Off the high bluffs of Poike on the south coast rises the towerlike islet of Marotiri.

Outcropping rocks, large blocks of lava, and sharp-edged stones of all sizes are strewn over the plains and the northern slopes of Rano-aroi. These are not

133 the results of recent eruptions but of the weathering of the lava. The soil is not uniformly distributed. On the plains it is often shallow and stony, but where it is thicker it is fertile and suitable for intensive cultivation (208, vol. 2, p. 488). At Poike the soil is deepest though this region does not seem to have been tilled in former days.

It has been stated repeatedly that the surface of Easter Island might have been larger within human time. However, this does not seem to be true. The line of burial platforms follows the shore and, though wave erosion is certainly rapid along the ashy volcano slopes, only two monuments have been attacked by the sea. Ahu-rikiriki, on the southern slopes of Rano-kao has fallen, and the same fate awaits ahu Ohau at the northwestern point. At the time of my visit (1934), one of its wings had been cut away from the main building by a deep fissure and could not be approached without danger.

The contrast between Easter Island and most other high Polynesian islands is striking. It has no rugged peaks, no ridges, no deep valleys, no ravines, only a monotonous succession of cones and rounded capes above the basaltic plains or the high cliffs of the coast. On all sides are smooth, undulating curves.

CLIMATE

132 Easter Island belongs to the tropical zone, although its barrenness is more suggestive of Scandinavian scenery than of tropical landscape. The island lies near the southern limit of the southeast trade winds which blow constantly in summer. In winter, northwest winds predominate and southwest winds are as common as those of the southeast. The average temperature, as recorded over a period of two years (1912-1913), ranges between 73.4 and 62.6 degrees Fahrenheit. The climate is uniform and very mild. Even the hottest days are made agreeable by constantly blowing winds. However, the slightest change in temperature is noticeable and the nights seem quite cold, even to the islanders. The cool temperature of the sea is one of the factors which has prevented the formation of a coral reef, but, as pieces of coral are often cast ashore by wave action, there must be some growth along the coast.

The rainfall averages about 50 inches a year. Rain is heavy in the winter months, from March to October, and showers are frequent in both spring and summer. Sometimes such showers develop into downpours of great force. Thunder and lightning storms are rare but not entirely unknown. Constant rain and mist for two weeks or more are common in winter. On the other hand, natives recall short droughts, which probably did not last long enough to harm the vegetation. The abundance and frequent violence of the rains have not affected the general contours of the island, due to the fact that water disappears beneath the surface rapidly, leaving the ground dry.

WATER SOURCES

There are no rivers on Easter Island. The little ravines (*ava*) which appear on the north coast are clearly not due to erosion, but may be partly of constructional origin. Water runs in them only rarely and sporadically. The rain filters into the porous ground forming local water tables where it meets impermeable layers. The chief water bodies are only slightly above sea level and thin streamlets often flow toward the shore. Unfortunately the fresh water, especially during high tide, mixes with salt water and becomes decidedly brackish. At several places walls were built to protect the fresh water from being spoiled by the sea. At Tahai there is a kind of basin, separated from the sea by a wall, where fresh water mixes with salt water. Previously the natives drank that water and today the cattle are watered there. Captain Cook obtained water for his ship from such a spring (53, vol. 1, p. 289): 133 312

> The little [water] we took on board could not be made use of; it being only salt water which had filtrated through a stony bench, into a stone well. This the natives had made for the purpose, a little to the southward of the sandy beach often mentioned; and the water ebbed and flowed into it with the tide.

Along the shore, where the coast is low, natives dug reservoirs (*puna*) which impounded rain water and perhaps some fresh water springs. A deep ditch, between 2 and 3 meters deep, is dug near the shore. The seaward, lateral sides are perpendicular and lined with stones perfectly fitted (pl. 1, *C*). The landward side slopes at an angle of 45 degrees to the base of the opposite wall and is paved with boulders. After a rain the running water is led to the interior of the basin where, at the same time, water from the underground water body collects. A few of these reservoirs or springs still contain water, but most of them are filled with mud. According to my informant, there is always water in them even though it does not rain. Cook's reconnoitering party report (53, vol. 1, pp. 283-284) that the natives used these reservoirs not only for drinking but also for bathing. 312

Near Ovahe, at Vai-a-hoa, is a well which has been modified to form a modern water mill. The square pit is several meters deep; its smooth walls are lined with stones laid horizontally. In a few places there are springs, holes among the rocks into which water percolates. Ruins of ancient settlements are always thick around water holes. The most famous are the water pools near Ahu-tepeu, Puna-marengo, and Vai-tara-kai-ua. The water at Vai-tara-kai-ua is in a deep hole which has been covered with big blocks of stones so that only a small, narrow passage remains, just wide enough for one person. Behind Anakena abundant water is found. On the Puakatiki, a hole in a cliff where water collects has been carved all around into the form of a big human face (Vai-a-heva). After a prolonged rain the water of Rano-aroi flows through a gap into another pool. This pool empties into a long, narrow fissure where water is [172]

312 always found. I noticed on a few rocks near ancient settlements small rectangular depressions artificially carved. The natives explained them as tanks to collect rain water.

133 271 312 The water of the crater lakes (*rano*) has always been an inexhaustible reservoir but it is apparently too inaccessible to have been much used. Some early travelers report that the natives chewed sweet potatoes and sugar cane to quench their thirst when walking.

312 Today abundant water from the corrugated iron roofs is collected in tanks or barrels.

PLANT LIFE

137 Skottsberg (208, vol. 2, p. 489) writes that "there does not exist another island of the size of Easter and with such a fine climate where the native flora is so poor. Only about 30 species are considered to be indigenous." Despite the introduction of many new plants and trees, grass is still the only vegetation on most of the island. Only the crater of Rano-kao with its green belt and the farm of Mataveri are exceptions. The general appearance of the island has not changed much since its discovery; then shrubs, principally of *toro-miro,* sandalwood, *Triumfetta semitriloba,* and *Sapindus,* were seen in many places along the coast and were, perhaps, even more abundant in the interior. It is possible that when the first settlers landed on the island they found a kind of savanna forest "a park-like formation with scattered, stunted *Sophora* trees and grass cover" (208, vol. 2, p. 492). The flat, rocky plains were probably devoid of trees and the savanna confined to the hillsides.

134 The almost entire absence of trees impressed the ancient travelers more than any other feature. Aridity is still invoked as one of the most decisive arguments in support of the theory of some vast cataclysm which completely changed conditions on the island and reduced its inhabitants to utmost misery after a time of plenty during which their culture developed. Early voyagers, landing at various parts of the island and making hasty generalizations, differ greatly in descriptions of the fertility of the land. Roggeveen holds in high esteem its ability to be cultivated (186, pp. 9-10, 21):

> The reason why, at first, when at a farther distance off, we regarded the said Easter Island as being of sandy nature is that we mistook the parched up grass, and hay or other scorched and charred brushwood for a soil of that aride nature, because from its outward appearance it suggested no other idea than that of an extraordinarily sparse and meagre vegetation; and the discoverers had consequently bestowed upon it the term sandy.
>
> . . . Nor can the aforementioned land be termed sandy, because we found it not only not sandy but on the contrary exceedingly fruitful, producing bananas, potatoes, sugarcane of remarkable thickness, and many other kinds of the fruits of the earth, although destitute of large trees and domestic animals, except poultry. This place, as far as its rich soil and good climate are concerned, is such that it might be made into an earthly Paradise, if it were properly worked and cultivated; which is now only done in so far as the Inhabitants are obliged to for the maintenance of life.

134
311

The Spaniards with Gonzalez (90, p. 90), who anchored off the north coast, judged the soil of the island to be fertile. "The country inland . . . appeared to us to be fertile, as we observed no broken ground, nor precipices nor stony places throughout it, but various valleys and plains forming the mountain plateaux as it were, and quite covered with greenery as far down as the sea-beach, showing the fertility of the country." After a more intimate knowledge of the island, the Spaniards declare: "The fields are uncultivated save some small plots of ground, in which they sow beds of yucca, yams, sweet potatoes, and several plantations of plantains and sugar cane: but all very tasteless, as if from want of cultivation." Gonzalez's officer, who went around the island in a launch, noted in his report (90, p. 121) that the Hanga-roa Bay area had more gardens than any other part of the island.

Cook and Forster are largely responsible for the impression of desolation created about Easter Island. Even before landing, G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 556-559) was struck by the barrenness of the island; he noticed from the ship only a few plantations to the north of present Hanga-roa. When ashore, he visited at Hanga-roa Bay some plantations of bananas, sugar cane, yams, sweet potatoes, and taro.

The expedition sent by Cook to explore the interior of the island went from Vaihu across "a number of plantations of bananas, potatoes and yams, and one of eddoes" (53, vol. 1, p. 587). Between Vaihu and Hanga-nui, they proceeded inland where they found "many remaining proofs of its having been formerly cultivated." Between Hanga-roa and Vinapu they saw "several large tracts planted with potatoes and some plantain walks." The slopes of Rano-aroi seem to have been completely void of cultivation (53, vol. 1, p. 281). J. R. Forster (84, p. 155) "found the whole island very poor in vegetables; and though I walked over a great part of it, I found no more than about twenty plants, including those that are cultivated, and no trees at all, which is very remarkable on an isle of this extent, under so fine a climate, and inhabited for a long time past." Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 282) reports of this reconnoitering party that "for about three miles [doubtless from Vinapu] they found the country very barren, and in some places strips of the soil to be bare rock which seemed to be a poor sort of iron ore. Beyond this, they came to the most fertile part of the island they saw, it being inspersed with plantations of potatoes, sugar-cane and plantain trees, and these not so much encumbered with stones as those which they had seen before."

La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 71) estimates that one tenth of the surface of the island was cultivated, and he is convinced that three work days were "sufficient to procure the Indian subsistence for a year." De Langle, naturalist of La Pérouse's expedition, followed more or less the same itinerary as Forster and makes a similar report. Rollin, who also accompanied La Pérouse, gives

134 311 a description of the country which seems to be accurate (130, vol. 2, p. 238): "The aspect of Easter Island is not so barren and disgusting as navigators have told us. It is indeed almost destitute of wood, but the hills and valleys exhibit, in the eyes of seamen at least, a most agreeable verdure. The size and goodness of their potatoes, yams, sugar canes, etc. are proofs of great fertility and strong vegetation."

Contrary to their predecessors, the travelers of the nineteenth century who saw Easter Island were impressed by its apparent fertility and the richness of its plantations. Delano (5, p. 356) says of the west coast in the year 1804: "The greatest part of the island had the appearance of being capable of cultivations, and much of it was cultivated in beautiful plantations." Lisiansky (143, pp. 52-54) finds that "the eastern part of Easter Island is very pleasant. It is covered with verdure and many spots of it appeared to be planted with bananas. . . The neighborhood of the last two mentioned monuments (Vinapu) contained a greater number of habitations, and seemed better cultivated than any other spot we had yet seen. . . . The northern side appeared to be but thinly inhabited." Choris (48, p. 11) writes in 1822: "The aspect of the island was rather arid, but it appeared to us less miserable than to Cook or La Pérouse. All the higher slopes were divided in fields planted with various vegetables, whose varied nuances produced a very pleasant effect." Beechey (15, pp. 41-42) observes that the valleys were well cultivated and that the greatest attention appeared to be paid to tilling the soil. Palmer (169, p. 374) had the impression that everything was in ruins, though there were evidences of former cultivation.

134 In spite of Roussel's judgment (190, p. 495) to the contrary, Easter Island is fertile. Skottsberg (208, vol. 2, p. 488), our best authority on the subject, states that "where there is sufficient soil this is of good quality and quite fertile when properly cultivated, and in prehistoric and early historic times extensive plantations existed supporting a population of several thousands."

161 241 The present-day population of 456 souls is concentrated in the village of Hanga-roa. They cultivate the neighboring fields at the foot of Rano-kao and Rano-aroi. According to Mr. Edmunds, former manager of the island, two acres are necessary to support a whole family, and I am convinced that his statement is correct.

174 It is important to determine, as far as possible, the extent of cultivable land on Easter Island, for on this may be based an estimate of the number of inhabitants and in turn the probability that they could accomplish such a huge project as the carving of the famous statues. From a study of reports of ancient travelers and from my own observations of the island resources, I am convinced that three or four thousand natives could live on the island without fear of hunger except in time of war.

Wood Resources

To Hotu-matua, who first settled the island, tradition attributes the introduction of all the species of flora of economic use. Among them is the following list of trees, enumerated in the native version of the legend given to me by Tepano: *mahute, hauhau, toro-miro, naunau, marikuru.* With the exception of the paper mulberry it is possible that some of them "belonged to the original flora and that the natives who were acquainted with their useful qualities started to propagate them" (208, vol. 2, p. 77). From this list it is clear that the Easter Islanders did not lack wood necessary for the development of their culture, though many writers assume as much in order to increase the mystery of the island. Therefore I consider it extremely important to give the opinion of a prominent botanist, Dr. Carl Skottsberg (208, vol. 2, p. 402): 137 [773]

> . . . And I have been led to believe that some kind of forest once existed in Easter Island, formed by Sophora; and other species, exterminated long ago, may also have occurred. No native tradition tells us anything about these forests, but we can safely conclude that the *toromiro* must have been plentiful. The natives used much wood, not only for the construction of canoes, paddle oars, frame work for their houses and some other necessary things, but they also manufactured small wooden statues and many other ornaments famous for their artistic value, and these must have existed by thousands. The *toromiro* is a small tree, and with a population once amounting to several thousands the supply became exhausted. Cultivated fields and enclosures spread all over the place, crowding out the indigenous vegetation. Paper mulberry, *Cordyline, Sapindus,* bananas, cane, taro, sweet potato, etc. were introduced by the natives, and some weeds accompanied them. Many more have been introduced later, when communications with Tahiti and Chile were established; some have become naturalized and form an important feature in the present-day grassland.

Among the trees introduced in the last 60 years, the most common are the *miro-tahiti,* the Eucalyptus, the fig, and the orange. In the gardens of the English residence at Mataveri grow a great many imported plants and new ones are continually being acclimated. The islanders use much wood for the curios that they exchange for clothes and other supplies. Therefore they do not hesitate to destroy a tree to transform it into a score of wooden images. Indeed their destructiveness has become such a nuisance that, outside the residence of the managers, the English company has planted Eucalyptus, the wood of which cannot be carved. [439]

The natives of old used not only the trees growing on the land for the wood they needed but also driftwood which was greatly appreciated. There is a tale of a marvelous tree which landed on the island, sent by the spirit of a man to his son. The arrival of the tree caused great excitement nearly resulting in a fight between groups of islanders, all eager to make precious ornaments from it. (See p. 376.) 173 313

Analyses of the wood in some of the scripture tablets and wooden images reveal the use of much *Podocarpus latifolia* and of *Dammara australis,* trees 137 313

137 313 endemic to New Zealand and Australia. If the tablets are really old, the wood of which they are made must have drifted to the island. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 293) observed in a canoe "a board six or eight feet long, fourteen inches broad at one end, and eight at the other." He supposes that this large piece of wood had been left there by the Spaniards under Gonzalez or had drifted from some distant island. The driftwood I saw at Anakena and on the south coast was generally in the form of planks from ships.

435 However, wood on Easter Island in ancient times was not abundant; the natives valued it highly, and made their most precious ornaments of wood. Even today the islanders do not despise the least plank. The eagerness to get wood from passing ships is well illustrated by the account of Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 227):

> All the natives repeated frequently and with vivacity the word *miro* and they showed impatience that we did not understand it: this word is used for the wood with which the Polynesians build their canoes. Wood was the thing they longed for most eagerly and they resorted to various means in order to make themselves understood; they refused to eat or to drink, they seemed to make light of the knives and of the scissors.

192 824 The parts of a tree are *tumu* (trunk or stump), *tahito* (base of the trunk), *manga* (branches), *hua* (buds and flowers), *karu* (seeds), *rau* (leaves).

TORO-MIRO

137 The first travelers to Easter Island were impressed by the total lack of wood large enough to be used in transportation of the huge statues. The members of the expedition led by Gonzalez (90, p. 101) marvel that "not a single tree is to be found capable of furnishing a plank so much as six inches in width." They notice that "there are plenty of shrubs, or brushwood of a sort little more than an estada in height, which offer little obstruction to one passing as they are not dense and have no prickles. Its trees are very similar to mimosas and tamarinds." This tree is the *toro-miro* (*Sophora toromiro*) of which Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 285) gives a nearly identical description: "The wood is of reddish color, and pretty hard and heavy, but very crooked, small and short, not exceeding six or seven feet in height." G. Forster (82, vol. 1, p. 591) saw a hill near Hanga-roa "That was covered with a shrubbery of the mimosa, which grew here to the height of eight or nine feet, and some of whose stems near the root were about the thickness of a man's thigh." Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 285) in 1776 and De Langle (130, vol. 1, p. 82) in 1786 saw only a few small shrubs of *toro-miro* along the south coast.

From the preceding descriptions it is obvious that *toro-miro* were not numerous on the east and southeast coasts. Gonzalez (90, p. 90) reports that on the north coast the soil seemed "to be covered for the most part with green shrub."

Roussel (190, p. 427), one of the earliest missionaries, mentions thickets of *toro-miro* and *hau* on the outer slope of Rano-kao. Palmer (169, p. 375), who visited the island in 1868, says, "At present there are no trees on the island [all that there were having been destroyed in wars]; there are a few shrubs, as the paper mulberry (*miromiro*) and a kind of pourow-tree (the hibiscus)." Palmer (168, p. 276) says: "As for trees, I cannot call the shrubs and bushes I saw by that name. There are none now, though, from the boles and roots found in some places, they must have existed." Three years later, Gana (86, p. 23) saw clumps of *toro-miro*, some of which were 20 inches in diameter. "There is not a single trunk left, but branches are still used in the construction of huts and for the shafts of war spears." In another record (86, p. 7) Gana speaks of "innumerable dry trunks, from six to ten feet high" and attributes the disappearance of the tree to the ravages of cattle and sheep. In 1885 Thomson (215, p. 456) and Cooke (54, p. 705) saw "small clumps of Edwardsia, Broussonetia and hibiscus, but all were dead, having been stripped of their bark by the flocks of sheep, which roam at will over the island. None of these trees were over 10 feet high." The biggest trunk they saw measured 5 inches in diameter. Today the only *toro-miro* on the island is growing in the bottom of Rano-kao, protected by rocks from voracious sheep. Its trunk is about 4 inches thick. It has been fully described by Skottsberg (208, vol. 2, pp. 73-74, 77) who considers it an endemic species. 137

HAU

Hau trees (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) were seen by early visitors to the island. The fibers of *hau* bark were twisted into string and rope, and its wood was used for producing fire. Now only a few *hau* grow in the interior of Rano-kao.

MAKOI

The *makoi* (*Thespesia populnea*) is a rare tree on Easter Island. Neither Fuentes nor Skottsberg saw a single specimen. However the tree did grow there in the eighteenth century. G. Forster (84, vol. 1, p. 569) speaks of "some bushes of the Hibiscus populneus which is common also in the Society Islands where it is one of the numerous plants made use to dye yellow." G. Forster (83) reports *Hibiscus bacciferus* which is considered identical with *Thespesia populnea*. The wood of one of the tablets in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Vienna (22869) has been analyzed as *Thespesia populnea* by Conrad and Guillaumin of the Muséum National d'histoire naturelle of Paris (131, p. 68).

This tree is frequently alluded to in legend and songs. It is considered one of the trees introduced by Hotu-matua and there is a song (p. 353) about "spinning tops" made of *makoi* fruits. Different objects were pointed out to me as being made of *makoi*. The only *makoi* trees that I saw were growing on the side of the high cliffs of Poike where they cannot be reached, though I was able to collect many dry fruits at the base of the cliffs. These were subsequently identified in Paris as the fruit of *Thespesia populnea*. In Tahiti and Mangaia, children make their tops of the fruit of the *Thespesia*. [773]

MARIKURU

The exploring party sent by Captain Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 285) found at the southwest corner of the island "a small shrub whose wood was white and brittle, and in some measure, as also its leaves, resembling the ash." G. Forster (83, p. 178) identifies it as the *Sapindus saponaria*. The native name, *marikuru*, has been recorded by Cooke (54, p. 722) who describes it as a variety of the ash tree. According to Fuentes there were some trees of *Sapindus* near Tahai on the west coast and in Hotu-iti in 1911. The Bishop Museum herbarium has specimens of leaves and branches of *marikuru* collected recently in the interior of Rano-kao and classified as *Sapindus saponaria*. [301

A white color substance was extracted from the rotten stumps or branches of the *marikuru*. Fuentes (85, p. 323) says that the fruits of the *Sapindus* were used for necklaces. [386] 314]

SANDALWOOD

Sandalwood, *naunau* (*Santalum*), is first referred to from Easter Island by G. Forster (84, vol. 1, p. 583) in discussing the wooden hand now in the British Museum: "The wood of which it was made was the rare perfumed wood of Taheitee, with the chips of which they communicate fragrance to their oils." Cooke (54, p. 722) translates the word *naunau* as "bastard sandalwood." The *naunau* figures among the trees that Hotu-matua introduced on the island. My informant gave "sandal" as the Spanish equivalent for the word *naunau* and remarked that the tree had entirely disappeared since the time of Salmon (between

137 1880 and 1890). The last one on the island grew near Vai-mata but died recently "because there were no more kings." From the distribution of the sandalwood, it seems likely that the *naunau* was the true sandalwood and not the bastard. Sandalwood is found on the atolls of Elizabeth and Ducie, the nearest islands to Easter Island.

UNIDENTIFIED TREES

De la Maza (208, vol. 1, p. 7) mentions an unknown tree about which he writes: "The *tumahiti* wood is rather hard and more or less pliable. The Kanakas use it to make yokes and ploughs. It is the only tree which grows freely in the island. Its fruit is oval in shape, yellowish, about half an inch in length and it tastes rather bitter."

It is likely that De la Maza has misspelled the name of the *miro-tahiti* (*Melia azedarach*), the wood generally used by the natives for wooden images and implements.

ANIMAL LIFE

136 973 Before man settled on Easter Island, animal life in its highest form was represented by flocks of sea birds, which nested on the three islets off the southwestern promontory—Motu-kaukau (Needle Rock), Motu-iti, and Motu-nui. Some birds have made their abode in the interior of Rano-kao, but a few of them are seen flying along the shores of the island itself. The native legends explain this concentration of the birds at a single point as a protective measure adopted by the god Makemake to prevent the extermination of birds by egg hunters.

136 The importance of sea birds in native mythology and art makes necessary a brief enumeration of the species identified by our Expedition. On Motu-nui, we collected petrels (*taiho, Pterodroma heraldica paschae*), gray terns (*tuvituvi, Procelsterna caerulea skottsbergi*), white terns (*kia-kia, Leucanous albus royanus*), noddy terns (*tuao, Anous stolidus unicolor*), gray-backed terns (*manutara, Sterna lunata*), boobies (*kena, Sula dactylatra* subsp. ?), tropic birds (*tavake, Phaeton* sp.), and *makohe* (*Fregata minor* subsp. ?). A specimen of *Oestrelata incerta* or *leucoptera* was designated under the name of *kumara* and a *Sula Cyanops* as *ruru*. A list of Easter Island birds published by Knoche (123, pp. 141-144) contains the word *nguingui* for the *Gygis alba* (syn. *Leucanous albus royanus*) and *rengurengu* for the *Anous caeruleus* (syn. *Anous stolidus unicolor*).

177 222 Partridges (*vivi*) were introduced by the Chileans many years ago and have propagated rapidly. Their eggs are looked for by the natives as eagerly as those of the sea birds. An unsuccessful attempt was also made to acclimatize a Chilean scavenger, the *loica* (*Leistes superciliaris*).

The harmless little lizards (*moko*) may have been stowaways on the Polynesian canoes. They have haunted the imagination of Easter Islanders, who have carved ceremonial objects in their shape.

There are few insects on the island, and their number has certainly increased since European contacts. A sort of cricket is said to have come to the island with the fleet of Von Spee. Flies and cockroaches have become pests.

Of the three domesticated animals of the Polynesians, only fowls were brought to Easter Island or else they alone survived to the time of European discovery. In 1722, there were neither pigs nor dogs, though Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 131) tells us that the natives who boarded Roggeveen's ship "seemed to be acquainted with pigs." His statement may be inaccurate, but it is not unlikely that the natives did remember pigs. Pigs are mentioned in Mangarevan traditions and, according to history, the last sow was killed and eaten there in the seventeenth century. When pigs were reintroduced to Easter Island, they were called *oru*, probably an onomatopoeic name. Dogs are termed *paihenga*, and the usual Polynesian name for dog (*kuri*) applies to cats. 231

The small, long-legged, indigenous fowls seem to have been less numerous before European contact than afterwards. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) and La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 76) stress their scarcity. The great value given to this bird in the social and economic life of the islanders upholds this impression in spite of G. Forster's statement (83, p. 157) to the contrary. Fowls must have multiplied in the second half of the last century for in 1882 they are said to have been extremely numerous over the entire island in a wild or semi-wild state. Geiseler (87, p. 37) estimates that there were 10,000 chickens at the time of his visit. 235

Today there are no wild fowls, but chickens are abundant in Hanga-roa and
the natives are prodigal of eggs. When the ancient culture was functioning, [431]
chickens were the usual gifts to people who must be honored; they were raised
for feasts and appear as a favorite motif in art. The feathers were used in [237]
making circlets, eyeshades, and hats. The economic value that chickens once had for the natives is manifest in the care they took of them. Near the sites of most ancient villages or settlements, hen houses are found. Often they are the only testimony of the former existence of a village. One officer under Gonzalez says that "the islanders breed fowls in little runs scraped out in the ground and thatched over" (90, p. 122).

The only indigenous mammal was the Polynesian rat which has since been 136
exterminated by rats from the ships. In former days the natives ate rats; Cook 262
(53, vol. 1, p. 288) guesses that they did, and his supposition is borne out by references to the practice in legends. Present natives remember seeing old men eat rats. However, the following tale shows that certain persons were prejudiced against rats and did not consider them a delicacy:

> The girl Kava-komari was brought up and grew. She lived in seclusion in her house, where she daily painted her face red and annointed herself with sugar-cane juice. One year she went to a *koro* (feast). All the men admired her. She lived in the *koro* house. Her father took her a bundle of rats and sweet potatoes to accompany the rats (*inaki*). She opened the bundle and saw the rats. The other girls laughed at her. She asked, "Why do you laugh about the rats?" The other girls answered, "We laugh because you are about to eat the rats." The girl said, "Rats are not bad food. Rats are good. We are like calabashes with the mouth below. There below is something ugly with us. Rats are clean. When you defecate it always falls down."

POPULATION

161
162
The estimates of population made by the early voyagers are only approximate, based on the number of natives they happened to see at the anchorage and on brief reconnoitering expeditions ashore.

Roggeveen (186, p. 11) vaguely refers to "the great number of natives," but he saw only two or three old women while ashore (1772); and Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 125), who always exaggerates, speaks of thousands of natives "swimming in the water."

In 1770 Gonzalez (90, p. 93) estimated that there were more than 800 natives posted on the heights or along the shore on the north side of the island between Ovahe and La Pérouse. Four hundred natives visited his ship (90, p. 100). A member of the expedition who circumnavigated the island puts the entire population at 900 to 1,000 (90, p. 127). So few women were seen that the Spaniards believed that there were only about 70 women on the entire island. Children were not seen. In a letter of Dalrymple (90, p. 45) mentioning the Gonzalez expedition, the total population of the island is given as 3,000.

When Captain Cook's party landed in 1774, G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 577) calculated that there were 200 in the crowd at the shore, of which only 15 were women and a few were children. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 289) estimated the total population at 600 to 700 of which two thirds were males. J. R. Forster (84, p. 423) assumed that the total population was 900 and says that he saw only 50 women; he concluded that the population had decreased rapidly since the visit of Gonzalez and was on the verge of extinction. As Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 289) suggested, the natives were undoubtedly frightened by the arrival of foreigners and hid their women in inland caves as was done during wartime (p. 192).

When La Pérouse landed at Hanga-roa in 1786, he was met by a crowd of about 800, 150 of whom were women. He expressed the opinion that the total population was around 2,000 and concluded, from the number of houses and children, that it was not on the decline.

Population figures given by nineteenth century voyagers are even less accurate than those of earlier explorers, for none of them stayed on the island for more than a few minutes. Their estimates are merely guesses made from a distance and generally for only a part of the island. Figures given by missionaries after 1864 are fairly reliable.

Lisiansky in 1804 (143, p. 60) estimated the total population at 1,500, based on the number of habitations seen and the number of natives assembled at Hanga-roa Bay.

Delano (5, p. 356) in 1808 saw 500 or 600 natives along the north coast and 200 or 300 near where he tried to land on the west coast.

In 1816 when Kotzebue tried unsuccessfully to land, Choris (48, p. 12) guessed that there were 900 gathered on the beach at Hanga-roa, of whom only two were women.

In 1825 Beechey's officers (15, vol. 1, p. 51) put the total population at 1,500.

Captain Lejeune (165, vol. 28, p. 45) of the *Cassini* reported seeing between 1,200 and 1,400 natives in the summer of 1862. There must have been at least 2,000, however, for in 1864, after slave raids and many deaths from smallpox, there were still 1,200 natives to greet Eyraud.

Shortly after Lejeune's visit in 1862, Easter Island was raided by Peruvian slavers who took from 800 to 1,000 natives by force to Peru (115, p. 242; 165, p. 49). The few men who returned introduced smallpox and during 1863 the mortality on the island was great.

In his first letter from the island, Eyraud (81) speaks of a crowd of 1,200 men, women, and children surrounding him on the shore. The entire population at that time is said to have been nearly 2,000.

In 1866, Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 663), who was also a missionary on the island, estimated the entire population at 1,000, and believed that it once reached 4,000.

Roussel (190, p. 426) states that a census taken between 1867 and 1870 showed a total population of 650. He believes that the population was never more than 5,000 or 6,000 because the interior of the island was never inhabited. 161 162

In 1869 Powell (180, p. 142) estimated the population at 800, and Palmer (169, p. 372) at 900 of whom one third were women.

In 1870 Gana (86) reported the population at about 600.

The disproportion of the sexes in the last half of the nineteenth century is not exaggerated. Roussel, who knew the island well, states that formerly the number of women exceeded the number of men but that women seemed more susceptible to smallpox and tuberculosis and that "out of three dead two are females." That this disproportion was abnormal is proved by native testimony and the present balance between male and female birth rates. Geiseler (87, p. 22) attributes the disproportion and the falling birth rate to the past, for he had heard that long before white contact there was but one woman to every five men. Disease may have been introduced by infrequent visits of whalers who before 1830 had contaminated the island with syphilis (162, p. 26). 162 164

The smallpox epidemic apparently ceased after the arrival of the missionaries, but mortality was still high and the population continued to diminish. Roussel (190, p. 427) gives a reason for this that is worth considering: 164 165

> I know of no other reason for the decrease of the population other than deprivations of all sorts, the humidity of the huts, the bad air of the winter season, their immorality and their extreme imprudence in living with sick people. To frighten them with the threat of death is just useless. They do not care for life. They fear death as little as they like their relatives. As long as they hope to save a sick person they take care of him, but if the disease becomes serious, they abandon him and pay no attention to his requests or wants. [761 758]
>
> As a matter of fact the only disease on Rapa-nui is scrofula, but it seems to be very different from the ordinary kind. They suffer from dysentery, but so rarely that it is not dangerous. We had only two cases of tetanus and they were fatal, one case of apoplexy and one of cerebral congestion. 164

Bates (86, p. 51), the surgeon of the *O'Higgins* who visited the island in 1870, attributes the great mortality of the population to scrofula and consumption. He considers that premature marriages affected the birth rate. It is hard to tell exactly what he means by "scrofula" which he says was common among children, whereas adults died of "pulmonary ailments."

The lack of hygiene and the free sexual life of the girls cannot be considered as serious factors in the depopulation. Smallpox probably made the greatest ravages among young people, so that there is nothing surprising in the continued decrease in birth rate even after the epidemics were over. In addition to the other calamities war broke out among the islanders and was followed by a period of famine. In 1866, Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 257) wrote that the mortality caused by misery and famine was very high and that the missionaries had to take care of a great many orphans. 165 [163]

167 The steady decrease in the population culminated in 1871 when most of the natives left for Tahiti and Mangareva. The exact number of those who abandoned their homes that year is difficult to ascertain. Jaussen (113, p. 385) says that 231 Easter Islanders were working on Brander's plantations and that 50 (some other sources say about 100) stayed in Mangareva with the missionaries. By 1873, 100 of the 231 had died. The number of the emigrants to Tahiti estimated by Thomson (215, p. 461) and Geiseler (87, p. 19) as 400 or 500 is certainly exaggerated, since they say that 300 or 400 were also transferred to Mangareva. In 1900 the Easter Islanders in Tahiti were only ~~44~~—21 men, 11 women, and 13 children (7, p. 84). I do not know the present number.

161 The following table tabulates all available population figures for the period 1872 to 1934. This includes inaccurate estimates made by missionaries and visitors as well as careful censuses.

161 311 361 The present population is concentrated in the village of Hanga-roa and occupies 2,000 hectares. This area, granted to the natives by the government, is small but sufficient for their needs. Only the fields in and around Hanga-roa are cultivated but the need of more land has never been felt. It might even be said that the natives could produce far beyond their wants if they cared to. If 456 natives can live easily on a small portion of the island which is not particularly fertile it may be assumed that eight or nine times that number could have made a comfortable living on the entire island. Formerly fishing was a more important food resource than it is now. I believe that the population of Easter Island a hundred years ago must have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Meyer and Jablonowski (160, p. 6), who have investigated carefully the population of Easter Island, propose the same figure. If the population was about 3,000 before the coming of the white men it gives a density of 13.7 persons to one square kilometer, about the same number as that for Tahiti.

164 Leprosy is the only disease endemic to the island. In 1934 there were 22 lepers confined in a separate hut. During the five months we spent on the island all the other natives were examined by Dr. Drapkin who found them in excellent health, with the exception of a few cases of tuberculosis. Venereal diseases are rare and only three or four cases of blennorrhea have been reported. Natives are very susceptible to pulmonary infection. The visit of any boat is invariably followed by an epidemic of influenza or bronchitis. [751] Although surgeons of a warship inspect the island at intervals the natives were vaccinated for the first time during our stay on the island.

a

TABLE I. POPULATION OF EASTER ISLAND, 1872-1934

	Adults		Children		Total for island	Foreigners included in total	Remarks	Source of information
	M	F	M	F				
1872		55			175			De Lapelin (129), Jaussen (113)
1877		26			111		minimum recorded population	Pinart (178, p. 238)
1882	67	39	44, both sexes		150			Geiseler (87, p. 19)
1886	68	43	17	27	155	6 Tahitians, 5 Europeans	population at standstill, births equaling deaths	Census given by Salmon to Thomson (215, p. 461) and Cooke (54, p. 712)
1888	100	78			178	12 Chilean colonists	58 men over 30; 28 women over 30	Policarpo Toro
1890					188		in 15 months, 6 died, 9 emigrated, 9 were born, and 15 returned from Tahiti	
1892	112	89			201			Meyer and Jablonowski (160, p. 5)
1897					250	40 Chileans	inaccurate	Eich (69, p. 415)
1900	64		44	41	213	12 Chileans, 2 Englishmen, 1 Frenchman, 1 Italian		Butaye
1911	114	114			228			Census taken by *Baquedano*
1912					248		this rapid increase has continued up to the present	Knoche (123, p. 156)
1916					273			
1917					301	3 Europeans, 5 or 6 Tahitians, 21 Chileans	in 9 months, 3 persons died and 12 children were born	Knoche (123, p. 156)
1918					260		probably inaccurate	Estella (79, pp. 60-64)
1922	156	142	123 under 10 45 under 3		298	2 Europeans, 6 Chileans	1 woman 100 yrs. old, 9 men of about 80, 26 persons over 50	Knoche (123, p. 157)
1934	65	85	163	143	456		only 159 are of exclusive Easter Island origin; 297 have some Tahitian, Chilean, Tuamotuan, German, French, English, Chinese, American, or Italian blood	Drapkin (62)

THE PHYSICAL RELATIONSHIPS OF THE EASTER ISLANDERS

by

H. L. Shapiro

114
144

The attempts to assign the Easter Islanders to their proper place in the racial hierarchy of Oceania fall into two stages. In the first place, both in simplicity of method and in time, come the unscientific but often acute observations of those early explorers of the Pacific who not only visited Easter Island but pondered the question of race sufficiently to record an opinion. These were subjective judgments, based on a rather wide first-hand experience with Polynesians and Melanesians. Following these first generalizations a number of craniological studies have been made, attempting to solve the same problem, but with the aid of measurements and analyses. But whereas the earlier subjective impressions form a unanimous corpus of opinion, the later, more detailed investigations have rendered the problem more obscure than it was in the beginning.

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the classification and relationship of the Oceanic populations received considerable attention, largely stimulated, no doubt, by interest in the taxonomic work of Linné, Buffon and others. It was held that two principal races or stocks inhabited the island world of the Pacific: J. R. Forster (Observations made during a voyage round the world, 1778), who accompanied Cook as a naturalist, in summarizing his own views on this subject expressed those prevailing among contemporary explorers:

> We chiefly observed two great varieties of people in the South Seas; the one more fair, well limbed, athletic, of a fine size, and a kind benevolent temper; the other blacker, the hair just beginning to become woolly and crisp, the body more slender and low, and their temper, if possible more brisk, though somewhat mistrustful. The first race inhabits O-Taheitee, and the Society Isles, the Marquesas, the Friendly Isles, Easter-Island, and New Zealand. The second race peoples New-Caledonia, Tanna, and the New Hebrides, especially Mallicollo.

To fit the Easter Islanders into this dichotomous classification offered no difficulty. They, like other Polynesians, were of relatively light hue, had straight or wavy hair, and somewhat resembled Europeans. From these physical similarities the early explorers drew the logical conclusion that the Easter Islanders formed a part of the Polynesian group. Cook (Voyage towards the South Pole and round the world, 1777) observes: "In colour, features, and language, they [Easter Islanders] bear such affinity to the people of the more western isles, that no one will doubt that they have had the same origin." In this opinion La Pérouse concurred (Voyage round the world, 1799).

114
144

This eminently reasonable deduction has satisfied the layman familiar with Oceanic groups. The anthropological world, however, misled by inadequate data and by complex but erroneous statistical manipulations, has for many years entertained the hypothesis that the Easter Islanders form a racial complex created by successive migrations of Melanesians and Polynesians. De Quatrefages and Hamy (Les cranes des races humaines, 1882) were among the first to suggest Melanesian resemblances among the Easter Islanders: "La population actuelle [Easter Islanders] dont nous avons étudié les caractères anatomiques sur 70 pièces rapportées par M. Pinart est absolument semblable à celle des Touamotus, mais plusieurs crânes, d'aspect plus ancien, recuellis par ce voyageur, se rapprochent considérablement de ceux des Papouas." De Quatrefages and Hamy neither amplify this statement nor record the evidence for their recognition of Melanesian traits in these "several" skulls.

The question of Easter Island origins, from a physical anthropological point of view, remained in abeyance until 1895 when Volz's study of Easter Island crania appeared (Archiv. f. Anthrop., vol. 23, pp. 97-169, 1895). Volz concluded that the Easter Islanders represented a racial amalgam of several successive migrations. By statistical procedure he claimed to be able to isolate the various racial elements which had combined to produce the Easter Island population. Numerically, the chief strain was Melanesian, both an east and a west variety; next in concentration were the Polynesians; and finally certain skulls were designated as Australian.

As Meyer and Jablonowski ably pointed out in 1900 (Abhl. u. Ber. d. K. Zool. u. Anthrop.—Ethnogr. Mus., Dresden, vol. 9, no. 4), Volz's method was arbitrary and based on misconceptions of elementary statistical facts. Volz apparently misunderstood the significance of the normal distribution. He based his types inadequately on the length-breadth and breadth-height indices, both of which showed a high correlation with each other, and with no statistical justification he divided the field of frequencies to suit his needs. Moreover, the data were presented in a fashion which does not allow of their rechecking. The reexamination by Meyer and Jablonowski of 24 of Volz's 49 Easter Island crania led them to a complete denial of the validity of the Volzian analysis. The paucity of their data, however, prevented them from attempting to solve the problem of Easter Island origins and affinities.

The Volzian hypothesis reappeared in slightly different guise in 1923 when R. B. Dixon published "The Racial History of Man." Dixon on the basis of the length-breadth, length-height, and nasal indices analyzed the available published data and concluded that Easter Island was settled first by a proto-negroid people identified with "Melanesian". This strain contained not only "protonegroid" but also a proto-Australoid element and a "dash of Caspian." These people are represented as tall and black, with

114
144

woolly or frizzly hair. Following them came the "Caspian" migration of lighter-skinned, straighter-haired folk. From the mingling of these two layers of population, the Easter Islanders were derived. Dixon calculated that 55 percent of the total population was proto-negroid, with Caspian, proto-Australoid, and palae-Alpine in nearly equal proportions. Dixon's system, although a monument of industry, fails to satisfy the requirements of a successful classification since it is based upon an unrealistic conception of human biology and taxonomy. Such significant factors as variation, selection and inbreeding receive scant, if any, consideration in his rather rigid and mechanical system. And the underlying genetic assumptions exceed the limits of precise knowledge.

In Dixon's analysis of the Easter Island population there is no direct evidence which impells us to accept two migrations, even assuming the validity of his method of type analysis. Within Polynesia populations might easily vary from archipelago to archipelago depending on the effects of chance selection, accidents of breeding and isolation, particularly in small groups. The resulting differentiation need not be accounted for by successive migrations.

The most recent[2] study of the Easter Islanders is that published by Von Bonin in 1931 (Biometrika, vol. 23, pts. 3-4). He pooled the collection of crania obtained by the Routledges and now housed in the Hunterian Museum with series from the Ethnographical Museum in Leiden, from the British Museum (Natural History), and from Volz's collection. The variability of this combined series proved to be comparable with three standard series used in the Biometric Laboratory of the University of London. By means of the coefficient of racial likeness the pooled Easter Island skulls were then compared with a number of fringe racial groups including the Maori and the Moriori but no especial affinity was discovered with any of them. Von Bonin concluded that the Easter Island skulls revealed no statistical evidence of marked heterogeneity, although in several respects they showed specialization. In a note to Von Bonin's paper, G. M. Morant suggests, on the basis of additional coefficient of racial likeness comparisons, that the Easter Island skulls display a resemblance to Loyalty Islands crania.

Finally, we may refer briefly to statements by Sir Arthur Keith and Capt. T. A. Joyce. Neither has published, to my knowledge, any extensive study of Easter Island crania, but Keith has examined the Routledge collection and Joyce, the Crawford collection. Keith says, "The Polynesian type is fairly purely represented in some of the Easter Islanders, but they are absolutely and relatively a remarkably long-headed people, and in this feature they approach the Melanesian more than the Polynesian type" (C. S. Rout-

---

[2] Since writing this, I have seen a reference to a craniological study of Oceanic races by K. Wagner, which I have been unable to consult.

ledge, Mystery of Easter Island, p. 295). Commenting upon Mrs. Routledge's 114
address before the Royal Geographic Society, Joyce remarks, "I could not
get away from the conclusion that in their measurements and general appear- 144
ance these skulls were far more Melanesian than Polynesian" (Roy. Geogr.
Soc., Jour., May 1917).

Thus, this brief resumé of the craniological investigations of Easter Island 144
racial affinities fails to uncover any unanimity of opinion. In general, however, these studies fall into two schools. One, although recognizing a Polynesian connection, seeks to tie up the Easter Islanders with Melanesians or Australians; the other denies the validity of the evidence of a relationship with non-Polynesian groups but fails to confirm their Polynesian origin. But none offers the solution, which occurred long ago to the untutored explorers, that the Easter Islanders are Polynesians.

The evidence from the living Easter Islanders, which has thus far escaped discussion, seems to me especially decisive in supporting the reasonableness of the Polynesian origin of the Easter Islanders. The data from the living population are at present far more significant than those from skulls because comparable data already exist for many Polynesian island groups, whereas cranial information on Polynesians is entirely inadequate and often misleading. In fact, I believe that part of the confusion which has arisen from the craniological studies of the Easter Islanders may be attributed to inadequate information on the cranial characteristics of Polynesians. During a recent visit to Easter Island I gathered a series of anthropometric measurements on 22 Easter Island adult males who were rigidly selected out of a total population of 456 for their purity of descent. Everyone suspected of mixture with foreigners was excluded from the series. These measurements, after making necessary allowances for the differences between living and skeletal material, not only agree with the cranial measurements, but also indicate that the Easter Islanders are definitely Polynesians of a somewhat specialized and exaggerated type isolated by migration and intensified by inbreeding.

141
144
171

In support of this latter statement, I submit the following table comparing the Easter Islanders with other Polynesian groups:

MEASUREMENTS:	Society[a]	Hawaii[b]	Samoa[d]	Tonga[e]	Marquesas[c]	Maori[f]	Easter Island
Stature (cm)	171.02	169.51	171.70	173.00	170.44	170.60	173.32
Head Length (mm)	190.35	187.85	190.60	191.00	193.20	196.50	199.09
Head Width (mm)	159.10	157.67	154.80	154.80	154.30	152.80	148.45
Minimum Frontal (mm)	103.00	107.85	103.40	104.80	102.70		101.50
Bizygomatic (mm)	145.10	144.50	145.90	143.50	142.90	145.70	141.32
Bigonial (mm)	109.60	111.18	104.60	104.80	108.10		107.41
Face Height (mm)	123.70	125.43	131.10	128.20	121.90	124.00	122.00
Nose Height (mm)	56.00	55.60	59.80	57.50	55.60	52.80	57.27
Nose Width (mm)	43.20	43.53	43.80	44.40	43.20	40.10	43.00
INDICES:							
Cephalic	83.61	84.01	81.30	81.10	79.89	77.70	74.61
Fronto-parietal	64.98	68.44	66.80	67.60	66.60		68.39
Cephalo-facial	91.27	91.68	94.20	92.80	92.64	95.30	95.20
Zygo-frontal	71.03	74.73	70.90	73.10	71.92		71.84
Zygo-gonial	75.52	77.06	71.70	73.20	75.68	✓	76.00
Facial	85.37	86.74	89.90	89.20	85.57	85.10	86.41
Nasal	77.35	78.41	73.60	77.60	77.84	75.90	75.36

---

[a] Series measured by H. L. Shapiro. See The physical characters of the Cook Islanders: Bishop Mus., Mem., vol. 12, no. 1, 1936.

[b] Wissler, Clark, Observations on Hawaiian somatology: Bishop Mus., Mem., vol. 9, no. 4, 1927.

[c] Series measured by Gordon Macgregor. See The physical characters of the Cook Islanders: Bishop Mus., Mem., vol. 12, no. 1, 1936.

Sullivan, L. R., A contribution to Samoan somatology: Bishop Mus., Mem., vol. 8, no. 2, 1921.

[e] Sullivan, L. R., Tongan somatology: Bishop Mus., Mem., vol. 8, no. 4, 1922.

[f] Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa), Maori somatology: Polynesian Soc. Jour., vol. 31, no. 121, pp. 37-44; no. 123, pp. 145-153; no. 124, pp. 159-170; vol. 32, no. 125, pp. 21-28; no. 128, pp. 189-199.

It is evident from the above that the Easter Islanders fit into the Polynesian physical pattern, although in several traits, particularly in cephalic proportions, they occupy an extreme position. But if these deviations are considered from a geographic point of view an illuminating distributional pattern becomes apparent. (See Bishop Mus., Mem., vol. 12, no. 1, 1936.) In the following table I have arranged the head lengths and head breadths of a number of series, some as yet unpublished, in the order of their geographic distance from the Society Islands:

	Head Length	Head Width
Society	190.35	159.10
Tuamotus[a]	190.30	155.30
Tatakoto[a]	193.59	150.55
Marquesas	193.20	154.30
Mangareva[a]	195.95	152.67
Easter Island	199.09	148.45

---

[a] Unpublished data, collected by the author.

These means show that the head length increases and the head width decreases in proportion to the distance from the Society Islands and consequently in ratio to the possibility of influence from the Society group. Easter

Island, being the most isolated, shows the least, if any, influence from the 141
Society Islands on its cephalic dimensions. The transition to the Easter 144
Island mean is closest through the Mangarevans who are likewise the most 171
proximate geographically.

From these abbreviated and summary comparisons, the Easter Islanders 144
emerge as a distinctly Polynesian group deviating significantly only in their cephalic dimensions. But this deviation appears to be demonstrably a survival of traits which have become progressively overlain and obliterated by influences emanating from the Society Islands. As I have suggested elsewhere, the Easter Islanders form part of an early and now marginal population in eastern Polynesia which was succeeded by the more recent brachycephalic Society Islanders. It is at present impossible to determine whether the extremity of the Easter Island position in cephalic range represents a survival of the original character of this early population from which the Mangarevans have been modified, or whether it constitutes an intensification of Mangarevan norms through selective migration followed by isolation and inbreeding.

From another point of view the association of Easter Island with Melane- 142
sian or Australian stocks, also, does violence to the known facts. Although
much has yet to be discovered about the genetics of skin color and hair form, 144
there is little doubt that the dark pigmentation of Melanesians and Australians and the frizzly hair of the former are traits which are often dominant in racial crossing and are never completely recessive. But even if they were, they would inevitably reveal themselves in some degree. However, the Easter Islanders bear no trace whatever of these distinctively Melanesian or Australian features. Nor do early descriptions give any suggestion of frizzly hair or dark skins. More than half the Easter Island males have an unexposed skin color corresponding to number 14 on the Von Luschan scale and exposed skin color equivalent to number 21. The 22 Easter Island males are distributed as follows:

Von Luschan Scale	Unexposed Skin	Exposed Skin
11	1	
12	2	
13	2	
14	10	
15	3	
16	2	2
17	1	
18		2
19		
20		2
21		12
22	1	2
23		
24		1
25		1

142 144 These distributions fall within Polynesian limits; in fact, the Easter Islanders appear to be fairer than many characteristically Polynesian groups:

	Unexposed Skin Color		Exposed Skin Color	
	Range	Mode	Range	Mode
Easter Island	11-22	14	16-25	21
Mangareva	11-17	14 and 17	14-25	16 and 22
Tuamotus	10-24	17	15-25	22
Society Islands	10-22	16	14-24	16
Marquesas	12-22	14	14-22	16

Similarly the hair form of the Easter Islanders shows no evidence of Melanesian influence; indeed, the following figures reveal that the Easter Islanders have a higher percentage of straight hair than is generally true of other eastern Polynesian groups.

	Hair Form				
	Straight	Low Waves	Deep Waves	Curly	Frizzly
Easter Island	54.55%	4.55%	22.73%	18.18%	
Mangareva	47.62	19.05	9.52	23.81	
Tuamotus	32.14	31.63	23.47	10.71	2.04%
Society Islands	26.98	26.98	26.98	19.05	
Marquesas	21.69	26.51	28.92	22.89	

Similarly, in other traits which Melanesian admixture might be expected to modify, such as relative width of the nose, facial projection and thickness of lip, the distributions among the Easter Islanders offer no support for the Melanesian hypothesis.

Finally I should like to add that blood groupings, as yet unpublished, which were determined for the Easter Islanders not only corroborate the purity of our series but also confirm its relationship with Polynesia rather than Melanesia. Groups B and AB are lacking, thus agreeing with the Mangarevans and Tuamotuans.

The anthropometric evidence which I have been able to gather points unequivocally to the Polynesian origin of the Easter Islanders. The closest approximation appears to be with Mangareva, although there is some reason to believe that the Easter Islanders form part of an early, marginal population whose influence may still be seen in the physical traits of the Maori, the Marquesans, some Tuamotuans, as well as the Mangarevans.

LANGUAGE

197 114 Easter Islanders were recognized as Polynesians almost as soon as they boarded Cook's ship. The few words they uttered made it clear that their language was closely related to Tahitian. The lists of words recorded by Cook (53, vol. 2, p. 364) and by J. R. Forster (84, p. 284) entirely confirm this first impression, and there has never been any doubt that the Easter Island language belongs entirely to the Polynesian group. Some of the Easter

Island words published by Cook are transcribed as their Tahitian equivalents, and the differences between the two dialects have been disregarded. Forster's vocabulary is more accurate. Four years before Cook, one of Gonzalez's lieutenants collected 98 words (188, pp. 23-33), most of which can be identified easily. However, the ten first numerals have no equivalent in the modern or any other Polynesian dialect. They probably have a meaning entirely different from that assumed by the recorder of the vocabulary and cannot be considered the remnant of another language (189; 154). 197 114

An extensive dictionary (191) was compiled by Father Roussel during the years he spent on Easter Island and published after his death by Father Alazard. Though many errors resulted from lack of the author's revision, his vocabulary in general is accurate and complete. I checked it with several natives and found only a small percentage of mistakes. The most serious criticism to be made of this dictionary is that it includes words and expressions entirely foreign to the native mentality. The original meanings of the words have been distorted and new combinations coined. Extensive linguistic material was obtained by Jaussen when he wrote, under Metoro's dictation, the texts of the tablets. (See 112 and 105.)

A short vocabulary of Easter Island was taken by Geiseler (87, pp. 45-46), probably with the help of Salmon. In this list the length of the vowels and the accentuation are carefully indicated. Thomson's texts and vocabulary (215, pp. 546-552), probably recorded for him by Salmon, form one of the most valuable contributions to the island's linguistics. Unfortunately this material has been disfigured in the copy and printed with so many typographical errors that its value is greatly impaired. With the help of intelligent natives I tried to restore these texts to their original form, but with only partial success. A manuscript by Alexander de Witt, stored in the Bishop Museum library, contains some of Thomson's texts and his vocabulary, copied from the original papers. Here the spellings are more accurate than those in the printed version. Cooke's (54) list of words, received from Salmon, is fairly correct in its spelling.

Mrs. Routledge has probably transcribed native texts but they have not yet been published. Martinez (151) and Bienvenido de Estella (80, pp. 74-132) have both published extensive vocabularies in Chile, but both teem with errors. Some short native songs were included in an article by Knoche (118), but again the phonetics is poor and the understanding of the language deficient. A Chilean officer, Vives Solar (223), has published a textbook in the native language for Easter Island children. He has tried to adapt Chilean elementary school books for this purpose, and his translations do not give a true idea of the language as used by the natives.

The native language as it is spoken today is found in folklore texts recorded by our expedition. The phonetics is extremely simple; there is no 194

194 sound in the Easter Island language which does not exist in other Polynesian dialects. Those of southeastern and southern Polynesia are especially similar.

The vowel sounds are the usual Polynesian *a,e,i,o,u,* given "continental" values. They may be either long or short and occasionally the quantity of a vowel may change the meaning of a word. For instance, *ūi* means to ask; *ŭi,* to see. The vowels *a,e,o,u* are doubled in a great many common words. This duplication has been clearly perceived by all those who have transcribed Easter Island vocabularies. Even natives, asked to write a text in their own language, use duplicate vowels in some words. Churchill (51, p. 12) considered this a faulty rendition of long vowels. The duplication of the vowel cannot be explained as the dropping of an intermediary consonant, and, so far as I can trust my ear, there is no trace of the glottal stop on Easter Island. If the vowels were long with only an apparent reiteration, I would not have heard two distinct vowels, and surely at least one of the many visitors to this island would have transcribed such sounds as one letter. Geiseler (87, p. 46), whose phonetics is accurate and who gives both the quantity and the accent, writes *túŭ* (container). The duplication of the vowel in words where no consonant has been dropped is a peculiarity of the Easter Island dialect shared by no other Polynesian language.

There are nine consonants: *r, ng, n, m, h, v, k, t, p.* The *r* is soft and has developed from an intermediate sound *r-l.* This sound has sometimes been transcribed *l,* and the Easter Islanders in speaking Spanish tend to substitute the *r* for *l. Ng* (transcribed by Roussel *g*) is the usual palatal nasal of the Polynesian. *H* is an aspirate sound. It is very strong, and even Spanish people confuse it with the *jota.* It represents the *wh* and *h* of New Zealand and the *f* of Tahiti. The frequent appearance of *k* shows the close relationship of Easter Islanders to Tuamotuans, Maoris, and Cook Islanders. The *v* has been derived from the original Polynesian sound *w-v* and still retains a little of its primitive intermediate position.

192 177 The modern language of Easter Island is changing; many ancient words have been forgotten, and new words of foreign origin are continually being added. Terms for social activities no longer practiced and names for the plants and animals of the island, in which the present-day natives take no interest, are not remembered. The natives are fully aware of the decadence of their language; only Tepano and a few old women were able to understand the ancient words. Many of the words recorded by Roussel are no longer understood and are said to be entirely out of use. This change in the language is a serious handicap in the translation of traditional songs.

Many Tahitian characteristics have been incorporated in the modern Easter Island language through the influence of missionaries, Tahitian natives living on the island, and the use of Tahitian prayer books. Most of the modern terms for animals and articles of European introduction are taken from French and adjusted to Polynesian phonetics, but some words are derived from English (51, pp. 31-32). Now Spanish is becoming more common, and, since the founding of a school at Hanga-roa by the Chilean government, its use will undoubtedly increase. Most natives are receptive to foreign languages. It is almost inevitable that the Easter Island language will disappear entirely. 192 177

By extensive comparisons of vocabularies, Churchill (51) has attempted to determine the exact position of the Easter Island language in relation to the rest of Polynesia, principally to the southeastern division. The statistical method of Churchill is not convincing, but his results are worth mentioning: 197

> Of the eastern Polynesian languages Churchill found the Tuamotuan dialect to be the most closely related to that of Easter Island. His Tuamotuan material is so incomplete that the affinity of the two languages must be investigated in the light of new evidence. In the vocabularies of Mangareva which were at his disposal, Churchill (51, p. 162) discovered 651 vocables common to Mangareva and Easter Island languages. The dialects differ only in that the Mangarevan *h* has been replaced by the glottal stop. This creates an important phonetic difference between the two languages. The Easter Island dialect shows striking affinity with Maori.

The grammar of the Easter Island language is typically Polynesian and presents no striking individuality. No special gestures accompany speech. The motion of denial consists of throwing the head slightly backward and lifting the eyebrows. 193 201

NAMES OF EASTER ISLAND

Easter Island was named by Roggeveen for the day on which he discovered it—Easter Sunday, 1722. In 1770 the Spaniards under Gonzalez had called it San Carlos in honor of Carlos III, the king of Spain, but this name lasted no longer than the memory of the soon-forgotten expedition. At first the Spaniards christened it "Isla de Davis", believing that they had found the island sighted by the English buccaneer, Edward Davis. Captain Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) uses Davis's Land as a synonym for Easter Island. 101

Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 293) and his companions, in 1774, unsuccessfully attempted to discover the native name of Easter Island. The name Teapi was obtained by the Tahitian, Otiti, who understood a little of the native language. Tamariki was also given, but both of these may have been place names. The name Whyhu (Vaihu) was recorded by the reconnoitering party sent by Cook to the interior: 101 103

> On its way along the coast the expedition met a chief who was asked his name and whether he was the king of the island or of only one district. The gesture of the *ariki* was interpreted as embracing all the island, and as he uttered the word Vaihu and even made affirmative gestures when called "the *ariki* of Vaihu", the explorers were persuaded that they were speaking with the king of Easter Island. On J. R. Forster's authority (84, vol. 1, p. 589), Easter Island was called Vaihu, until this name was found to apply only to a cove on the south coast near which the interview with the chief took place.

101
103

The name Rapa-nui is of recent origin. It is first mentioned in 1864 by Father Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 52). A few years later Father Roussel investigated the whole question of names and came to the following conclusion (190, p. 356):

> Native tradition has it that Easter Island never had a maori name which distinguished it from the numerous islands of the Pacific. Rapa-nui is unknown to the natives. This name was introduced by foreigners—that is, by natives of the neighboring islands who called here with the whalers. Over and over I repeated my questions to ascertain the reliability of their statements. They always answered, "We do not know Rapa-nui. Our land has never had a proper name. We only know Hangaroa, Vaihu, Hotu-iti, etc. Everything but the island has a name." This nomenclature extends to houses, mountain peaks, cliffs, the smallest spot of land, stones; hence the names Matavivi, Hanga-piko, Hapina, and so on.

Palmer (171, p. 167), who visited the island while Father Roussel was still there, believes that the name Rapa-nui was given by early immigrants from Rapa (Oparo or Rapa-iti), who called Easter Island the "great Rapa" because of its large size. However, there is no other evidence of an ancient connection between Rapa and Easter Island.

Thomson (215, p. 453) states that the name Rapa-nui was given by the kidnapped Easter Islanders who returned from Peru. They found that Rapa was better known than their own island, so they changed the name Te-Pito-te-henua to Rapa-nui. This explanation was undoubtedly invented by a European to account for a name which was obviously new. Cooke (54, p. 702) writes that the name Rapa-nui was given to the island by Tahitians in 1866 to distinguish it from Rapa-iti. Jaussen (115, p. 240) attributes the name to a sailor.

Rapa-nui is mentioned three times in the Rarotongan traditions as an island visited by early native voyagers (209, vol. 28, pp. 74, 192). Like Stokes (212), I consider the inclusion of Rapa-nui in these traditions to be recent. At the time they were recorded, Easter Islanders had been dispersed throughout Polynesia, some of them residing in the Cook Islands (190 and 89, p. 213). Nowadays the name Rapa-nui is popular on the island itself and is used throughout Polynesia in referring to Easter Island or its inhabitants.

De Lapelin (129, p. 109, note 4) believed that Easter Island was the Mata-ki-te-rangi mentioned in a Mangarevan tradition which he heard in Tahiti. Mata-ki-te-rangi probably refers to Pitcairn or some other island and has been identified with Easter Island only in recent times.

Alexander P. Salmon, a Tahitian and a keen investigator of the island traditions, is responsible for the name Te-Pito-te-henua, transcribed by Geiseler (87, p. 5) and Clark (52, p. 145) into the Tahitian form of *fenua*. Thomson (215, p. 452) and Cooke (54, p. 701) were also told by Salmon in 1886 that this was the original name of the island. They translated it "navel and uterus" and found it appropriate for an island where the volcanic cones had the form of navels and where the Rano-kao and the Rano-raraku could be considered the "uterus" or the "womb" of the land or perhaps of the statues. If the legend of Hotu-matua was dictated to Thomson in its true native form, the name Te-Pito-te-henua was bestowed upon the island by its first king just after he landed at Anakena. Thomson translates the name "The navel-of-the-deep"; Cooke (54, p. 708) calls it "The-land-in-the-middle-of-the-sea"; Jaussen's posthumous paper (112) calls it "The-navel-of-the-world." The word *pito* means "end" as well as "navel", and thus the mysterious name discovered by Salmon would be "The-end-of-the-land". This interpretation was proposed by Churchill (51, p. 3) and confirmed by some Easter Islanders who pointed out on a map the three promontories as the "pito-te-henua" or the ends of the island.

Te-Pito-te-henua is not unknown to the present islanders who must hear it frequently from visitors. My informant insisted that a large round stone on Ahu-te-pito-te-kura was the "navel" from which originated the name of Te-Pito-te-henua, but I have good reason to believe that he forged this tradition. The name may have some remote connection with the cutting of the navel cords of Túu-ma-heke and of Ava-reipua, shortly after the arrival of Hotu-matua (p. 56) on the island.

Thomson (215, p. 452) and Cooke (54, p. 702) says that the name Hiti-te-eiranga (misspelled Kiti-te-eiranga) was used by the English. Jaussen (112) gives it as one of the names of the island. Churchill (51, p. 2) discards it as non-existent either in the Easter Island dialect or in any other Polynesian language. Stokes (212) has brought new evidence that during the last century the name Hiti-ai-rangi (The-border-of-the-sky) was, if not the real name of the island, one of the names by which it was known abroad. In Rapa he met natives from Tokelau and central Polynesia who had returned from Peru on the same ship which carried back to Easter Island the survivors of the 1862 kidnapping. These men remembered that the Easter Islanders on board called their home country Hiti-ai-rangi, but one of them also heard the name Rapa-nui from a sailor on the ship. If Hiti-ai-rangi was actually the native name for Easter Island it would have been known to Roussel, who spoke the native language and made special inquiries about it, and to Salmon and others who stayed long on the island. Present natives are totally ignorant of this word. Like Rapa-nui, Hiti-ai-rangi was perhaps a name given to the island by foreigners at the time when European influence brought together natives of distant Polynesian islands.

None of the names discussed here has been accepted unanimously by the islanders. In my opinion, there was no native name for the whole island. If there had been one it could hardly have disappeared by the time the natives were first asked for it. Originally, no need was felt for a general name for the island, as it was probably never visited by the inhabitants of other islands.

101 103 The lack of a name for the island as a whole "was quite in accord with the islander's habit of mind to speckle his home with names changing every few feet and to leave the major divisions nameless" (51, p. 4).

EUROPEAN CONTACTS

175 [133] With no sheltered harbors along its coast and with winds which suddenly shift direction, Easter Island does not afford safe anchorage for any vessel, least of all for sailing ships. This unfavorable geographical feature combined with isolation, lack of resources, and the suspicious attitude of the natives is partly responsible for the enigmas presented by the island's culture. The early discoverers and seafarers were little inclined to stay long on an island considered dangerous for ships and men; information about the native culture was obtained hurriedly and is generally superficial or incomplete, notwithstanding the talent of observers like Cook, the two Forsters, La Pérouse, or Beechey and the enormous interest they took in the strange monuments they saw scattered everywhere. When the missionaries settled on the island, in the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century, the old life had already disappeared.

175 609 The mysterious land, "500 leagues from Copiapo," sighted in 1687 by the buccaneer, Edward Davis, was probably not Easter Island but Mangareva. In his quest for the hypothetical land of Davis, Roggeveen came upon Easter Island on the fifth of April, 1722. The following day a native went on board the flagship, where he made a very favorable impression. He was cheerful, "lively in mien, as well as pleasing in speech and gesture" (18, vol. 1, p. 123). His behavior was observed with much curiosity (186, p. 8). And as the musicians played their instruments for him, "he began at once to caper and dance about" (18, vol. 1, p. 124). He was sent ashore with various small gifts.

Later a great many natives boarded the ships and showed (186, p. 11) "at that time their great cupidity for everything they saw; and were so daring that they took the seamen's hats and caps from off their heads, and sprang overboard with the spoil." Further attempts to pilfer were made when Roggeveen and a party of 137 men landed. The resulting confusion and the threatening appearance of the islanders, who picked up stones, frightened some of the crew, who fired a volley. Ten or twelve natives were killed and the others ran away. But, as no more harm was done them, the fugitives returned with friendly gestures and with no apparent resentment. They were ordered by a chief to bring to the foreigners presents of sugar cane, bananas, fowls, and yams. If Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 128) is to be relied upon, they even bowed and knelt before the Dutchmen and brought them standards like those they presented to their *ariki*. Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 134) says that the women proposed themselves quite openly and were offered to the sailors by the men. Roggeveen, however, states that only two or three old women were seen. 175 [609]

From scant information given in Roggeveen's log (186) it is apparent that the ships anchored on the north coast, probably at La Pérouse. Fearing for the security of his vessels when a northerly wind blew up and convinced that Easter Island was not the land of Davis, Roggeveen made no attempt at a more thorough exploration of the island and sailed forth on the tenth of April.

The experiences of all later visitors in their dealings with natives were very much the same as that of Roggeveen at this first contact. Despite the nearly complete change of their culture, the natives of today react no differently to the arrival of a foreign ship. They evince the same curiosity, they are gripped by the same excitement, and the same noisy crowd awaits the landing boats. The women are no less generous with their persons, and the men no less prone to petty thievery if opportunity comes their way. 175 609 [181]

The main sources for the events which accompanied the discovery of Easter Island are Roggeveen's log book (186) and the narrative of Carl Friederich Behrens (18). Roggeveen's account is precise and accurate in details; Behrens' famous description of Easter Island is one of the most fanciful and misleading documents we have. 175 114

In a new effort to reach the land of Davis, a Spanish expedition, under the command of Felipe Gonzalez y Haedo, rediscovered Easter Island in 1770. The two Spanish ships were anchored outside the cove of La Pérouse (Hanga-o-honu), but disembarkation was made on the beach of Ovahe. In order to chart the island which Gonzalez believed he was the first to discover, a boat was sent around the island which returned the following day after having stopped for the night near Vinapu on the south coast. A party was then landed to reconnoiter the interior and distract the natives, while another group ascended the slope of Poike with three crosses to be planted on the tops of the three parasitic cones on the side of Puakatiki, thus solemnly taking possession of the island in the name of Spain. Natives, invited to sign the act of possession, made marks on the lower part of the document and by so doing became Spanish subjects. Relations with the natives were cordial. The crews had been given strict orders not to molest them, and exchanges went on quite satisfactorily, although the Spaniards noticed the thievery of the natives and were bothered by their begging. The women invited the visitors to have sexual intercourse with them, and the island men were often the intermediaries in these affairs. The Spaniards seem to have disembarked infrequently, and the exploration of the interior of the island was neglected. The Spanish ships left after six days. 175 [648] [609] [837]

Captain Cook visited Easter Island during his second voyage to the South Seas (1772-1775). He stopped for three days in the bay of Hanga-roa, now

175 Cooks Bay, which thereafter became the usual anchorage. Cook himself went ashore for a short while and saw only the beach of Hanga-roa and the ahu nearby, but George Forster and some others made an excursion toward the heights now occupied by the village of Hanga-roa. The second day a party reconnoitered the interior of the island. They followed the slopes of Rano-kao, passed by Orito, and reached the south coast near Vinapu. There they walked along the shore beyond Ovahe, presumably not far from Akahanga Bay, for they saw the first isolated statues standing nearby. Halfway between Ovahe and Akahanga some members of the expedition must have ascended one of the hills of the interior, as they distinctly perceived the north coast. On the way back J. R. Forster, who had joined the party, climbed the crater of Punapau and saw the quarry with the big, red tufa hats scattered about.

175 609 During the three days, the natives were friendly and willing to trade the products of their land for small articles, Tahitian tapa, and coconut shells. Sly thievery was manifested on every occasion; one native was wounded by a shot when he tried to steal a bag from an English officer. The women gave themselves to the seamen without restraint and for the most trifling gifts.

175 Disappointed by the meager resources of the land and anxious about the weather, Cook sailed with an incomplete knowledge of the island. The accounts of Cook (53) and the two Forsters (83, 84) emphasize the barrenness of the island, the small number of inhabitants, and their poverty in contrast with the size of the statues and the impressiveness of the other monuments. Thus began the mystery of Easter Island. Cook's landing may have coincided with a destructive war which went against the people of the Tuu district, decimating the population of the south and west coasts.

175 609 La Pérouse, leading a French expedition, landed at Hanga-roa in 1786. His time ashore was devoted to observing native behavior and looking at the monuments. Taking advantage of the moderation and patience he had imposed on his crew, the natives committed the most daring thefts, taking away the hats of the visitors and picking their pockets. The women collaborated in this general pilfering or "offered their favors to those who were willing to give them presents" (130). Some native men, as had been observed by Gonzalez' officers, acted as go-betweens in the hope of reward and even obliged young girls to prostitute themselves. A few natives who seemed to have some authority over the others pretended to stop the thieving, but they never caught the culprits and were discovered to be no more scrupulous than the others. At the end of the day a little fight with the natives took place as the consequence of stealing a grapnel, but nobody was killed. La Pérouse was especially shocked by the apparent hypocrisy of the natives. He complains (130, vol. 1, p. 75) that "the Indian who had just received a present, and

175

appeared the most eager to render us a thousand services, was, in reality, 609
ever the most to be suspected."

Following Cook's example, La Pérouse sent an expedition to explore the 175
interior of the island. This party, led by M. de Langle, covered almost the same route as that of the English, and very few new data were recorded. The reconnaissance of the south coast was not carried farther than Ovahe. On the way back the party ascended the Rano-kao, and one of the members even descended into the crater, where he examined the lake and the fringe of vegetation around its edge.

The visit of La Pérouse marks the first attempt of white men to modify 175
native culture by introducing new plants and domestic animals. The gardener
of the expedition planted in appropriate soil cabbages, carrots, beets, corn, 177
gourds, oranges, lemons, and cotton (130, vol. 1, p. 90). A couple of goats, sheep, and pigs were presented to the natives. The islanders seem to have received no particular benefit from these gifts, and none of the animals or plants is mentioned by subsequent voyagers. Sixty years later, the same food sources were reintroduced by the missionaries. Brown (27, p. 64) claims to have heard a tradition which alluded to the pigs left by the French navigator. They were supposedly kept in a hole, fed on bananas and sweet potatoes, and finally eaten together with their litter. I found no evidence that the pigs referred to in the tradition were the hog and sow given by La Pérouse. They were designated to me as animals put on the island by a boat of more recent times.

The La Pérouse Expedition made an invaluable contribution to the ethno- 175
graphy of Easter Island. A geographical engineer, M. Bernizet, described
the houses and the monuments of the natives with the greatest technical accu- [114]
racy, and an artist represented them with exactness and ability.

In 1804 the Russian boat *Neva*, under Urey Lisiansky, sailed around the island for four days but made no attempt to land (143, pp. 51-60).

Shortly after the visit of the *Neva*, the captain of the American schooner 175
Nancy kidnapped 12 men and 10 women after a bloody combat with the
natives. The victims were to have been taken to the island of Massafuero, 648
where a colony was to be established for seal hunting. When the boat was three days off Easter Island, the prisoners were allowed on deck. The men immediately jumped overboard and swam in the direction of their home. Efforts of the captain to rescue them were vain. This same captain made
several raids on the island to recruit seamen for the same project. These [609]
attacks changed the friendly attitude of the natives toward foreigners to distrust and hostility. For this reason, when Alexander Adams, captain of the Hawaiian brig the *Kahu-manu* (1806) and Captain Winship of the *Albatross* (1809) arrived at the island they were unable to land (127, vol. 1, pp. 142-144).

175 In 1808 Captain Delano (5, pp. 355-358) skirted the north and the west coasts but could not go ashore because of the heavy surf in the bay of Hanga-roa.

175 In 1816, a Russian expedition under the leadership of Otto von Kotzebue landed at the island and was surprised at the distrust of the natives. However,
609 the islanders were eager to trade the products of their land for scraps of iron. In commercial transactions they manifested their customary cleverness in stealing and cheating. When the rowboats approached the shore the natives "ran about rejoiced, and shouted; signs of peace, threatening, stone throwing and shots, testimonies of friendship were exchanged" (127, vol. 3, p. 225). The first attempt to land was repelled by force "amidst laughing and joking," but a second attempt, supported by musket shots, succeeded. The Russians were immediately surrounded by a big crowd of men with painted faces who "danced with the most ridiculous motions and contortions of the body" and made a terrible noise. Stones were thrown and blank volleys were fired. The natives dispersed and fled behind rocks. Noticing that no harm was done, they poked fun at the intruders and became more and more aggressive. Kotzebue had to order his men to retire, and a few hours later left the island. This hasty departure prevented him and the German scientist, Adalbert von Chamisso, from making observations. The only scientific results of this visit were the inaccurate drawings of Choris. (See Kotzebue, 127, vol. 1, pp. 137-141; vol. 3, pp. 225-226; and Choris, 49, pp. 10-12.)

Beechey's experiences (15, vol. 1, pp. 40-61) with the Easter Islanders in 1825 were similar to those of Kotzebue. At first the natives were friendly and excited, swarming to meet the boat at Hanga-roa. "Bananas, yams, potatoes, sugar-cane, nets, idols were offered for sale, and some were even thrown into the boat, leaving their visitors to make what return they chose." Among the swimmers women were numerous and they "were equally or more anxious to get into the boats than the men, and made use of every persuasion to induce the crew to admit them." The crowd surrounding the boats stole every article they saw and "the women were no less active in these piracies than the men, for if they were not the actual plunderers, they procured the opportunity for others, by engrossing the attention of the seamen by their caresses and ludicrous gestures" (15, vol. 1, p. 44). When the Englishmen had disembarked, the pilfering continued amid terrible confusion and renewed excitement. The natives then turned to real plundering, and the visitors decided to retreat to their boat. This was the signal for a general assault, and showers of stones were thrown at the troup hurrying to reembark. A discharge was made on the natives, and one of them, perhaps a chief, was killed. Beechey left the island that day. No new knowledge was gained by his visit, but he gave a good description of the north coast, especially of the bay of Hangoteo.

In 1822 the skipper of an American whaling ship paused at Easter Island long enough to kidnap a group of girls who were thrown overboard the following day and obliged to swim back to the island when they left the ship. One of the officers, simply for amusement, shot a native with his gun (162, vol. 2, p. 279).

At a session of the Royal Geographical Society (172, vol. 14, p. 117) Mr. P. P. Blyth reported that he visited Easter Island in 1826.

Moerenhout (162, vol. 1, pp. 23-28) passed Easter Island on one of his voyages from South America to Tahiti. A native boarded the ship and invited the sailors to go ashore, alluding to the charms of the women. Moerenhout was told by other captains that the Easter Islanders made "shameful commerce" of their women and that venereal diseases were common among them. This statement indicates that the natives had already had more contact with white men, probably with whalers, than might be deduced from recorded visits.

A manuscript letter written by H. Cuming to Dr. Hooker (dated London, March 21, 1832) reveals that in 1831 the island was visited by the schooner *Discoverer*. Since the document is still unpublished it is of interest to reproduce the passage concerning Easter Island:

> On the 28th arrived at Easter Island and lay to all the day. Number of the natives came on board; were a lively good natured race, rather inclined to take anything portable but free to give for the merest trifle. Supplied us with Plantains, Yams, Sweet Potatoes and a Root called Cocos in the West Indies. Could not procure any botanical specimens from fear of the numerous inhabitants who lined the shore. Could not discover anything [311] larger than the Plantain and that was not high. The sides of the hills were extremely well cultivated, laid out in squares and in great number together.

Admiral du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, pp. 222-234) sailed along the coast of Easter Island (1838). Several native men and women, who swam to the ship, performed a dance on board. They tried to steal, and some suggested that the crew go ashore where they would find an abundance of food and women.

The visit of the English frigate *Portland* (1852) is known only by the brief allusion of Palmer (171, p. 169) in his address to the Royal Geographical Society in which he mentions some ethnographical observations made by the officers of the ship.

In 1856, The Friend, a journal published in Honolulu, printed a letter from James Hamilton, master of the bark *Prudence*, who lost one man in a fight with the Easter Islanders. He made an attempt to trade with the natives, but they capsized the boat which went ashore, and tried to take the clothes of the crew. The second officer was killed and the boat steersman taken ashore but rescued the second day.

175 ashore but rescued the second day. James Hamilton observed that the Easter Islanders had boats of the European type. "I do not think," he remarks, [177] "they came honestly by them, if so I think the master who gave them knowing their character for treachery, is highly culpable for I think a ship would not be safe off here, and I think there are strong reasons for that opinion from the value they appeared to set upon mine, and they know a ship's value; it would be of immense value to them." Frequent visits of the whalers to Easter Island are mentioned by Father Ollivier (165, vol. 38, p. 46).

175 648 About 1859, exploitation of the guano on the islands off the Peruvian coast was a prosperous business, but the number of workers was insufficient. The recruiting of labor by force became a flourishing industry. As early as 1859 or 1860 some Easter Islanders were kidnapped from their island and sold as slaves, but in 1862 a real war expedition was planned against the island. The only official version of this raid, which was to have such dire consequences for the island, is the following report of the French Prosecutor in Papeete (129, pp. 543-544):

> The *Cora* left the Callao the 4th of December 1862 with the mission of recruiting workers throughout Oceania. Arrived on Easter Island, the 19th of December, she found 7 ships of the same country which were already there for the same purpose. The captains of these different vessels who had hoped to obtain workers by persuasion resolved to kidnap them. The 23 of December a gang composed of 80 of these scoundrels, among whom were 7 or 8 men of the *Cora*, went ashore with their weapons, under the command of the captain of the *Rosa-Carmen*.
>
> They spread themselves out while several members of the crew attracted the natives by showing them articles which excited their greed. When about 500 natives were gathered, the chief of the pirates gave the signal, which was a revolver shot. To this signal the men answered with a volley, and about ten natives fell never to rise again. The others, terrified, tried to escape, running in all directions, some diving into the sea, others climbing the rocks; but 200 were captured and firmly tied up. A witness says that the captain of the *Cora*, Aiguirre, discovered two Indians in a cave trying to escape. As he could not convince them to come with him, he cruelly killed them. The 200 kidnapped natives were divided among the ships, which sailed some days later.

The commander of the *Topaze* (1868) says in his report (180, p. 141) that the natives who went in their canoes to barter with the Peruvian ships were captured first and then the seamen landed and kidnapped others. Several hundred were taken in that way. In 1915 there were still some old men who remembered this event. For Mrs. Routledge (194, p. 205) they illustrated by action how the raiders threw to the ground gifts which they thought most likely to attract the inhabitants and how, when the islanders were on their knees scrambling for the gifts, they tied their hands behind their backs and carried them off to the waiting ship. Among those kidnapped were the king, Kaimakoi, and his son, Maurata as well as most of the learned men (*maori*). They all died on the guano islands. The raid completely disheartened the natives. To escape from future slave raids the islanders took refuge in the

caves, where they lived in great discomfort and constant anxiety, neglecting 175
the cultivation of their fields.

At the request of Mgr. Jaussen, representation was made to the Peruvian 648
government by the French minister in Lima. The British government backed
France in demanding justice for the enslaved islanders. Orders were given 175
to assemble the blackbirds at Callao so that they might be sent back to their 648
homes. Tuberculosis, smallpox, and the change of living conditions and 731
climate, together with unsuitable food and the hardships of guano digging on the barren islands off the Peruvian coast had killed about 900 natives in less than one year. Before the surviving 100 could be put on board ship, many of them contracted smallpox and 85 died before the end of the journey. Only 15 were landed on the island, and they carried with them the infection of smallpox, which in a very short time decimated the rest of the population. The casualties caused by the epidemic are said to have been in the thousands (64, pp. 256-257). Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 662) adds: "The inexperience of the natives, the lack of remedies, their imprudent practices, all increased the number of victims to such an extent that they were unable to bury them."

During these few years the native culture crumbled; the old racial order 175
was destroyed, the population reduced to one third or one quarter of its size,
and the transmission of the religious and moral traditions was suddenly interrupted. 178
Internecine wars completed the island's ruin. Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 662) writes:

> The former inhabitants of the island had left rather good plantations. Those who 175
> remained had an easy living and indulged in their natural laziness, not caring to insure
> their future by working. But when they came to the time to share the products of the 178
> fields, quarrels arose which rapidly degenerated into dangerous wars. These fights brought
> waste and plundering and consequently starvation. That is why the population decreased 181
> so rapidly.

Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 257) alludes to this period of anarchy and misery in the following terms:

> The mortality caused by misery and famine is increasing rapidly. The plantations have been plundered and they give scarcely any sweet potatoes, which these unhappy people eat half raw. It must be added that laziness and carelessness make their situation even worse. It is necessary for some brother with the energy of Brother Eyraud to start new plantations in the lands near the sea in order that help may be given to this starving people. It would be possible then to take care of all the children, made orphans by the death of their parents or by abandonment, who lead vagrant lives.

At this time, not before, there developed the gap between present and 175
past which makes so difficult the understanding of many aspects of the Easter
Island culture. The missionaries were struck by the native's lack of interest 178
in their traditions and lack of knowledge of their history. They were surprised also to notice how little was left of the old religion and of the ancient social organization.

175 797 177 609 The first white man who settled on the island was Eugène Eyraud, a layman of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Picpus. He landed in Hanga-roa at the beginning of 1863, with some Easter Islanders who had been rescued from a Peruvian ship. The natives were not hostile to him, but they stole most of his goods. During the first year spent among the islanders, Eyraud was constantly exposed to larcenies, especially by one native, Torometi, who had made himself a benevolent but tyrannic protector of the missionary. The natives tried to put to practical use the knowledge of Eyraud by obliging him to build a boat. At the time when his life was becoming unbearable, a schooner with two priests arrived and took him back to Chile. Two years later, Eyraud returned to Easter Island, accompanied by Father Hyppolyte Roussel and three Mangarevans who had joined the missionaries to help in the conversion of the natives. At first the natives were openly opposed to the missionaries and hampered their work, but little by little they showed more willingness to learn prayers and hymns and in less than ten months the missionary and his assistants had gained strong influence over them. In the same year (1866) new missionaries went to the island—Father Gaspard Zumbohm and Brother Theodule Escolan.

175 177 797 Christianity made rapid progress among the Easter Islanders. The first to be converted were the children, a few adults, and then the women. The most refractory were the old chiefs. The missionaries had their headquarters at Hanga-roa but tried to spread their teachings throughout the island. Their success was almost complete when the chief of Hotu-iti received them with great ceremony. When, a few hours before his death in 1868, Brother Eyraud asked whether all the natives had been baptized, Roussel could answer that all were Christians. The last pagan had been taken into the church a few days before at the Feast of Assumption (113, pp. 90-154). Henceforth the natives were concentrated at Hanga-roa and Vaihu where they could receive a Christian education and be under the control of the missionaries.

Profound changes took place in the material situation of the natives in the course of four or five years. The missionaries spread new arts and crafts and taught the islanders to build plank houses and to make furniture. The beautiful fig trees of the village of Hanga-roa were planted by Father Roussel, and at that time were introduced the first oranges, peaches, corn, pumpkins, and beans. In 1864 Eyraud had taken with him some sheep, which the natives stole and ate. Five years later, Father Roussel returned from a visit to Chile with a shipload of cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, donkeys, and even cats, for rats were abundant on that island.

177 Interesting for their native psychology and for the history of the first

Interesting for their native psychology and for the history of the first
contact between European and native cultures are the anecdotes told by Zum- 177
bohm (230, vol. 5, p. 666): 152

> When the first horse was taken ashore the natives were greatly excited. "Some ran away as fast as they could, others lay on the ground. Those who were sufficiently brave to consider the strange thing a bit closer were not a little amazed when they saw the animal divide into two pieces when the rider dismounted." The islanders seem to have realized what a marvelous invention the wheel was. "When the wheelbarrow was loaded and set in motion, our islanders shouted with sheer admiration; the turning wheel was to them a living thing."
>
> In 1935, officers of the *Mercator* rode bicycles on the island. Though the natives were acquainted with cars and other vehicles, the bicycles created genuine bewilderment. Many made the sign of the cross and muttered "Tatane", expressing thus the fear that the device was the work of the devil.

In 1868 the English battleship *Topaze* visited the island and took away 114
the statue called Hoa-haka-nana-ia, which stood in a house of Orongo. Palmer
(171), the surgeon on the ship, made a rapid survey of the island and went 175
as far as Rano-raraku, which he described for the first time. His scanty
information about native life shows how greatly the old culture had been
impaired. The most valuable data were given him by Roussel.

Captain Ignacio L. Gana, who has written a much-quoted treatise (86) about the island, visited it on the Chilean corvette *O'Higgins*, which stopped there in 1870. All of Gana's information derives from Roussel; unfortunately the Chilean officer either misunderstood or altered the original statements of the missionary so that his information is misleading.

The successful work of the missionaries was brutally interrupted in 1870 175
by the activities of a French adventurer, Dutroux-Bornier, who settled on
the island. Dutroux-Bornier bought from the natives, for some pieces of 721
cloth, the place called Mataveri, one of the most fertile lands of the island. 777
Later he associated—for the exploitation of the island—with a wealthy trader
of Tahiti, Mr. Brander. Very soon Dutroux-Bornier quarreled with the mis-
sionaries and started an open war against them. He was supported by the
natives who had left the village of Hanga-roa to live with him in Mataveri and
by the people of Anakena who were envious of those of Hanga-roa. Toro-
meti, who seems to have been a chief or a man with considerable influence,
joined Dutroux-Bornier. The people of Mataveri made several raids, which
were reciprocated by the people of Hanga-roa. A war broke out in which the
huts of both sides were burned and some men killed. Dutroux-Bornier went
so far as to shell the village with gunfire. Every day Dutroux-Bornier's men
plundered Hanga-roa and Vaihu which were at last entirely destroyed. Finally
Bishop Tepano Jaussen ordered the missionaries to depart from a place where
no more work could be done. The same year Brander sent a boat to Easter 167
Island to recruit part of the population for his plantations in Tahiti. He had 175
promised that this boat would carry all the natives willing to settle with the

167 missionaries in Mangareva. The whole population decided to abandon their
175 home country, but about 175 were obliged to remain because the ship was too small or, more likely, because Dutroux-Bornier needed workers and induced the captain to manage so that enough islanders were left.

175 On June 24, 1871, the Russian corvette *Vitiaz* stopped for a few hours in the bay of Hanga-roa. Apparently nobody went ashore and the information about the island published by Miklukho-Maklay was obtained in Mangareva from Father Roussel where the Russian sloop stopped for four days.

In 1872, the French warship *La Flore*, under Admiral F. T. de Lapelin touched briefly at Easter Island. The head of a large statue on the Hanga-roa ahu (ahu Ana-koiroroa) was taken aboard to be presented to a French museum. Pierre Loti, who was then a midshipman on board the *La Flore*, wrote a description (146) more poetical and romantic than accurate, which has popularized in France the legend and the mystery of Easter Island.

The French warship *Seignelay* visited the island in 1877, a few days after the natives had murdered Dutroux-Bornier. At that time, there was apparently nothing left of the work of the missionaries. The French traveler, Pinart (178), who accompanied the *Seignelay*, made a rapid survey of the archaeological remains on the island, paying slight attention to the native life.

After 1877, the ships which called at Easter Island became so numerous that it is unnecessary to mention their visits unless they have added to our information about the past of the island or have effected some changes in the life of the islanders. Since 1864 white men have been permanently established on the island; through them and Tahitians much of European influence has come to the natives.

175 After the death of Dutroux-Bornier, Alexander P. Salmon, associate of
177 Brander, took his place on the island. Salmon, who was an intelligent man and half Tahitian, understood native ways. Certainly he has done more than anyone else to modify the ideas and the material life of the Easter Islanders. Economically the changes were important—more cattle were introduced, and in 1886 there were already 18,000 sheep on the island.

175 Geiseler visited the island in 1882 as commander of the German sloop
114 *Hyane*. In the few days he spent there, he made the most complete ethnological collection which has ever been obtained from the island and gathered much important data.

The American ship *Mohican* stopped at Easter Island for 11 days at the end of 1886. Paymaster Thomson and Dr. Cooke, surgeon of the ship, made a general survey of the archaeology of the island and recorded precious ethnological data. Thomson's report on Easter Island is perhaps, aside from the narratives of the first discoverers, the most important source on the past of the island, but Salmon, who was on the island at the time of the visits of Geiseler and Thomson, must be credited for most of the data and the

documents which have been recorded. The chants and native poetry published 175
by Thomson were transcribed and translated by Salmon, who also obtained 114
the long list of kings which is given in the same paper.

During 1914-1915 Mrs. Routledge spent 16 months on the island and thoroughly studied its archaeology and ethnology. Unfortunately only the popular account (194) of this expedition and a monograph on Orongo (195) have been published. Routledge's survey seems to have been very detailed, and it is regrettable that her findings have not been made available.

Although France had certain rights on the island, she formally renounced 175
them, and in 1888 the Chilean captain, Policarpo Toro, annexed the island
for Chile. An unsuccessful attempt at colonization was made by Pedro Toro 648
Hurtado, who took a group of Chileans to the island. Mr. H. Merlet of Valparaiso acquired from the representatives of Brander, Dutroux-Bornier, and Salmon the interests they held on Easter Island. The Chilean government leased the whole island with the exception of the village of Hanga-roa and the near-by lands which remained the property of the natives. The interests purchased by Merlet were sold to the Compania Explotadora de la Isla de Pascua (Williamson and Balfour Co.) who still own the land.

Every year the Chilean training ship *Baquedano* goes to Easter Island. 648
The commander of the ship has a supervisory authority and settles all the conflicts which have arisen during the year. Unfortunately the *Baquedano* stops at the island for only a few days, and the various problems of the natives can receive but superficial treatment. The training ship carries to the island old clothes given by Chilean families. These are distributed among the natives, very often in exchange for curios.

The Williamson and Balfour Co. is the only real link the natives have with 177
western civilization. It gives them work and the opportunity to buy the Euro-
pean articles and food they need. Of the 61 square miles, 7.72 square miles 423
belong to the natives; the rest belongs to the company. At present the natives have more land than they need and cultivate only a part of it. When a young couple marries, the government gives them 10 hectares. Perhaps in the distant future, if the population continues to increase at the present rate, the islanders will need more land. With the exception of employees of the company, the natives are not allowed to cross the boundaries of the strip of land which is
reserved for them. This measure, which may seem drastic, has been taken to 674
prevent sheep stealing, which is carried on by natives as a kind of sport. Despite barbed wire, no week passes in which they fail to organize a raid on the sheep. Between two and three thousand animals disappeared thus in 1934.

A few natives are permanent employees of the company. They watch the 464
gates which give access to the company's property, form night patrols, and do routine work on the farms. At shearing time most of the young men and women on the island gather at Vai-tea, the farm in the middle of the island,

464 for a fortnight of intense activity. Shearing is their only means of making
money to acquire necessary goods. They are paid according to the number
of sheep they shear per day. Those who are skillful may earn as much as
[465] two or three hundred pesos during the season; even young girls make as
much as 12 pesos a day. Such salaries, when compared with those of the
working classes in Chile, are bountiful. Shearing time is the greatest event
of the year, and it has taken the place of the old native feasts. The work,
with its competitive aspect and the gathering of the young people in an
isolated part of the island, breaks the monotony of daily life.

The standard salary for a day's work, established by the Chilean government,
465 is 4 pesos plus half a sheep and other minor rations. The company
has taken great care to give the natives a chance to benefit from the exploitation
of the island. Export of corn has recently become a possible source
of profit, and the company has tried to encourage the natives to cultivate
maize. At the present time only two or three natives have taken advantage
of this new source of income.

435 The most coveted foreign goods are clothes, soap, and perfume. The
first things the natives ask for aboard a foreign ship are shirts and trousers.
439 Money is accepted, but a shirt is preferred to a sum of money four or five
463 times as great as the value of the article. In order to obtain clothes, they
resort to the making of curios, the most flourishing industry of the island.
The men carve wooden images, canes, and swords; and the women plait hats,
crowns, or feather strings. Most individuals are able to produce these articles,
but some are unusually gifted and have specialized in their crafts. Those
who want a stock of curios to trade during the visit of a ship may acquire
from the experts articles to trade on their own account. As the ships that
visit the island are generally warships or freighters, it is easier for the men
to get clothes than for the women, and any textile which may be used by
women has a high value on the island.

435 Soap comes after clothes in the scale of value. Natives are always willing
439 to work or to exchange curios for soap. Combs, mirrors, cheap rings, or
earrings are begged for, but not so eagerly coveted.

The islanders rely mostly on the products of their land for food, but
276 imported products are always welcome changes in the monotony of their
439 menus. Flour, rice, and sugar are either bought at the company store or
received as part payment for their work. The tobacco which grows on the
island is considered too strong by the natives, who prefer Chilean cigarettes.
Smoking is a widespread habit, especially among women.

Numerous conflicts have arisen between the natives and the company.
152 Stealing has been one of the chief sources of trouble, but many other difficulties
648 have come from the turbulent spirits of the natives and from their easily
excited imaginations. Easter Islanders are apt to believe the most unfounded

rumors, and are easily convinced that others nourish bad intentions toward 152
them. The most serious recent conflict occurred in 1914 (194, pp. 141-149); 648
the natives, encouraged by an old woman named Angata, killed a great many
animals and claimed possession of the cattle and land. The uprising was
provoked by the action of a white man, but Angata kindled the animosity of
the natives by dreams in which God supposedly revealed His will to her. Sure
of divine protection, they became very daring. The agitation finally subsided,
as such things usually do among the natives who indulge in novelties and
soon grow tired of them. There have been more recent disturbances, but
none so grave as that witnessed by Routledge. However, since the natives
are constantly incited against the company, it is probable that trouble will
again arise.

The most interesting aspect of the culture of present-day natives is their 771
very sincere and deep attachment to the Catholic church, though the mission- 794
aries did not stay long on the island. The last pagans were baptized only two 797
years before the destruction of the mission. After the departure of the mis-
sionaries, the island was without a priest for 16 years. In 1886 Father Hippo-
lyte Roussel returned to the island for 6 months. He was accompanied by
Father Albert Montiton. Later, several priests visited the island but stayed
only a short time. Recently some Chilean priests have remained longer,
among them Father Bienvenido Estella, who has written an account of his
experience in Easter Island (80). However, for various reasons, no priest
resides there permanently and rites are performed by a catechist of Man-
garevan origin. Every day the natives gather in the church to make their
prayers together; on Sunday they celebrate a kind of mass, and four times
a week they spiritually associate themselves with the masses celebrated
throughout the world. The hymns taught by the French missionaries are
still sung in the church and the tradition is kept alive by a singing school,
presided over by women whose mothers had received the teachings of mis-
sionaries. The grip of Christianity has been so strong that very few pagan
beliefs or practices have survived. The fear of ghosts and the importance
given to prayers are the only traces of primitive religion.

METEOROLOGY

NIGHTS OF THE MOON

The old Polynesian system of counting time by lunar months in which 177
each night had an individual name was abandoned by the natives when they 805
became Christians. The new faith could not be adapted without the Roman
calendar upon which are based all the feasts prescribed by the Catholic Church.
The natives are so scrupulous in observance of these holy days that it is not
surprising that the European calendar has entirely superseded the primitive
system of reckoning time. The old life was so deeply transformed by contact

177 805 with the new civilization that importance was no longer given to the phases of the moon as a guide for fishing and planting.

805 The confusion in the list of the nights of the moon is due to the decadence of native life after 1864. Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 234), one of the first missionaries on the island, says that the natives had difficulty in correlating the lunar month with the solar year and that bitter quarrels arose on that account, even after the coming of the Europeans. Only a few names of nights of the moon are still remembered. They are used as descriptive terms for phases of the moon and not as part of a system. Thomson (215, p. 546) obtained from Salmon, in 1886, a list of nights of the moon. Some confusion and errors have crept into this list and some names are lacking.

192 805 The Easter Islanders divided the lunar month into two halves; the first half ended with the full moon on the 15th or 17th night, and the second half ended with the waning moon. The following list of names is based on Thomson's list (215, p. 546), revised in spelling and sequence by Dr. P. H. Buck so as to correspond with other Polynesian systems. Names in parentheses are forms printed in Thomson's account. The prefix *o* was undoubtedly added before some names by the Tahitian, Salmon.

Nights of the Moon

1. Tireo
2. Hiro
3. Ata (Oata)
4. Ari (Oari)
5. Kokore tahi
6. Kokore rua
7. Kokore toru
8. Kokore ha
9. Kokore rima
10. Kokore ono
11. Maharu
12. Hua (Ohua)
13. Atua (Otua)
14. Hotu (Ohotu)
15. Maure
16. Ina-ira
17. Rakau
18. Motohi
19. Kokore tahi
20. Kokore rua
21. Kokore toru
22. Kokore ha
23. Kokore rima
24. Tapume
25. Matua
26. Rongo (Orongo)
27. Rongo Tane (Orongo Taane)
28. Mauri-nui
29. Mauri-kero
30. Mutu (Omutu)

Thomson's list ends with Tueo (misspelling for Tiero), Oata, and Oari, which in other parts of Polynesia are names for the first nights of the moon. Thomson's list omits Hiro (2d night) which was given to me as the name for a new crescent moon. By transposing the names Tiero, Ari, and Ata, and inserting Hiro, the Easter Island list is brought into conformity with those of New Zealand, Tahiti, Cook Islands, and Tongareva, and the number of named nights is brought up to 30 as required by the lunar month which has 29.5 days.

Compared with nights of the moon in other parts of Polynesia, the Easter Island list presents some abnormalities that may be due to confusion or to the informant's lack of knowledge. Thus Ari is given as the 4th night in the Easter Island list; elsewhere it is the 10th (Cook, Tuamotu, Marquesas, New Zealand), the 11th (New Zealand, Tongareva, Tahiti), or the 9th (Manihiki). The Kokore series occurs everywhere except New Zealand and Tongareva. In the first half of the lunar month there are six Kokore nights; the number usually varies from two to four (Hawaii, Mangareva). These extra Kokore in Easter

Island may have been used to fill gaps, but it is impossible to say whether they were introduced in pre-European time or by Salmon's informant. The names of the middle period (10th to 17th nights) are usually single names, and their sequence is consistent throughout Polynesia. Easter Island is no exception to this rule, but Ari has been shifted, and Huna, the 11th or 12th night in other islands, has been dropped. Maitu, which is restricted to central Polynesia, and Marangi, usually the 16th night, do not appear in the lists of New Zealand or Easter Island. On Easter Island, Marangi is replaced by Ina-ira, which is a form without equivalent in Polynesia and may be a misprint. Maure, 15th night in Easter Island, is 16th night in New Zealand and 17th night in Mangareva. 192 805

The general Polynesian pattern for the last thirteen nights of the moon consists of three groups of three names and ends with four individual nights (28, p. 410). At one time Easter Island may have had the same sequence. The original regularity of this last period has been broken also in the Marquesas, Mangareva, and New Zealand. These discrepancies are to be attributed either to defective recording or to local innovations. In the Easter Island list Rakau is the name for the 17th instead of the 18th night, but is followed in correct sequence by Motohi (Motahi). Buck believes that the five Kokore, which follow in succession, never functioned in the pre-European culture of the island. They were probably added to replace forgotten names. Tapume and Matua (24-25) have no parallel elsewhere. Mauri was divided into Mauri-nui and Mauri-kero. Mauri-kero is found in the Marquesas and Tuamotus (28, p. 410). This list ends with Mutu, as in all other places except the Tuamotus, Marquesas, and Mangareva.

MONTHS

In recent times the names for the lunar months have been made equivalent to those of the Gregorian calendar. Formerly the natives recognized the difference between the two systems, and some lunar months in Thomson's list (215, p. 546) extend over two calendar months. [177]

The following list is based on my own documents. The equivalents in parentheses are those given by Thomson.

Tuuaharo: January (February)
Hehe-tuupu: February (Te tuupu, March)
Tarahau: March (April)
Vaitu-nui: April (May, big winter)
Vaitu-poto: May (June, short winter)
Te Maro: June (July)
Anakena: July (August)
Hora-iti: August (September, little summer)
Hora-nui: September (October, big summer)
Tangaroa-uri: October (part of November)
Ruti: November (December and January)
Koro: December (January)

A list collected by Martinez (151) agrees exactly with mine except that Koro is given for January and the succeeding names are shifted ahead one month. Thomson's list, recorded at an early date, expresses the uncertainty felt by the natives in making their lunar months correspond with the European calendar. However, this overlapping is indicated only for the summer months when Thomson was on the island. The other names are given as equivalent to European calendar months. Roussel (190) gives the following equivalents: October and November (Ora-nui), December and January (Ora), March

192 (Hora-nui), April (Hora), June (Maro), July (Anakena). He was unable to obtain other names.

805 According to Thomson (215, p. 546) and present natives, Anakena was the first month of the year. Thomson translates Anakena as August and suggests that the year began at that time because Hotu-matua landed at Anakena in that month, but my informants and Roussel (190) give Anakena as July. The fact that the ancient year commenced with July is very significant. The Maori dated the commencement of the year by the first moon after the rising of the Pleiades, which occurs in June in the southern hemisphere. The first two months of the year in Mangareva also seem to have been June and July and had some connection with the rising of the Pleiades (Matariki). (See 28, p. 413.)

Ora or Hora seems to have been the name of the warm season during trade winds (*ora*: zephyr, light wind). The trade winds become more regular in November and reach maximum regularity in February. The word *ora* cannot account for Hora-iti and Hora-nui, the terms given for August and September which are cold winter months. The name Hora-nui, given by Roussel to March, is possibly due to confusion. The term for winter is Tonga (Southern Wind).

SUN AND STARS

Common expressions are *ka hiti te raa* and *ngaro raa* or *raa topa* (the sun is rising or setting). Dawn is termed *huero,* which is probably a modern word; according to my informant, the old term was *uraura,* which also applied to the color of the sky at sunset. Other terms for periods of the day (*raa*) are: morning (*popohanga*), early morning about 3 a.m. (*te ao popohanga*), dawn (*te he mai te ata*), sunrise (*he otea, kumaehaa*), noon (*raa tini, raa too*), evening (*ahiahi*), night (*po*). The expression for yesterday is *angataiahi*; for the day before yesterday, *angatai-ahi atu* or *angatai-ahi era*. Tomorrow is *apo* and the day after tomorrow is *apo-era*.

192 821 The sun or moon in eclipse is *ku kai a te raa* or *ku kai a te mahina* (the sun being eaten, the moon being eaten). Present natives do not remember who eats the moon or the sun. Tepano suggested that it was the demon Katiki or Puakatiki but did not seem sure of it. He suggested also that the moon could be devoured by the sun.

Stars are termed *hetuu*; very luminous ones, *hetuu pupura*. Falling stars are *hetuu rere*; comets, *hetuu huero* or *huero*.

821 192 787 Near ahu Okahu on the west coast there is a small cave called Ana-ui-hetuu (The-cave-where-stars-were-seen). According to tradition this place was an observatory where priests watched the stars and a school where candidates for priesthood were instructed in the science of the stars. The principal duty of these priests was to put people on guard against the evil influence of

Matamea (Mars), Tautoru (The Belt of Orion), and Pau, a star which 821
appears in October or November. The appearance of these three stars in
October foretold death and evil. Fishermen were in danger of being caught 192
by fabulous sharks (*niuhi*). Everyone had to behave properly lest a member 787
of his family should disappear. At the end of the month, the priests climbed a tower (*tupa*) near the ahu and from there they announced to the crowd that the position of the stars had changed and that henceforth they could do no harm. Matamea and Tautoru were "bad" stars but Pau was sometimes bad and sometimes good. Reitanga is the name for Sirius. Near ahu Hihinatangi-kotea there are six boulders whose form and position are said to represent the Pleiades (Matariki) and to have been put there by Tuu-ko-ihu, the culture hero, to remind people that the Pleiades are sometimes dangerous and can bring death.

An obscure tradition connects Matamea (Mars) with the raising of cer- 821
tain crops. A tapu was observed as long as this star did not appear in the sky.

Routledge (194, p. 235) mentions an observatory on Poike:

> On the extremity of the eastern headland there is an outcrop of boulders, one of which is incised with a spiral design; the place is known as "Ko Te Papa-ui-hetuu", or "The Rock-for-seeing-stars" and here the old men came to watch the constellations. About two hundred yards from these boulders there is another engraved stone on which ten cup-shaped depressions are visible; this represented, it is said, "a map of the stars."

The natives did not show me this place and never mentioned it in discussions. Artificial depressions in rows or files are very frequent near the [172]
ancient settlements. Various natives interpret them differently as drops of rain, enemies slain by a famous warrior, tattooing marks, and so on.

Routledge (194, p. 235) gives the legend of the children changed into 821
stars as the only nature myth she obtained on Easter Island. It was intro-
duced recently by Tahitians and does not refer, as she suggests, to Orion 773
but to 3° Scorpio or Scorpii. The Tahitian origin of the myth is well remem- 177
bered by the natives, who told it to me as follows:

> A woman went to a place where there was a feast. She saw the feast and came back with her children. Her husband saw that she was not at home and stayed to watch when she would come back. When the wife came, he asked her, "Where are you coming from?" "I come from the feast with the children." "Who told you to go to the feast?" She answered: "I went there by myself."
>
> The man beat the woman, he hurt her, and she fled with the children to the sky and remained fastened there. The man shouted, "E pipiri ma, come back." "No, we shall not return; we shall stay here forever."

Routledge (194, p. 235) gives a slightly different version in which the woman was carried off by a stranger. The husband slew her, and she fled to the sky and was changed into a star. The husband took their two boys and followed her to the sky, " . . . where the three form the belt of Orion."

This myth is very popular in Tahiti and from there has spread to the

821 Tuamotus and perhaps to Mangareva (201, p. 488). The original Tahitian
myth has been changed on Easter Island. In Tahiti (38, pp. 114-115) and
773 in the Tuamotus (201, p. 488) the two children went to the sky because they
177 were angry at their parents who neglected to give them the products of a
fishing party. Both parents fled to the sky in pursuit and the four were
changed into stars.

WINDS

192 In Easter Island, as in other parts of Polynesia, the winds are named
821 according to the direction from which they blow, and the same terms are
used for the directions. I recorded the following wind names:

Tokerau: north
Papakino: north and west
Tongariki: northeast
Marengorengo (Mareioreio), Matatohio: east
Anoraro, Ohohe (?): southeast
Motu-rauri, Puhi-orongo: south
Vaitarai, Tangaroa-aria: west

The present natives do not know the exact direction of the winds. Tongariki is the name of an important ahu on the south coast, and, as *tonga* means south in most Polynesian dialects, it is very likely that Tonga-riki was also the name of the south wind. *Tonga* means winter as well. Papakino are bad (*kino*) stormy winds from north and west. Puhi-orongo (south wind) denotes the village of Orongo, on the southwestern promontory, from which the wind blows. Motu-rauri designates a rock off the south shore. Roussel (191) translates *tokerau* as south (*tokerau tai*, south sea), but *tokerau* is also the general name for wind. In Mangareva and the Tuamotus, *tokerau* means north wind. In referring to the north wind as being dangerous to the Miru, Tepano used the word *tokerau*.

A light breeze is *ara*, a strong wind accompanied by a squall is *matangi* or *puhi*, a calm is called *tae makenu*.

Some winds were considered hostile to certain tribes whose enemies are said to have attacked them when those winds blew. The winds called Papakino "made the Miru shy" and favored the Tupa-hotu. The winds Tangaroa-aria and Veki were unlucky for the Marama, and the Marengorengo (Mareioreio) and Runapiropiro boded ill for Ngaure. The members of a tribe are born and die during the blowing of their own wind.

Matangi was the general name given to me for clouds, but it seems to have been used also for a cloud that announced a strong wind. Roussel gives the word *kohu* for mist or fog. The natives classify clouds on a color basis. In this list the word *rangi* (sky) is used as a synonym for cloud. Other terms are: *rangi pungi* (big cumuli), *rangi teatea* (white clouds), *rangi uri* (dark clouds), *rangi punga kirikiri miri* (clouds alternately white and gray like the bark of certain trees), *rangi e ata* (red clouds).

TRADITIONAL HISTORY

There is no other Polynesian island whose past is so little known as that of Easter Island. This is largely due to sudden reductions of population (pp. 20-23) and the complete acceptance of European culture and belief. Fifteen years ago there were still a few men who remembered the ancient culture. Now (1934) there are only two old women who were born before the Christian era. The information on past history which may be gathered is not in the form of direct testimony, but rather in indirect evidence, emanating from a few survivals of the past. 173

Material on traditional history of Easter Island is limited to several lists of kings which are of dubious value and to a few legends, almost exclusively concerned with the period of settlement, the rivalry between the Long-ears and the Short-ears, and the war between Tuu and Hotu-iti districts. The first period of traditional history deals with the migration, settlement, and great deeds of Hotu-matua and his followers. After this is the long period extending to the present time, in which the only recorded events are intertribal wars, manifestations of the mana of kings, and some incidents such as the discovery of obsidian or the tumbling down of the statues. The struggle between Long-ears and Short-ears is a tale too simple to justify the intercalation of a separate period between the settlement era and the later ages. Lacking genealogies, traditional history of Easter Island has no chronological guide.

SETTLEMENT PERIOD

Sources

Traditions referring to the settlement period were collected at a very early date. Roussel's recently published manuscript (190, p. 357) contains the earliest account of the landing of the first king at Anakena, as told by the natives. It is likely that the brief allusions made by Palmer (171, p. 180) and Gana (86, p. 32) to the same legend derive from the same source and were communicated to them by Roussel. Thanks to the intelligent curiosity of Alexander Salmon, Thomson (215, pp. 526-529) was able to get a complete and detailed native version of the voyage of Hotu-matua and the discovery of Easter Island. Salmon told the same legend to Clark (52, p. 145). Mrs. Routledge had the good fortune to get from an old native another version, abundant with details which even Thomson's text lacks. Juan Tepano, my informant, dictated to me in the native language a fairly good text on the same subject, enabling me to understand much obscure information, discarded or misinterpreted by former investigators. The legend of Hotu-matua as published by Brown (27, pp. 39-42) has the same origin. Despite some divergencies, there is unity between the various versions which seems to indicate a body of traditions which has been transmitted in a fixed pattern. 114 173

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT

173 The first immigrants to Easter Island came from an island called either Marae-renga (115, p. 241, and Tepano) or Marae-toe-hau (215, p. 527), or from both these islands (194, p. 277). All the natives agree that their ancestors came from the west, and this seems to be the opinion commonly held in the past. Salmon told Clark (52, p. 145) and Thomson (215, p. 527) that the land of Hotu-matua lay to the east, but, in his later interview with Geiseler (87, p. 43), he recognized that this belief contradicted other native opinion. Belief in the eastern origin of their ancestors was held by those natives who considered the Galapagos Islands the sailing point of the immigrants. The inconsistency of this tradition is shown by the fact that the Galapagos have been uninhabited up to the present time and were unknown to Easter Islanders until after European contact.

114 173 The version told to me of the arrival of Hotu-matua on Easter Island makes no mention of the antecedents of the migrators nor the causes, real or otherwise, which induced the king to search for a new home. Thomson (215, pp. 527-528) and Routledge (194, pp. 277-278) give abundant, though varying, details concerning the preliminary causes of this migration. Perhaps the incompatibility of important details suggests, instead of differences in traditions concerning that period, a long and involved series of episodes which could easily have been confused or forgotten. Thomson's version, which is the more ancient as well as the more consistent, is not entirely reliable and many things seem to have been misinterpreted. Routledge's text is apparently incomplete. According to both versions, Hotu-matua was a king on Marae-renga and had succeeded his father whose name was Te-Riri-ka-atea. Routledge (194, p. 277) writes that Hotu-matua's departure from the island was the consequence of a quarrel between him and his brother, Te-Ita-ke-atea. Hotu-matua was defeated and obliged to go in search of a new country.

173 All the versions of the settlement legend agree that Hotu-matua was not the first man to sight the island but that he had been preceded by six men who landed a little before he did. The circumstances under which these six men left their country to look for a new land are given by Routledge (194, p. 278):

> Now there was on one of the islands a certain Haumaka, who had tattooed Hotu, and received from him in return a present of mother of pearl which had been given to Hotu's father by an individual called Tuhu-patoea. Tuhu had seen that the men who went down to get pearls were eaten by a big fish, so he invented a net by which the precious shell could be obtained without risk, and the pearl so procured he had presented to his chief, Ko Riri. This man, Haumaka, had a dream, and during it his spirit went to a far country, and when he awoke he told six men, whose names are given, to go and seek for it; they were to look for a land where there were three islets and a big

> hole, also a long and beautiful road.[8] So the six men went, each on a piece of wood, and they found the three islets, Motu Nui, Motu Iti, Motu Kao-kao, and the big hole, which was the crater of Rano Kao. They landed on that part of the island and planted yams, and then walked round the island, beginning by the south coast.

Far more romantic is Thomson's version (215, p. 530) wherein Hotu-matua had a brother called Machaa (?) who was in love with a beautiful girl whom another chief, Oroi, wanted to marry. The woman promised Oroi she would be his wife if he could walk around the island "without stopping to eat, or to rest by day or night." People had to carry food for him to eat during his tour, and Oroi was even accompanied during the first few miles by the girl. But the same night she eloped with Machaa (?). The story continues:

> Oroi did not hear this news until he had arrived at the farther end of the island; then he returned directly to his home, where he prepared a great feast to which he summoned all the warriors of his clan. The indignity that had been put upon him was related, and all present registered a vow that they would never rest until Hotu-matua and his entire family had been put to death. Machaa (?), alarmed by the wrath of Oroi, embarked with six followers and his bride in a large double canoe; with plenty of provisions they sailed in the night. "The great spirit Mekemeke is supposed to have appeared and made it known to him that a large uninhabited island could be found by steering towards the setting sun."

If Thomson's information were entirely consistent, there would have been no reason for Hotu-matua to leave his home island after his brother who had offended Oroi was gone. But Oroi supposedly turned his wrath against Hotu-matua and defeated him in three battles. Thomson (215, p. 528) explains Hotu-matua's flight as follows:

> Discouraged by his misfortune, and convinced that his ultimate capture and death were certain, he determined to flee from the island of Marae-toe-hau, and accordingly had two large canoes, 90 feet long and 6 feet deep, provisioned and prepared for a long voyage. In the night, and on the eve of another battle they sailed away, with the understanding that the setting sun was to be their compass.

Tepano, who told me my version of the legend, says that the six men were sent out by King Hotu-matua to make a reconnaissance. The canoe in which these six men went to Easter Island is alluded to in my text as "oraora miro", an expression now incomprehensible to the natives but consecrated by tradition as the name of the craft used by the first discoverers of the island. The modern equivalent of *oraora* is "garbage, excrement, dirty things," and *miro* means "wood." Routledge (194, p. 278) must have heard this name for the boat for she speaks of the craft as "a piece of wood." Brown (27, p. 40), who also worked with Tepano, uses the name "oraora-ngaru" which he interprets as "saved-from-the-billows." Tepano's version, given below, contains many references to the dreams and the predictions of a certain Haumaka, but

---

[8] Probably refers to a sandy beach. The narrator could hardly have spoken of a road since the island was uninhabited.

173 his name is mentioned only once in the compound name designating Rano-kao as The Black-pit-of-Haumaka (Te Poko-uri-a-Haumaka).

HOTU-MATUA

173
539

He hakaunga mai a Hotu-matua e ono tangata i runga i *Te Oraora-miro*. He oho mai, he rarama i te kona mo noho o te ariki. He ki mai Hotu-matua: "E ui te kona riva-riva oone mo noho o te ariki." He oho mai tau nga io era i runga i *Te Oraora-miro*. He tomo a te motu Ki-nga-kope-tutu-vai-a-te-Toanga. He rere, he oho mai, he tomo ki Te Pu. He iri, he oho, he ea ki Orongo. He oho mai Orongo, he tuu ki te kona ko Ana-marikuru. He tuu, he puke i te uhi. He oti te puke i te uhi, he uru i te uhi. He oti te uru, he oho mai, he rarama.

He ui ki te rano, he ki: "Ko te Poko-uri-a-Haumaka." He oho mai, he tuu ki Te Manavai, he tuu ki Hangavaka-o-Tuapoi. He oho mai ki Oroi, ki Anavaero, He ui era ki Rungavae, ki Hanga-tetenga. He oho era a ono nga io ki Hanga-ikiri, ki Vai-moai, ki Hanga-mai-hiku, ki Atama. He ui Atama, he ki: "He niuhi tapa kai i motu Motero-hiva."

He oho hakahou ki Hanga-tuhata. He oho hakahou ki Oone-tea. He ki: "Ira i te kona mo te ariki mo noho." He ki mai tetahi nga io era: "Ina kona rakerake. Matu ki kimi, ki oho." He oho ki Ana-havea, ki Tonga-riki, ki Hanga-nui, ki Te Hakarava, ki Potu-te-rangi-te-hukingaheru, ki Ana-te-ava-nui, ki ahu Rikiriki, ki Kavakava-kioe, ki Kiriroa, ki Te Haha-o-te-kauae, ki Maunga Parehe, ki Vai-mahaki, ki Kohau-hati, ki Mahatua.

He ui mai ki te oone o Taharoa. He ki hakahou: "Ira ai te kona mo noho o te ariki." He ki: "Kona tae riva." He oho hakahou mai ki Mauku-roa, ki Ngarau-hiva, ki Vai-mangeo, ki Hatu-o-puna, ki Hanga-o-miti, ki Hanga-o-honu, ki Hanga-ko-uri, ki Punapau, ki Puna-rere-takea, ki Punga-ahoa, ki Hanga-kihikihi. He tikea hakahou te oone o Ovahe. He ki

Hotu-matua sent six men on board *The Living-wood.* They came, they surveyed the land as a home for the king. Hotu-matua had said: "Look for a beautiful country with sand for the king to live on." Those six young men came on *The Living-wood.* They landed at the island Ki-nga-kope-tutu-vai-a-te-Toanga[4]. They jumped off, they came on, they landed at Te Pu. They climbed, they came, they reached Orongo. They came on from Orongo, they arrived at the place named Ana-marikuru. They stopped, they mounded the soil for yams. [When] the yam mounds were finished, they planted the yams. [When] the planting was finished, they went on to inspect the land.

They saw the crater, they said: "It is the Black-pit-of-Haumaka." They came on, they arrived at Te Manavai, they arrived at Hangavaka-o-Tuapoi. They came on to Oroi, to Anavaero. They looked at Rungavae, at Hanga-tetenga. Those six young men came on to Hanga-ikiri, to Vai-moai, to Hanga-mai-hiku, to Atama. They looked at Atama, [and] said: "There are sharks off the sharp point of the island Motero-hiva."

They came on again to Hanga-tuhata. They came on again to Oone-tea. They observed, "There is the land for the king to live on." One of those six young men said: "No, it is a bad land. Let us search, let us go." They came to Ana-havea, to Tonga-riki, to Hanga-nui, to Te Hakarava, to Potu-te-rangi-te-hukingaheru, to Ana-te-ava-nui, to the ahu Rikiriki, to Kavakava-kioe, to Kiriroa, to Te Haha-o-te-kauae, to Mount Parehe, to Vai-mahaki, to Kohau-hati, to Mahatua.

They saw the sand of Taharoa. One said again: "Here is the land for the king to stay." They said: "The land is no good." They came on again to Mauku-roa, to Ngarau-hiva, to Vai-mangeo, to Hatu-o-puna, to Hanga-o-miti, to Hanga-o-honu, to Hanga-ko-uri, to Punapau, to Puna-rere-takea, to Punga-ahoa, to Hanga-kihikihi. They saw again the sand of

---

[4] Literally For-the-young-men-to-come-to-the-water-of-Toanga. The meaning is not clear. Tepano said that this name designated the three islands: Motu-kaokao, Motu-iti, and Motu-nui.

173
539

"I te kona mo te ariki." He ki hakahou mai tau tetahi nga io era: "Ina." He ui hakahou, he vari, he oho, he tikea Anakena, he ki: "Inei te ariki ana noho kona rivariva."

He tikea te honu i runga i te oone, he moe roa. He oho mai tau nga io era a ono, he tuu ki tau honu era, he aaru, he pua mai te honu hai kapeu, he mate etahi. He tupatupa, he tere atu te honu, he tupatupa mai i tau honu tangata.

He oo ki roto ki te ana, ki Ihu-arero, te ingoa o te ana. He hakamoe i roto i te ana. He noho e rima, he tiaki katahi raa, karua raa, katoru raa.

He ngongorovaa tetahi nga io, he ki: "Pehe korua ki oho ro tatou ka hakarere atu te mee na?" He too mai i te pipihereko; he hakatuutuu i te haha o te ana. He ki te pipi-hereko, a ririma pipi-hereko: "Ana ui mai te kope era, ka rere te korua reo a ririma korua. Ana ui hakahou, mai ai te korua reo ka ki rua no." He hakarere, he ea mai, he oho roa avai tau nga io era. He tuu ki Rapanga-rei, a Ira, a Raparenga, a Kuukuu, a Ringiringi, a Tavatava-ahu-atava. He oho, he tuu ki Mataveri. He piri hakahou mai etahi kope pirivaenga no mai. He rite hakahou e ono.

He iri, he tuu ki tau uhi era. He ku roroa hakahou e te mauku, ku riku ana, ku tupu hakahou ana te mauku. He ki hakahou tau nga io era: "Kainga kino, kahukahu o hera (he ra)."

He oho, he tuu ki Orongo, he ui ko te vaka o Hotu-matua. Erua vaka, o Tuu-ko-ihu te rua. He ui mai a Hotu-matua: "Pehea uta te kainga ena?" He rangi atu tau nga io era: "Kainga kino, kahukahu o he ra, mai te unu, mai te unu, mai te vere, mai te vere." He rangi hakahou mai Hotu-matua: "Kainga kino hoki; tai papaku, ka rivariva; tai ua ka okooko." He ki tetahi nga io era: "Mo he ra koe i rangi ai kia Hotu-matua oira ka rangi ro mai Hotu-matua i te vananga rakerake mo tatou."

He oho te vaka o Hotu-matua a te rara mataou, he oho hoki te vaka o Tuu-ko-ihu te rara maui. "He oho mai te vaka ou,

Ovahe. They said: "Here is the country for the king." One of the young men said again: "No." They looked again, they turned the point [of Kouo], they came, they saw Anakena, they said: "Here the king will live in a fine place."

They saw a turtle on the sand, it was asleep. Those six young men came on, they arrived at the turtle, they seized it, the turtle struck with its flipper, one was wounded. They carried, the turtle escaped, they carried a man instead of a turtle.

They entered a cave, Ihu-arero is the name of the cave. They laid down [the wounded man] in the cave. The five stayed, they kept watch one day, two days, three days.

One of the young men became bored, he said: "How would you that we go on and leave this person?" They made cairns; they set them up at the mouth of the cave. They said to the cairns, to the five cairns: "If the young man asks you questions, tell [him] lies you five. If he asks you questions again, tell [him] only lies." They left him, they came out, they went away these young men. They arrived at Rapanga-rei, Ira, Raparenga, Kuukuu, Ringiringi, Tavatava-ahu-atava. They went on, they arrived at Mataveri. They met a young man in the middle of their way. Again they were six.

They ascended and arrived at the yams. The grass was high again, it was full of weeds, the grass had grown again. Those young men again said: "Bad land, covered with weeds there [?]."

They left, they arrived at Orongo, they saw the canoe of Hotu-matua. There were two canoes, the second one was that of Tuu-ko-ihu. Hotu-matua asked: "How is the interior of that land?" Those young men answered: "The land is bad, there are too many weeds [?], if it is cleaned it would be cleaned, if it is weeded, it would be weeded." Hotu-matua shouted again: "It is a bad land; when the tide is low, it is good; when the tide is high, it is covered." One of the young men said: "Why did you shout that bad news to Hotu-matua, because of that Hotu-matua will plan something bad for us."

The canoe of Hotu-matua went to the left, the canoe of Tuu-ko-ihu went to the right. "Your canoe comes, o Hotu-matua."

173 539 Hotu-matua e." He tuu mai ki Vai-mahaki o haho, he ui mai ki te vaka o Tuu-ko-ihu ka tu ki Veronga-te-toremo tupuaki ana mo tomo ki Anakena. He ki mai te reo o Hotu-matua mai runga mai toona vaka ki te vaka o Tuu-ko-ihu: "Ka hakamau te konekone, ka hakamau te konekone." He oho mai tau vaka era o Hotu-matua, he tomo rae ki Hiramoko. E tomo ana, he poreko ro ana te poki ko Tuu-ma-heke. He oho rua mai te vaka o Tuu-ko-ihu, he tomo rua a Hanga-o-hio. He poreko ko Ava-reipua, tamahahine.

He oho atu te rongo a Hotu-matua ki a Tuu-ko-ihu mo nanangi o te pito mo hakahiti i te ata[8] o te ariki o Tuu-ma-heke. He oho mai a Tuu-ko-ihu. He hakahiti, he oho mai i te ata o te ariki he tuu ki runga ki te ariki ki a Tuu-ma-heke. He hahau i te pito. He oho mai te tangata, he nanangi i te pito. He hoki Tuu-ko-ihu, he hahau i te pito o te ariki tama-hahine ko Ava-reipua. He nanangi, he oti. He tomo te tangata, he rotu, he noho. He tomo rua te tangata o Hotu-matua, he noho i Hira-moko.

He oho mai irunga i te vaka te tangata, te moa, te kuri,[9] te kekeipu, te paihenga, te huri maika, te mahute, te hauhau, te ti, te toro-miro, te marikuru, te makoi, te naunau, te ipu, te uhi, maika pukapuka, maika korotea, maika hihi, maika onahoa, maika pahu. Ka rau, ka rau te tangata, te mahingo, ku oho ro mai ai ki te kainga i runga i te vaka.

[Hotu-matua] arrived outside of the headland of Vai-mahaki, he saw the canoe of Tuu-ko-ihu arriving at Veronga-te-toremo about to land at Anakena. The voice of Hotu-matua cried from his canoe to the boat of Tuu-ko-ihu: "Stay your paddles, stay your paddles." The canoe of Hotu-matua came on [and] landed first at Hiramoko. As it was landing, there was born the child Tuu-ma-heke. The boat of Tuu-ko-ihu also came on, [and] landed also at Hanga-o-hio. There was born Ava-reipua, a girl.

The messenger of Hotu-matua went to Tuu-ko-ihu to have him cut the navel cord and produce a charm for the prince, Tuu-ma-heke. Tuu-ko-ihu came. He conducted the ritual and the halo of royalty surmounted the prince, Tuu-ma-heke. He tied the navel cord. The man came, he bit off the cord. Tuu-ko-ihu returned, he tied the navel cord of the chiefess, Ava-reipua. He bit it, he finished. The people landed, they gathered, they stayed. The people of Hotu-matua also landed, [and] stayed at Hira-moko.

There came on the canoe the man, the fowl, the cat, the turtle, the dog, the banana plant, the paper mulberry, the hibiscus, the ti, the *toro-miro,* the *makoi,* the sandalwood, the gourd, the yam, *pukapuka* banana, *korotea* banana, *hihi* banana, *onahoa* banana, *pahu* banana. Hundreds and hundreds were the people, the *mahingo* [?] who came to the land on the canoe.

173 The foregoing legend of Hotu-matua is fairly complete. In order to reconstruct the story as it was passed on from one generation to the next, it is necessary to make a minute comparison of the various versions, stressing the parallels as well as the divergencies. All important versions agree upon the discovery of the island by a party of six explorers, but they give different reasons for the migration from Marae-renga.

Thomson's version (215, p. 528) is the only one which alludes to the duration of the voyage between Marae-renga and Easter Island; according to that, the immigrants were two months at sea. All three versions state that the islets at the southwestern point of the main island were first sighted by the explorers; and their first act on arrival at the main island was to plant yams in small earth heaps on the slope of Rano-kao. The three versions mention the voyage around the island. Routledge barely mentions it, giving no reason for it. Presumably, as in other versions, the party was searching for a sandy beach. All three versions of the tradition have the episode of the turtle, but the speaking cairns appear only in mine. Apparently the introduction of Ratavake to take the place of Kuukuu is an attempt to recoup the traditional number of explorers after a late introduction of the turtle episode in which one of the six men was killed. As presented, the entire incident is devoid of special significance.

---

[8] The meaning of this sentence is no longer understood by Easter Islanders. They interpret it simply as "to practice sorcery." *Hakahiti* may mean "to recite, to rise," cognate with the Maori expression *whakawhiti* (to revive). *Ata* means "image, reflection, red cloud," and may be interpreted here as "halo," which is made to surround the head of the new-born chief. My informant suggested that the expression be translated "to make the red cloud rise in the sky."

[9] In the Easter Island dialect, *kuri* has come to mean cat and a dog is *paihenga.*

Several fixed sentences have become almost meaningless to the present generation as perhaps they were for the preceding one. They were transmitted through the ages, alluding to episodes or beliefs now lost. *Kainga kino, kahukahu o hera* refers no doubt to overgrown grass and weeds. Though he recognized that the literal meaning of these words was unknown, Tepano insisted that the traditional interpretation was: "The land is bad, grass smothers all your plants." A local tradition or proverb perhaps accounts for the words uttered by the youngsters when they went to look at the yams that had been planted on the slope of Rano-kao (Routledge, 194, p. 278, says on Motunui). The original tradition as told by Tepano to Brown (27, p. 40) states that Ratavake went to Motu-nui, where he fell asleep. He was followed by Ira who did the same. While they slept Hotu-matua arrived and tied up his two canoes to the islet.

With the landing of Hotu-matua begins the history of Easter Island. The first recorded traditions of the *ariki* who settled on the desert island with his followers figure in the recently published manuscript of Father Roussel (190, p. 357):

> According to the natives, the island was uninhabited when two big canoes without masts, with bows raised high like the neck of a swan, and with an equally high, forked stern, appeared on the southwestern coast and skirted it until they reached a bay located on the north side; it was the bay of Anakena. In each canoe were about four hundred people. This little beach with white sand appeared to be a suitable landing place for Hotu-matua, chief of the two canoes, and his wife, Ava-reipua. He immediately made the canoe approach, and drew the two boats upon the beach. Then he began the landing of the men, the women, and the children with all the provisions consisting of pigs, fowls, taro, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, *toro-miro, gaoho, maute,* sugar cane, etc. There are here two small bushes that might have been imported. They only thrive in the [illegible] of rocks. I asked the natives in order to tempt them, whether these bushes had also been introduced. "No," they said unanimously, "they are from here, from Rapanui. You see the goats, the pumpkins, all these things have not been brought by our ancestors, these presents have been made to us by the ships from the Callao."
>
> After a short stay in Anakena to rest, the new settlers walked all over the island, and some established themselves at one place and others at another. Everyone proceeded immediately to plant the products brought from abroad. Hotu, who was the king, resigned soon after in favor of his son, Tumaheke.

According to Thomson (215, p. 528), King Hotu-matua arrived two months after the first explorers. The number of canoes is given as two in

173 every source; in Routledge's version the two canoes, called respectively *Oteka* and *Oua*, were bound together, "but as they came near the land the cord which united them was cut." Here perhaps is evidence of a dim memory of the double canoes in which the first settlers arrived. Roussel's description of Hotu-matua's canoes recalls some petroglyphs on the island representing boats. 173 Tepano remembered having heard that ancient boats had high, forked sterns. 501 Naturally, the description of Hotu-matua's canoe fits the type of craft that natives used before their culture was destroyed. The canoe of Hotu-matua was so long that it stretched from the little cove called Hira-moko, on the south of Anakena, to the big red hat about half a mile from Ovahe. The second boat was of the same dimensions, and there are also two landmarks that recall her size. Thomson's informants had a more sensible idea of the size of Hotu-matua's canoe, stating that it was 90 feet long and 6 feet deep (215, p. 528).

173 At sight of land, Hotu-matua asked his forerunners whether the interior was good. Ira answered with the cryptic sentence, "Kaina kino, hoki tai papaku, ka rivariva, tai ua ka okoko" (27, p. 40). Tepano interprets these words to mean, approximately, "The land is bad, when the tide is low it is good, when it is high we are decimated [?]." Routledge (194, p. 278) translates them, "When the sea is low we die few, when the sea is high we die many." She applies this statement to the land from which Hotu-matua came, but in the native text it seems clear that the words of Hotu-matua concern only the newly discovered land. Brown (27, p. 40) apparently tried to explain the words of Hotu-matua in the light of a catastrophe by inventing the following incident:

> While Ira was speaking with Hotu-matua the other forerunners were making wreaths for the king. After upbraiding Ira for his bad report, they declared that they were on their way back to Marae-renga. When Hotu-matua heard about their intention, he uttered his mysterious sentence about the tide. Brown sees in it a direct reference to a catastrophe which submerged Marae-renga. Despite Hotu-matua's advice, the four men set out for their home country.

There is some uncertainty as to who led the canoe which accompanied Hotu-matua. Routledge (194, p. 278) calls him Hinelilu, and his wife is Avarepua. Hinelilu, more correctly Hineriru, is probably the king Hinariru mentioned in Thomson's list as the fifth *ariki* (table 2, following p. 89). According to Thomson (215, p. 528), Hotu-matua's wife, Vakai, set out in one of the canoes "to explore the coast to the northwest while the other canoe, in charge of the king, rounded the island to the southeast." But this is not evidence that the second canoe was under the command of the chiefess. The native text reproduced here stresses the point that the second canoe was that of Tuu-ko-ihu, one of the most popular characters in Easter Island folklore. Although Thomson does not mention him, Tuu-ko-ihu, who, in a sense, is the culture hero of Easter Island, was very likely the leader of the second canoe. Otherwise it would be hard to explain why the first authors to record the legendary discovery of Easter Island confused Hotu-matua and Tuu-ko-ihu. Even in Routledge's version (194, p. 278) he is mentioned as one of Hotu-matua's followers.

When in 1868 Palmer (171, p. 180) inquired about the origin of the Easter Islanders, he seems to have been more impressed by the character of Tuu-ko-ihu than by that of Hotu-matua. Speaking of the first people who came to the island, Gana (86, p. 31) mentions as their chief or king, "Hatu or Tucuyo." Although inaccurate in attributing the general leadership of the expedition to Tuu-ko-ihu, these fragmentary traditions recorded at an early date, point out the traditional importance of Tuu-ko-ihu.

"First landing," says Thomson (215, p. 528), "was made on the islet of Motu-nui, on the north coast, and there the first food was cooked that had been tasted for one hundred and twenty days." Other sources of information pass over the episode, while they affirm that Hotu-matua must have stopped on or near the islet, since he exchanged words with the six explorers at Orongo. At this point the canoes parted. The canoe of Hotu-matua rounded the island to the southeast, and the second ship followed the coast to the northwest. The canoes met again at sea, not far from the sandy beach of Anakena. Hotu-matua, turning the point called Vai-mahaki, noticed that the second canoe had the advantage and would land first. He cast a spell which stopped the vessel, and thus he was first ashore. He took his canoe to the little cove of Hira-moko in the bay of Anakena, and later the second canoe, which had been delayed, was beached in another cove called the "Bath of Tuu-ko-ihu", in front of the ahu Hanga-ohio.

The legend still transmits the formula of the spell cast by Hotu-matua: "Haka mau te konekone, haka mau te konekone." Two different translations of this obscure sentence were suggested to me: "Make the paddles fixed" (make them slow) and "Hurry up in order to arrive first." Routledge (194, p. 278) summarizes the whole situation with the following words: "Hotu-matua said to himself a word which made his own boat go fast and Hinelilu's go slow."

The legend does not tell whether the two canoes agreed, when they parted, to meet at Anakena or whether they met by chance near the bay, both attracted by the smooth, sandy beach. In none of the versions is there an allusion to the previous discovery of Anakena by the six explorers, who had considered the bay fit for the king.

Anakena designates the month of August, and Thomson says that the bay of Anakena was so named because Hotu-matua and Tuu-ko-ihu arrived there in August. In Thomson's list of kings the name Anakena is applied to the forty-eighth king.

173 All sources agree that just after Hotu-matua's canoe had reached shore, Vakai (Vakai-a-hiva) gave birth to a boy, the *ariki*, Tuu-ma-heke, but my version is the only one which connects the birth of Tuu-ma-heke with that of a girl, Ava-reipua, who was born to Tuu-ko-ihu's wife at the same moment. Ava-reipua is given by Routledge (194, p. 278) as the wife of Hineriru the leader of the second canoe, and by Roussel (190, p. 357) as the wife of Hotu-matua. Although there is some possibility that Ava-reipua was the wife of Tuu-ko-ihu, the births of a girl and boy, both children of the canoe leaders, taking place at the same time cannot be merely an incident invented by my informant. Such parallel situations are too characteristic of this type of narrative not to be accepted as ancient.

[844] The cutting of the navel and rites performed by Tuu-ko-ihu over the head of Tuu-ma-heke (p. 65) had a double importance. They fixed the pattern for all future birth ceremonies until a very recent date, and perhaps they were connected with the name Pito-te-henua which is sometimes considered the original name for Easter Island. Whether this name has some link with the legend of the cutting of the navel cord of Tuu-ma-heke is difficult to ascertain, but a passage in the native version of Hotu-matua's story conveys that meaning.

Hotu-matua was credited with having brought to Easter Island not only the cultivated plants but many plants which grew on the island long before the Polynesians occupied it, and all the land animals known to the natives. The plants imported by Hotu-matua are enumerated by Roussel (190, p. 357): taro, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, *toro-miro, ngaoho,* and sugar cane. With the exception of the *toro-miro* and the *ngaoho,* these plants were actually introduced by the Polynesians from their original home. Ash trees (*marikuru,* not true ash) and sandalwood were considered by the natives as endemic species, but Tepano places them among the plants which were aboard Hotu-matua's canoes. Brown (27, p. 41) refers to a man, Koteke (ko Teke), who "was the guardian of the plants and seeds." Having forgotten the sandalwood (*naunau*) he was obliged to go back to Marae-renga to fetch it. Thomson's early account (215, p. 526) includes potatoes, tobacco, and "the seeds of various plants, including the paper mulberry and the toro-miro trees." This last list shows that at an early date the natives attributed to their first king plants which they had only recently received from Europeans. The same tendency is manifest in regard to domestic animals—pigs which were given to the islanders by Europeans are said to have been brought by the first immigrants as well as the fowls which the first discoverers found on the island. In his desire to heighten the glory of Hotu-matua, Tepano tried to convince me that cats and dogs were among the animals which came at that remote period. He alluded also to the *kekepu,* a rather strange beast which was very like a "pig or a cow" but is probably a large turtle which has disappeared from the island. On the other hand, pigs, cattle, horses, and sheep were admittedly 173 of very recent introduction.

Many other things were probably assigned to the first king, among them 173 the origin of the signs on the tablets. Thomson's tradition (215, p. 514) asserts that 212 "Hotu-matua, the first king possessed the knowledge of this written language, and brought with him to the island sixty-seven tablets containing allegories, traditions, genealogical tablets, and proverbs relating to the land from which he had migrated." Routledge (194, p. 279) attributes the knowledge of reading and writing to Hineriru who "wrote rongo-rongo on paper he brought with him." Hotu-matua and Tuu-ko-ihu were, in a sense, culture heroes, and there must have been a general tendency to make them the originators of many inventions and sacred institutions.

Immediately after landing the people started to till the soil, planting the 173 cuttings and tubers brought from Marae-renga. During the first three months, while they waited for the crops to be harvested, "they subsisted entirely upon fish, turtle, and the nuts of a creeping-plant found growing along the ground, which was named moki-oone" (215, p. 527).

THE FIGHT WITH OROI

The next episode in Hotu-matua's legend has been recorded in almost identical terms by three main sources. It may be called the "fight with Oroi and the killing of Oroi." Oroi was Hotu-matua's most bitter enemy: Thomson (215, p. 528) makes him the unsuccessful rival of Hotu-matua's brother (Machaa), and Routledge (194, p. 279) says that he was the killer of Hotu-matua's children in Marae-renga.

Ko Oroi he piko mai i runga i te vaka o Tuu-ko-ihu, i oho mai ai mai hiva mai Marae-renga. He piko mai Oroi i raro i te vaka o Tuu-ko-ihu. He oho mai tau vaka era, he tomo ki uta ki Hanga-o-hio. He oho mai te tangata, he marere. He oho ki uta i te po, i piko mai nei Oroi. He tomo rua ki uta, he noho i uta nei. Ku tomo takoa ana te vaka o Hotu-matua. He tomo ana, he poreko ana ko Tuu-ma-heke te poki, i poreko a Hotu-matua i te kainga nei ko te Pito-o-te-henua. He poreko rua hoki te poki a Tuu-ko-ihu, ariki tamahahine ko Ava-reipua te ariki a Tuu-ko-ihu, o toona vaka. He noho te tangata. He oho atu Tuu-ko-ihu, he haka-hiti i te ata o te ariki o Tuu-ma-heke. He oho a Tuu-ko-ihu ki te pito nanangi o te ariki o Tuu-ma-heke. He oti te nanangi e Tuu-ko-ihu, he hoki, he nanangi i te pito o taana ariki tamahahine ko Ava-reipua.

Oroi concealed himself in the boat of 173 Tuu-ko-ihu,* when he came from abroad from Marae-renga. 539 Oroi was hidden in the interior of the boat of Tuu-ko-ihu. This boat arrived, it landed at Hanga-o-hio. The people came [ashore], they scattered. Oroi went ashore at night, hiding. He also landed on the shore, he stayed ashore. The canoe of Hotu-matua had landed also. When he landed, the child Tuu-ma-heke was born to Hotu-matua in the land [called] the Navel-of-the-land. A child was also born to Tuu-ko-ihu, the chiefess Ava-reipua of the chief Tuu-ko-ihu, on his canoe. The people settled down. Tuu-ko-ihu went, he [844] made magic for the chief Tuu-ma-heke. Tuu-ko-ihu came to bite the navel cord of the chief Tuu-ma-heke. Tuu-ko-ihu finished the cutting, he returned, he bit the navel cord of his chiefess Ava-reipua.

---

* According to Thomson, the boat of Hotu-matua.

173
539

He oti te nanangi, he rotu. He hue te tangata a Hotu-matua, te tangata a Tuu-ko-ihu. Ai ka noho a Oroi, kai tikea.

He porekoreko hakahou te poki o Hotu-matua; he nunui. He turu te nga poki a Hotu-matua, he hohopu i te kona ko Roto-kahi ira te kona hohopu o tau nga poki era a Hotu-matua. He tomo ki uta, he momoe te nga poki. He vai i te tuaivi ki te ra, he haka mahana i te tuaivi ki te raa. He noho era i te ra ananake. Ka ui no mai a Oroi. He tuu ki tetahi ra, he oho mai a Oroi, he piko atu i uta. He hohopu no ana tau nga poki era a Hotu-matua e ono. He totomo ki uta mai te hopu-hanga. He vai i te tuaivi ki te raa. He hauru tau nga poki era, ku ngaroa ana te mahana. Ku rerehu ana, i te vai kava oira i hauru ai.

He oho atu Oroi, e too mai i te vaero ura, he haka uru i roto ki te kauha. He kume mai i te kokoma ki haho o te nga poki. A ono nga poki he mamate. He po aika ui no mai Hotu-matua ki te maea o Roto-kani-pahenga poki oonga era. He oho mai Hotu-matua. He ui ika tuu atu nei. Ku mamate ana tau nga poki era i haho te kokoma. Ananake nga poki i haho te kokoma. He ui Hotu-matua a Oroi tau anga era kokoma kumekume era ki haho. Kai maa Hotu-matua ia Oroi. He manau era Hotu-matua i hiva ana i Marae-renga a Oroi, ika ui atu Hotu-matua ko tau anga era kumekume kokoma era a Oroi i hiva i Marae-renga. He ki Hotu-matua hokotahi no, e ki era: "Tute nui no mai te taua ia koe, e Oroi e, mai hiva, mai te kainga." He tangi mo taana nga poki, ku mamate ana.

He tere mai Oroi, he noho, he piko i Hanga-o-honu. He tuu ki toona tau; he oho mai era te ariki ko Hotu-matua, he rarama era. E ui era i te tangata i te hare koro, i te paina, i te hare hakama rongorongo, i te hare hakama tau, i te hare hakama kohau o te tangata mate, i te hare hakama o te ranga, ki te hare kohau kiri tuku ki te atua kia Rarai-a-hova.

When the cutting was finished, there was a gathering. The people of Hotu-matua joined those of Tuu-ko-ihu. Oroi stayed, he was not seen.

Again children were born to Hotu-matua, they grew up. The children of Hotu-matua went down [to the shore], they bathed at a place called Roto-kahi, that was the bathing place of those children of Hotu-matua. They went ashore, they lay down the children. They turned their backs to the sun, to warm their backs in the sun. They used to stay there every day. Oroi was watching them. One day, Oroi came, he concealed himself near the beach. Bathing were those children of Hotu-matua, six in number. They came back to shore after the bathing. They presented their backs to the sun. They fell asleep [when] they felt the warmth. They were drowsy, [and] because of the salt water, they fell asleep.

Oroi came, holding the tail of a crayfish which he introduced into the anus. He pulled out the intestines of the children. All six children died. At evening Hotu-matua was looking at the rocks of Roto-kahi-pahenga, [believing] they were his sons emerging from the water. Hotu-matua came, he saw the bodies there. The children were dead with their intestines outside, all the children had the intestines outside. Hotu-matua recognized the work of Oroi in this pulling out of the intestines. Hotu-matua did not know that Oroi [was here]. Hotu-matua thought Oroi was far away in Marae-renga, but he had seen Oroi pulling out intestines in a distant land in Marae-renga. Hotu-matua said to himself, he said: "You are going on with our fight, O Oroi, from abroad to here." He cried for his children who were dead.

Oroi ran away and stayed concealed in Hanga-o-honu. One year passed; the king, Hotu-matua, went on an inspection tour. He saw the people in the *koro* houses, at the *paina* feasts, at the houses where they taught the *rongorongo*, at the houses where they studied the calculation signs, at the houses with the sticks [records] of the dead people, at the houses where they studied the tablet for making prisoners, at the houses for prayers dedicated to the god, Rarai-a-hova.

He ui mai era te mata o Oroi ki te ariki kia Hotu-matua ka vari ro ahaha aro o te henua. He ui era Hotu-matua raua ko Tuu-ko-ihu. He hiri Oroi i te taura kumi mo te ika ko te ariki. He tuu ki tona ra, he too a Oroi, he oho i te pu o te taura hiri era, he haka pu i vaenga o te ara, he pua hai hatuoi mauku. He pu mai a Hotu-matua, he ui Oroi kia Hotu-matua. He ki Oroi i roto ia ia ana: "He mate koe ia au." He oho mai Hotu-matua. He tike ra e Hotu-matua tau me puapua era hai hatuoi mauku. Ku maa ana te ariki a Hotu-matua, he oho koro-iti mai. He rei i te tapa o te taura a Oroi, i rei era. He ka riti e Oroi i te taura, ina kai hiohio te vae o Hotu-matua. He ki hoko-tahino te ariki a Hotu-matua: "He mate a koe ia au i tona raa." He oho Hotu-matua, he tu ki Ruahaua, ki Orohie. He ui ana i te tangata ki Hanga-te-tenga, he hoki mai. Ku haka pu ana Oroi i te taura mai roto mai toona hare ana, i haka pu, i oho ro mai ai te roaroa o te taura. He haka pu i te ara mo te ariki ko Hotu-matua. He pu hakahou mai o Hotu-matua. He tuu ki runga ki tau taura era a Oroi. He ui Hotu-matua i tau taura era. He oho te vae o Hotu-matua, he eke, he rei. He haro Oroi, he hinga, he haka hinga Hotu-matua. He tahuti mai Oroi, he ea atu a Hotu-matua. He too mai ia Oroi, he tingai. He mate Oroi, he ariki Oroi o hiva o Marae-renga.

Oroi saw the king, Hotu-matua, going to the four parts of the land. He saw 173
that Hotu-matua was with Tuu-ko-ihu. 539
Oroi twisted a long rope to capture the person of the king. One day Oroi took with him his rope in which he had made a noose, he put the noose in the middle of a path, covered it with soil and grass. Hotu-matua came along, Oroi saw Hotu-matu. Oroi said within himself: "You will be killed by me." Hotu-matua came. Hotu-matua saw the thing covered with soil and grass. Hotu-matua knew what it was and walked very slowly. He stepped beside the rope of Oroi, he stepped there. Oroi pulled the rope with force, but the foot of Hotu-matua was not taken in it. The king, Hotu-matua said to himself: "You will be killed by me some day." Hotu-matua went on, he arrived at Ruahaua, at Orohie. He visited the people at Hanga-te-tenga, [and] he came back. Meanwhile, Oroi had made a noose in his rope in the interior of his house, he made the noose, the rope extended a long way. The noose was in the path of the king, Hotu-matua. Hotu-matua came by again. He arrived where Oroi's rope was. Hotu-matua noticed the rope there. Hotu-matua's foot moved, he lifted it, and stepped on the rope. Oroi pulled, he fell, Hotu-matua let himself fall. Oroi ran up, Hotu-matua got up. He seized Oroi [and] killed him. Thus died Oroi, a king from abroad from Marae-renga.

Thomson does not mention the episode of the slaughtering of the six boys 173
which was connected with some rocks lying not far from Anakena. In Routledge's account, the boys lay in the sun after taking a bath, and Oroi killed them by pulling out their intestines with a crayfish tail. The children were discovered on the rocks only at low tide when their heads emerged from the water. This interpretation throws some light on my text which is rather vague on this particular point. The native version given above refers only to the massacre of Hotu-matua's six boys, whereas Thomson and Routledge state that Oroi "murdered every unprotected person who came his way."

In the story of Hotu-matua as told by Thomson (215, p. 531), Oroi is "captured in a net thrown by Hotu-matua and pounded to death." This detail probably arises from a misinterpretation, since both Routledge and I heard only about the noose. Our versions agree except that in her account, instead of being helped by Tuu-ko-ihu, Hotu-matua is assisted by his daughter and son-in-law. A new element in the legend is added by Routledge (194, p. 279):

173 "When the corpse of Oroi was put in the oven to cook, it came to life again. So then they had to take him over to the other side of the island to where the ahu is called Oroi, and there he cooked quite satisfactorily, and they ate him."

For the rest of Hotu-matua's story, we depend entirely on previous sources. Hotu-matua resigned in favor of his son, Tuu-ma-heke. The legend may reflect the custom which obliged each king to yield his power to his married son, but perhaps, as Routledge (194, p. 279) writes, he really "quarrelled with his wife and his son Tuu-ma-heke." He retired to the top of Rano-kao where he lived on the south side of the crater, that opposite to Orongo. Thomson (215, p. 527) says only that Hotu-matua, at an advanced age and stricken with a mortal illness, summoned all the chiefs to counsel. "He nominated his eldest son as his successor and it was ordained that the descent of the kings should always be through the eldest son." After having appointed his successor, Hotu-matua divided the island into districts which were apportioned to his several sons, who were the ancestors of the various tribes. At the end of the Hotu-matua legend, Routledge (194, p. 280) records the following episode:

> [Hotu-matua] was old and blind and became also very ill; his elder sons came to see him, but he kept asking for Hotu-iti, the youngest, who was his favorite. When Marama appeared, the old man felt the calf of his leg, and said, "You are not Hotu-iti, you are Marama; where is Hotu-iti?" Koro-orongo answered as if he were Hotu-iti, and said, "I am here", but he lied, and his father took hold of his leg, and said again, "You are not Hotu-iti"; and the same thing happened with Ngaure, and Raa, and Hamea, and the others; and at last came Hotu-iti, and Hotu-matua knew him, for he was small, and his leg was slight, and said to him, "You are Hotu-iti, of Mata-iti, and your descendants shall prosper and survive all others." And he said to Kotuu, "You are Kotuu, of Mata-nui, and your descendants shall multiply like the shells of the sea, and the reeds of the crater, and the pebbles of the beach, but they shall die and shall not remain."

The same episode was told to me in connection with another legendary character, Rau-nui, father of Hetereki, a famous *matatoa* or warrior (p. 138).

> The old Rau-nui, who has been knocked down by his enemies wants to see his first-born son before he dies. The other brothers try to deceive the old man, who recognizes his first-born by seizing his leg in his hand. The leg of Hetereki is so big that his hands cannot join around them. The dying Rau-nui promises his son that he shall never be overcome in a fight.

The episodes are identical but for the physical characteristic of the sons' legs. The same legendary motif might have been used for two different narratives, but I am inclined to believe that the episode originally concerned Rau-nui. Otherwise the whole legend of Hetereki has little meaning. Furthermore, if it belonged to the Hotu-matua legend, it would be remembered by the natives to whom Hotu-matua is still a popular figure. Of the entire episode one detail must be stressed—Hotu-iti's stature which would account for his name, Hotu-the-little. This characteristic of his person, together with the favored position of the Mata-iti (Small tribes) of Hotu-iti has perhaps facilitated the introduction of this element borrowed from another legend.

There is no suggestion of foreign influence at the end of the legend, as given by Routledge (194, p. 280): 173

> And when he had said this he left his house, and went along to the cliff where the edge of the crater is narrowest, and stood on it by two stones, and he looked over the islet of Motu-nui towards Marae-renga, and called to four aku-aku in his old home across the sea, "Kuihi, Kuaha, Tongau, Opapako, make the cock crow for me," and the cock crew in Marae-renga, and he heard it across the sea; that was his death signal, so he said to his sons, "Take me away." So they took him back to his house, and he died. Thus Hotu-matua came to his end and was buried at Akahanga.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE LONG-EARS AND THE SHORT-EARS

He ki te Hanau-eepe ki te Hanau-momoko: "Ka oho mai korua ki amo tatou i te maea ki kaho ki te tai." He hakahoki te Hanau-momoko ki te Hanau-eepe: "Ina eko amo te maea mai runga mai te henua nei, hakarere no mo te kai, mo te rau, mo te maika, mo te toa, mo hakamamae ana tupu." He haka rere, ina kai amo. He haka rere ro avai. He noho. He manau te Hanau-eepe mo te Hanau-momoko o te tae hauu i te anga i te ahu He Hanau-eepe ana te anga tahi i te ahu oira i riri ai roto te manava mo te Hanau-momoko.

I Poike te nohongo o te Hanau-eepe. He keri i te rua ava kumi mai Potu-te-rangi te potu ki Mahatua, o te rua potu. He oti te keri i tau rua era, he too mai i te hukahuka, he hoa ki raro ki te rua, ka tomoro ki te rua (ararua) potu o te hukahuka.

Etahi vie Hanau-momoko oona te hare o Potu-te-rangi. Kai maa te Hanau-momoko mo ai te rua era i keri era i hoa era te hukahuka ki raro. O tau vie era Hanau-momoko era noho era o Potu-te-rangi o taana kenu Hanau-eepe i vaananga: "Te umu nei i keri nei mo korua mo te Hanau-momoko." He maa tau vie era. He noho, he po, he turu mai tau vie era Hanau-momoko era, he ki ki te tangata Hanau-momoko: "Ka ui korua ki tooku hare era, aira te korua ara ana iri atu korua. 'Anira i te po, anira ka tutu te umu e te Hanau-eepe ko korua te ika. Anira ka iri atu, ka hao, ka ki te tangata, ka iri tahi atu, ka hao, ka vari ro te maunga a Poike. Ai ka patu ro mai, ka umu ro atu ki raro ki te rua, ka hakahoki ro atu te umu era, ka tutu era e te Hanau-eepe mo korua."

The Long-ears said to the Short-ears: "Come, let us carry stones to the seashore." The Short-ears answered the Long-ears: "We do not want to carry away the stones on the ground, leave them for our food, for the [sweet potato] leaves, for the bananas trees, for the sugar cane, to make them suffer and grow." They left, they did not carry. They did not carry them away, they left them. They stayed. The Long-ears resented that the Short-ears did not help them in building the ahu. They worked alone, because of that they were angry within at the Short-ears. 173 539

The Long-ears lived in Poike. They dug a long pit from Potu-te-rangi to Mahatua. When they finished digging that pit, they brought firewood, threw it down into the ditch, strewing the pit from one end to the other.

A woman of the Short-ears had her house in Potu-te-rangi. The Short-ears did not know for whom the Long-ears were digging the pit and putting wood in it. That woman of the Short-ears who lived in Potu-te-rangi had a husband of the Long-ears who told her: "This pit that is being dug is for you, for the Short-ears." Now that woman knew. She waited, at night, that woman of the Short-ears came and said to the people of the Short-ears: "Look at my house, it is there you shall follow your path. Next day the Long-ears will light the oven for your corpses. When you get there, form yourselves into a line and tell everybody to join, to form a line, encircle the mountain of Poike. Commence killing, throw them into the pit, change the oven to your advantage, cook the Long-ears for yourselves."

173 539 He po, he hoki te vie ki toona hare. He ki: "He horau atu korua." He iri te vie, he noho. He too mai i te kete, he raranga ai ka ui no mai te mata o te vie ki te tangata. He iri atu te tangata i te ahiahi mo kirokiro. He paka tahi atu te Hanau-momoko, he noho te tangata rae i te hare o tau vie raranga kete era. He hao te tangata, ko piko ko ia, he hao, he oho ki tua. He vari mai ki Kikiriroa, ki Maunga Teatea, te Hanau-momoko. E hao era, e oho mai era, he topa mai te tangata potu ki Mahatua. He noho, he moe, he pipiko. He tehe mai te ata popohanga, he ea mai te Hanau-momoko, he tute mai i te Hanau-eepe ki raro ki tau umu keri era e raua.

Ana he tutu te, he pukoukou mai roto mai te hare, he tetere. He oho mai ananake te vie, te poki o te Hanau-eepe, e oho mai era, e tetere mai era, he tuu ki tupuaki ki te umu. He maroa te tangata, te vie, te poki tuu rae ki runga ki te umu. Ai te taua o te Hanau-momoko e oho no mai era koro iti. Ahe ana tetere te Hanau-eepe i te ura o te ahi, ina he ara mo tetere? He tata mai te tangata te taua. He rerere roa vai ki raro ki te umu, ai te ura, e rere era o te umu, he rererere roa vai te Hanau-eepe. He mamate te tangata, te vie, te poki ina i toe.

Erua no Hanau-eepe tangata i rere mai e runga ana a te tangata mamate, era i rere mai ai ararua nga ngata, he tetere mai. He tute takoa mai te Hanau-momoko he tuu ki Anakena o uta. He momoko ki roto ki te Ana-vai. He too mai te Hanau-momoko i te akave, he verovero ki tau nga Hanau-eepe era. He mee mai mai roto mai tau ana era e vero atu era hai akave, he mee mai mai roto "Ororoin." He onga a te rua haha, he mee "Ororoin". He oti, he mate etahi. He ki tetahi: "Tangata honui ha hakarere mahaki hokotahi no. Mo aha a i tingai ai? E hakarere."

He hoki te taua, he ui i tau umu era a tikea te tangata e ora no a he ui' ina. He too mai, he tanu atu. He oti, he hoki mai te Hanau-momoko. He noho, he noho tau Hanau-eepe era etahi. He piri ki te tangata, he noho i Hanga-o-honu. He

At night, the woman turned back to her house. She said: "Now you hurry up." The woman went up [to her house] and stayed. She took a basket, she was plaiting with her eyes on the men. The men got up at sunset, when it was already dark. All the Short-ears gathered, the first stayed at the house of the woman who was plaiting the basket. The men formed, concealed themselves, they formed a line, they went to the back. The Short-ears went around Kikiriroa and Mount Teatea. They drew up in order, they came, marched down to the point of Mahatua. They stayed, they slept, they concealed themselves. When dawn appeared, the Short-ears arose, they chased the Long-ears into the ditch that they had dug themselves.

When they were chased, they dashed out of their houses, they ran away. All the wives, the children of the Long-ears went, they ran away, they arrived near the earth oven. The men, the women and the children stopped when the first arrived above the earth oven. The war party of the Short-ears came very slowly. Where could the Long-ears escape from the flames of the fire, there was no way to fly? The men of the war party came close. The Long-ears were jumping into the earth oven, in the flames they jumped into the earth oven, the Long-ears went on jumping. Men, women, and children died, none was left.

Two of the Long-ear people jumped over the dead bodies, these two men jumped and fled. The Short-ears chased. They arrived at Anakena, on the land side. They hid in Ana-vai (Cave-of-water). The Short-ears took a stick and they thrust at those Long-ears with it. When they were struck in the cave with that stick, they cried from within, "Ororoin." They showed their faces at one of the entrances and cried "Ororoin." It was finished, one of the two died. One man said, "Important men, let us spare this man, now alone. Why kill him? Leave him."

The war party returned, they looked at the earth oven to see whether there were some still living, but there was none. They took them, they covered them with earth. When they finished, the Short-ears went back. He stayed, that one Long-ear remoe ki te vie tau Hanau-eepe era. Noho era i roto i te ana, ka ki ro era, "Ka hakarere mahaki etahi."

Korohua aku i ui, ko Arone Arapu, te tangata i ui e au. E rua poki e ora mai nei he toto o te Hanau-eepe; etahi i Hanga-roa, etahi i te i te hare o te repera; te poki o te toto o te Hanau-eepe.

mained. He joined the other people and 173 settled at Hanga-o-honu. This Long-ear married a woman. He was the man of 539 the cave about whom they said, "Let us spare this one only."

I saw an old man, Arone Arapu, the man I saw. There are now two men living who are of the blood of the Long-ears; one is in Hanga-roa and one in the leper settlement; children of the blood of the Long-ears.

The legend, as told here, does not give the origin of the Long-ears, but 173 in a version of the story of Hotu-matua, my informant mentioned the Long-ears and the Short-ears as part of Hotu-matua's crew. Kilimutu, an old man living at the time of Routledge's visit, told her (194, p. 281) that "Hotu-matua and those in his boat were the Short-ears and Hinelilu and the crew of the second boat the Long-ears." When Routledge asked him "how it was that the two came together, he merely replied that it was in the same way as we ourselves had various nationalities on the yacht." Three other old men explained to Routledge (194, p. 281) that "The Long Ears came into existence on the island through the 'mana' of the third ariki."

Thomson (215, pp. 528-529) and Vives Solar (221) refer to Long-ears and Short-ears as different races between which the island was equally divided. The Long-ears had the eastern part of the island and were concentrated in the headland of Poike and in Hanga-nui. The numerous house foundations scattered throughout that region testify to former occupation. Vives Solar (221, p. 117), whose information is not always reliable, says that the boundaries between the region of the Long-ears and that of the Short-ears followed a line which began at Ahu-te-pito-paukura and divided the Rano-aroi, ending at Vaihu. The Short-ears had the whole western part of the island and lived at Hanga-roa, Mataveri, Vinapu, and Vaihu. Vives Solar (221, p. 117) attributes to the Long-ears the carving of the statues and the building of the ahus. Their houses were of stone (*hare paenga*), while those of the Short-ears were made of light frame and straw (*hare puhipuhi*). While the Short-ears were busy tilling the soil and planting food, the Long-ears constructed impressive monuments. The Short-ears used caves and natural holes for graves. Vives Solar's comparison between Short-ears and Long-ears seems to be based more on personal inferences or misinterpretations than on native evidence.

The fight between Long-ears and Short-ears was not chronologically connected with any period by my informant. Kilimuti, Routledge's authority, stated that the destruction of the Long-ears took place in the time of Hotu-matua's children. Thomson places their extinction at approximately the same time.

173 I was given two different versions of the cause of the struggle: first, that the Short-ears refused to build the ahus that the Long-ears were planning, and second that the Short-ears would not clear the island of the stones which covered it. Vives Solar (221, p. 118) says that the fight was caused by the refusal of the Short-ears to build an ahu for a Long-ear who died in Vai-mata. Routledge (194, p. 280) gives the following version:

> Now the Long Ears (*Hanau epe*) and Short Ears (*Hanau momoku*) lived together mixed up all over the land, but one of the Long Ears, Ko Ita by name, who lived at Orongo, had in his house the bodies of thirty boys, whom he had killed to eat. Among his victims were the seven sons of one man, Ko Pepi. Ko Pepi went mad, and ran round and round till he fell down, and his brothers took their *mataa* and killed the Long Ears at Vinapu and at Orongo. They were joined by the other Short Ears till the Long Ears took refuge in the eastern headland, across which they then dug a ditch and filled it with brushwood in order to make a fire in self-defence.

Although the proper names give her explanation an appearance of authenticity, I think that Routledge has not discovered the real and most ancient source of the conflict. The geography of the island leads me to think that the anger of the Long-ears was provoked by the refusal of the Short-ears to take away the stones of the island. The Long-ears, according to my version, were concentrated in the eastern headland of the island, called Poike. This region, formed by the ashy materials of the volcano Puakatiki, is not strewn with stones, and thus contrasts greatly with the rugged plains at its foot. The Long-ears probably wanted all the island to be as clean of stones as their own country.

173
183 The ditch dug by the Long-ears is still pointed out by the natives. It is a "gully running from north to south across the island, with the snout of the lava flow on one side and the much higher sea-cut cliffs on the other" (50, p. 33). At this place the formerly separate island of Poike was reached by the lava from Te Revaka. The ground suggests a partially filled ditch which inevitably aroused the curiosity of the natives who originated a tale accounting for this unusual formation.

173 Both Thomson (215) and Routledge (194) figure the ditch filled with brushwork as a defense system into which the Long-ears "arranged to drive their enemies, when the bush wood was to be set on fire and every man exterminated." This interpretation is possible, but there is no explanation as to why a fire should have been kindled in the ditch. My informant's version, in which he says that the ditch was an *umu* (earth oven) in which the Long-ears intended to cook the Short-ears, seems to me to be clear.

In Vives Solar's version and in mine, the woman who shows the Short-ears the way to reverse their position is essential; in Routledge's version, her intervention is entirely episodical. The Short-ears were drawn in array in front of the ditch and would not have passed if an old woman had not shown them the way around, allowing the Short-ears to turn the flanks of their enemies. Vives Solar (221, pp. 119-120) presents the following details which are not in my version: 173

> The ditch was under the care of a Long-ear called Toi who had his house at the end of the ditch on the south coast. Toi was married to Angu-neru, a Short-ear woman. Unaided, she discovered the murderous plan of the Long-ears and revealed it to her relatives. The Short-ears decided to strike first, and the signal for attack was to be given by the woman who would plait a basket in front of her house. This incident may belong to the original version since it figures in my text, although it is not connected with the plot.

Thomson's early account ends with the complete destruction of the Long-ears, but the episode of the two Long-ears who escape and take refuge in a cave near Anakena is told by Knoche (122) and by Routledge, whose brief details conform with my version. The slight discrepancies in Knoche's version are due to a free interpretation or to misunderstandings. According to him, the two Long-ears are not besieged in the cave but are concealed in it. They imitate the cries of the birds to keep the people away from their hiding place. "Oroine" is not the noise they make but the name of one of the men and Arone is one of his descendants.

Exceptional stress has been laid on this legend as one of the few traditions which seem to indicate the existence of a native population on Easter Island previous to the Polynesian migration. Whatever is the accepted tradition, the two peoples are represented as either having arrived together or as having lived side by side on the island. Routledge (194, p. 294) recognizes that "there is nothing in the story of the Long Ears and the Short Ears which indicates that the first were an earlier race." However, she adopts as a working hypothesis the following assumption (194, p. 298): The Long-ears were negroids who brought with them the custom of distending the ear. This first migratory wave was superseded by the ancestors of the present Polynesians who adopted this deformation after having destroyed their predecessors on the island. 173 174

There are many arguments in opposition to such a view, but here I shall discuss the problem only as it bears upon the myth. Great historical significance might be attributed to this legend if the Long-ears had not been the grandfathers or great-grandfathers of the modern inhabitants of the island. When Cook, La Pérouse, and the other explorers of the eighteenth century visited the island, most of the population, both male and female, had the lobes of their ears distended by heavy ornaments. This custom prevailed until about 1850. Since the legend is partially an etiological myth, it is likely that the motif of the Long-ears has been added recently when the distending of the ear lobes was going out of fashion. The primitive version referred perhaps to a people living in Poike that bullied the others and were finally burned in the big earth oven. [301]

173 174 My conclusion is that this tale presents no definite evidence of the existence of two different races on the island. It has been inspired partially by the native desire to explain local geographical characteristics; very likely the fight between Long-ears and Short-ears is a fairly recent theme.

The War Between Tuu and Hotu-iti

173 References to intertribal wars are frequent in Easter Island folklore. They reflect real conflicts between tribes (*mata*) whose quarrels and feuds ended only after the advent of the missionaries.

The legend of Kainga and Poie may have a historical background. No doubt it preserves the memory of a general war between the eastern and western districts, which was fought with great tenacity and cruelty. The natives, of course, consider all episodes of this tradition as true, and Kariera, the informant of Routledge (194, p. 289), referred these events to the time of King Nga-ara's grandfather, the eighteenth century. However, they might have occurred in the settlement period if Tuu-ko-ihu, the expert who built Poie's canoe, is the same Tuu-ko-ihu who came with Hotu-matua. There is no clue to chronology in the legend.

I

173 539 Erua kope o Makita, o Rokeaua, he oho, he tu ki Hotu-iti, he tu ki te hare o Kainga i Hanga-nui. He uru ki roto ki te hare ararua kope, he hakaaroha ki a Kainga. He hakaaroha mai Kainga ki a Makita, ki a Rokeaua. He rangi Kainga: "Ka uru ki roto ki te hare." He uru Makita, Rokeaua, he noho. He momoe ararua nga io, he hauru. He ka Kainga i te umu, he tute mai i te moa, he tingai, he unu i te huhuru, he rara, he hakate i te kokoma, he tata i te kokoma, he hatui ki runga ki te maea. He oho te maanga hangai a Kainga, he mau i te kokoma ma Makita, ma Rokeaua. He tuu ki roto ki te hare tau maanga hangai era. He vaai i te kokoma hatui ki a Rokeaua. He ui mai Rokeaua: "He aha te mee na?" He hakahoki te maanga hangai a Kainga, "He kokoma moa." He ki mai Rokeaua, etahi tangata e hauru ro(a) ana ko Makita. He ki Rokeaua: "Kaihanga maua mee, tae kai kokoma moa maua, mee kai kokoma tangata no maua."

He to hakahou tau maanga hangai era a Kainga i tau hai kokoma moa era. He hoki, he ki ki a Kainga: "Pe nei e ki mai era mee tae kai kokoma moa raua. Mee kai kokoma tangata no te e ki mai era

Two young men, Makita and Rokeaua, went to Hotu-iti and arrived at the house of Kainga in Hanga-nui. Both young men entered the house and saluted Kainga. Kainga welcomed Makita and Rokeaua. Kainga said: "Come into the house." Makita and Rokeaua went in and stayed. The two young men lay down and slept. Kainga lighted the oven, he took a fowl, killed it, plucked the feathers, singed the down, cleaned the entrails, washed the entrails and roasted them upon the stones. An orphan adopted by Kainga took the entrails for Makita and Rokeaua. The adopted orphan entered the house. He gave the roasted entrails to Rokeaua. Rokeaua asked: "What is that?" The adopted orphan of Kainga answered: "The chicken's entrails." Rokeaua spoke while the other man, Makita, was sleeping. Rokeaua said: "We do not want it, we do not eat chicken entrails, we only eat human entrails."

The adopted orphan of Kainga returned with that chicken's entrails. Returned he said to Kainga, "This is what those said, they do not eat chicken entrails. The thing to eat is human entrails, is

ki a au." He ki Kainga: "E ku mao a, ka iri, mahaki ka rangi, ka iri mai." He iri tau maanga hangai era. He ea ki runga he rangi: "E maanga rakerake a Kainga, e ka iri koe, ka oho mai." He iri mai, he piri, he ki maanga rakerake a Kainga: "Ka po tahi raa i rangi hakariva ro mai." He tangi: "Ka moe mai te kainga tutae teatea i te mahore, aue te kainga e, ka moe mai raro te kainga tutae teatea i te mahore." Ko tangi ko ia. He tuturu, he tuu ki mua ki te hare ki a Kainga. He oho mai Kainga, he ki: "Ka moe koe ki raro." He moe Kainga poki. He too mai Kainga matua, he tingai ia Kainga poki. He mate, he too, he oho, he rara, he maitaki, he hakatee i te kokoma he hatui i te kokoma.

He mau e tau maanga hangai era e Kainga, he vaai i te kokoma tangata. He ui Rokeaua. He hakaara Rokeaua ia Makita: "Ka ara koe ki te taua kokoma kai." He ara Makita: "He aha mee ena?" He ki Rokeaua: "He kokoma tangata." He ea, he ea Makita, he ihi i te hare atua. He iri, he tere mai, he mataku ku mate a te poki a Kainga. He ea takoa mai Rokeaua, e tere takoa mai. He tikea e Kainga e te hoa poki he rangi: "He hoa korua i te umu hiva ia Pepe, te vaivai parangia Rano-aroi." He too Kainga i taana poki, he hata i runga i te rango, e noho, he rangi ki toona tangata: "K(a) oho mai korua ki iri tatou ki te vaivai parangia, too mai ki te tino mo te vaka too mai." He ki te tangata kia Kainga: "Matu, ki iri." He iri mai ananake ko te tangata, he tuu ki Rano-aroi, he too i te vaivai parangia. He too i te tino mo te vaka. He amoamo. He hoki ananake ki mua ki te hare, he tuku i te vaka i kumi te vaka, e tarai i te tino, he hakamoe te tino, he hahau te miro o te vaka. He tuku, he pae i kumi te vaka. He popo te tangata.

He oho mai Rokeaua ararua ko Makita e opo. He tetere te tangata, te vie, te poki ki haho ki te motu. Ku maa a te tangata o Tuu i te vaka kumi o Kainga. Ko tetere a Anakena, a Kura, a Hangoteo, a Vai-mata, a Maitaki-te-moa, a Ohau, a Ahu-te-peu, a Motu-tautara, Ahu-

173
539

what they said to me." Kainga said, "It is good, go up and call [them] to come here." The adopted orphan went up. When he reached the top, he called: "Hey, you, the bad orphan of Kainga, come here." He came and when they met, the bad orphan of Kainga said: "It is the first time you called me to do some good." He began to cry: "Here is spread the land of the white excrements of the *mahore* fish. Alas, the land, alas, here below spreads the land of the white excrements of the *mahore*." He cried. He went down and arrived at the front of Kainga's house. Kainga came out and said: "You stretch yourself here below." Kainga, the child, laid down. Kainga the father acted, he killed Kainga the child. When [the child] was dead, he took his corpse, browned it, made it clean, cleaned the entrails and roasted the intestines.

The other orphan raised by Kainga took in the human intestines. Rokeaua saw them. Rokeaua woke Makita: "You get up, we shall eat intestines." Makita got up: "What is that?" Rokeaua said: "They are man's intestines." Makita slipped out through a hole in the back of the house. He ascended, he fled because the child of Kainga had been killed. Rokeaua also rushed out and fled. Kainga and his boy companion saw and shouted: "You threw away the foreign food of Kainga. The keel is in Pepe, the caulking material in Rano-aroi." Kainga took his child, he laid it on a stretcher and called his people: "Let us go up to get [material for] caulking and a keel for the boat." The men answered, "Let us go up." All the men went up to the Rano-aroi and collected the caulking material. They also took a tree stump for the keel. They carried it on their shoulders. They came back to the front of the house. They built a large canoe. They carved the long piece of wood, they laid down the keel, and tied the boards of the boat. They built it, the large boat was finished. The people got into the boat.

Rokeaua and Makita ran away. The men, women, and children fled to the islands. The people of Tuu had heard of the long boat of Kainga. All the people of Anakena, Kura, Hangoteo, Vai-mata, Maitaki-te-moa, Ohau, Ahu-te-peu, Motu-tautara, Ahu-kihi-rau-mea, Ahu-moko-

173
539
kihi-rau-mea, Ahu-moko-piki, ananake te ahu o Tuu i oti tahi ro ai te tere ki te motu.

piki, and of all the ahu of Tuu district fled, to the last one, to the islands.

He oho te vaka o Kainga, he tuu ki te motu, he mimiro kavarikavari, he hoki, te tuu ki te Kauvae. He rangi Kainga: "Ko oho mai te tangata ki nei ki ui atu au." He oho mai te tangata, he ui Kainga, he rangi: "Ina, ina." He rangi hakahou Kainga: "E hia tangata toe?" "Erua no toe." He rangi Kainga: "Ako raua a ararua, ka oho, ka unga mai." He oho te tangata, he hakaunga mai mai roto mai te ana o Motu-nui. He ui Kainga, he tikea, he rangi: "Ka mau mai na ko raua ararua." He oho mai a Makita a Rokeaua. He too mai ki runga ki te vaka, he too Kainga mo tingai. He ki: "Ina koe, e ko tingai vave ia maua ki tikea mai a Manavai-mariri, te kainga hina turu i te maika." He ki Kainga: "Ka hahati te vaka, matu." He oho te vaka, he tuu ki te Ihu. He tikea a Manavai-mariri. He tangi Rokeaua: "Ka moe mae a Manavai-mariri te kainga hina turu i te maika."

The boat of Kainga set out, and went to the island round which it sailed, then arrived at Kauvae. Kainga called: "You people come here, I want to ask you something." The people came, Kainga looked at them and shouted: "Not here, not here." Kainga shouted again: "How many people are left?" "Two remain." Kainga said: "Those two are the two. Go and bring them." The men went and took them from the cave of Motu-nui. Kainga looked, recognized and said: "Bring these two men over to me." Makita and Rokeaua came. They were taken on the boat for Kainga to kill. They said: "Do not kill us, allow us to see the hole Manavai-mariri where our long floating hair became white from eating bananas." Kainga said: "Paddle, let us go." The canoe arrived at Ihu. They saw Manavai-mariri. Rokeaua cried: "Here lies Manavai-mariri the country where my long floating hair became white from eating bananas."

He too mai Kainga, he puapua hai paoa, he mate. He oho te vaka, he tomo ki Hanga-nui. He noho, he kai te tu umu, he ootu te umu. He rara i te ika ko Rokeaua. He oti te rara, he hakatee te kokoma, he hoa, he uru i te umu, he too mai te taueve. He tao ia Rokeaua, he ootu, he maoa, he tuhaa ki toona tangata o Tupahotu ananake i kai ai i tuhahai ki toona tangata.

Kainga acted, struck him with a club [and] he died. The canoe went and landed at Hanga-nui. They stayed, they lighted an earth oven and heated the stones. They scorched the corpse of Rokeaua. After scorching, the entrails were cleaned; they put them into the oven, spread stones over them, and covered the oven with grass. They cooked Rokeaua; when he was cooked, they took him out and distributed [his meat] among his Tupahotu people and every one ate his share.

II

He tau te taua a Miru o te Tupahotu ananake mata. He kio Tupahotu, he opo ki haho ki te motu ki Marotiri, he opo ki Ana-te-ava-nui.

The Miru fought against the Tupahotu and all the tribes participated in the war. The Tupahotu were defeated, and part of them fled to the island Marotiri, part to the cave Ana-te-ava-nui.

He oho te vaka ki te motu. He too mai i te tangata, i te nga vie, i te poki he tingaingai. He tari, he oho mai mai haho mai te motu, he tomo ki uta ki Ana-havea, he tuha i te ika tangata ki te tangata.

Canoes went to the island. They seized men, women, and children, and killed them. They took them from the island and landed at Ana-havea. They distributed the corpses of the enemies among the people.

I te po rua o te raa, he hoki hakahou, he too mai i te tangata, i te vie, i te nga poki, he tingaingai. He mau, he oho mai

On another day they returned again to take men, women, and children and kill them. They carried them to Ana-havea ki Ana-havea, he vaai ki te tangata i te ika tangata mate. He rotu, he kai i te ika tangata.

He hoki te taua ki Ana-te-ava-nui. He turu te tiamo i roto i te kupenga. Ko ia ko te hatu mata i roto i te kupenga mo hoahoa ki te puoko o te tangata, he mamate. He oti te hatu mata, te hoki te tiamo ki runga, he too hakahou mai i te hatu mata ma po. He hakarivariva mo turu hakahou a po ki roto ki te ana, ki te tangata tingai.

He hoki te taua ki Ana-havea ai ka hoki no te vaka ki te ika tangata i te motu. Tae ko iti te tangata, te vie te poki, i te motu e too mai era ina he horau te oti mai. E toru ara o te vaka i te toohanga no mai ina he oti.

He hoki te taua ki tua ki Ana-te-ava-nui. Pe tau turuhanga ana o te tiamo e hoahoa era hai hatu mata. He mamate te tangata, te vie, te poki. E tangata verenga kore a ka hoa mai ki haho ana, tangata hiohio ka noho i roto i te ana. Ana mee reherehe ka hoahoa ki haho, he oti te tingaingai i te tangata, i te vie, i te poki ku oti a to haho. He toe etoru te angahuru no toe, ku oti a to haho.

He hoki mai te taua ki Ana-havea. He too mai i te tangata i runga i te vaka, he hakamaomao mai i te tangata o raro o te eve o te motu. Etahi-te-angahuru no te mee toe.

He oho mai a Oho-takatore mai toona hare, he tuu ki Ana-havea i mana ki te hora o te vaka tomo mai i runga te ika tangata. He hoahoa mai i te tangata mamate ki uta. He kiki te tangata o runga o te vaka: "Ko Hanga-maihi-tokerau, taau ika era." He nonoi o Oho-takatore: "Maaku te ika ingoa rivariva ena ko Hanga-maihi-tokerau." He rangi mai Poie: "Ma au ana o te ika ingoa rivariva nei mo te topa, o tea he oti?" He rori te teketeke o te hau a mua, he ea ki runga. He hoki, he iri a Oho-takatore. He ki te tangata ki a Poie-nuinui-a-Tuki: "Ku roria te teketeke o te hau o Oho-takatore, ku paea te taua, ku rakerake a ia koe." He oho Oho-taketore, he tuu ki toona hare, he ki ki te vie: "He tau vovo?" He haka hoki te vie: "Kai kakarao koe, e

where were distributed among the people the corpses of the dead. When supplied, they ate the human corpses.

The war party went back to the cave Ana-te-ava-nui. They lowered warriors in a net. The men took with them in the net obsidian flakes to throw at the heads of the enemies and to kill them. When their stones were exhausted, the warriors returned above and again took flakes of obsidian for another day. They shaped them for a return at night to the cave to kill the people.

The warriors returned to Ana-havea and the canoes set out for the bodies of the people on the islet. The men, women and children on the islet were becoming fewer and their number was being exhausted. A third time the boat went to the islet and they had not finished killing them.

The warriors went back behind the cave Ana-te-ava-nui. It was the same lowering of the warriors who threw the obsidian flakes. Men, women, and children died. The weak people were pushed to the entrance of the cave, the strong ones remained in the interior of the cave. The weak people at the entrance were killed from outside, and they were men, women, and children. Thirty men were left, those near the outside were finished.

The warriors went back to Ana-havea. They took people on their canoes and they were exterminating those who were on the lower part of the islet. Only ten men were left.

Oho-takatore came from his house, he went to Ana-havea to be there at the moment the canoes with the dead bodies in them landed. They cast the corpses on the beach. The people in the canoe said: "Here is the body of Hanga-maihi-tokerau." Oho-takatore asked: "Give me the body with the beautiful name Hanga-maihi-tokerau." Poie shouted: "For you it would not be a body with a beautiful name, why do you come when the daylight is over?" [Oho-takatore] turned the back of his circlet to the front and raised it. He returned, Oho-takatore went back to the interior. The people said to Poie-nuinui-a-Tuki: "Oho-takatore turned the back of his circlet to the front. A bad fight for you is starting now." Oho-takatore went on, he arrived at his house and

173
539

koro e, i ki ro mai ai i tau vovo ki au? Hoki o nei o tau vovo e noho nei, koe i ui ro mai ai. O tai era tau vovo e noho nei raua ko taana kenu." E ki era te vie ki te kenu. He ki hakahou Oho-takatore: "Karangi koe ki tau vovo." He rangi te matua tamahahine ki taana poki: "E vovo e, ka iri mai koe ki ki atu tau tangata nei." He iri mai te poki, he oho mai, he tuu ki mua ki te hare. He ki te matua tamaaroa ki te poki: "E vovo e, e manau no a ho te hunonga ki toona mata o nga poki o Hotu-iti?" He hakahoki te poki ki te matua: "Kai ka kara o koe, e koro e, i ui ro mai a koe ki a au. Hoki e haaki ro mai te hunonga i te manau mo te mata o nga poki o Hotu-iti?" He ki hakahou te matua tamaaroa ko Oho-takatore: "Ka turu ka ki e manau ia ki te mata o nga poki o Hotu-iti." He taua te mee e ki era te mee e ki era te matua ki taana vovo mo nga poki o Miru. He turu tau poki era.

He hoki te taua ki haho ki te motu. Etahi tangata ho-nui o runga o te motu, ko Kainga te ingoa. Etahi hoki tangata ko Vaha te ingoa, he matatoa o Miru. E noho i haho i te motu etahi kona ana tiaki a Kainga, etahi ana ki a Vaha. Ina he tangata toe ku oti a te vaai e Vaha ki runga ki te vaka ana te tingaiingai i te tangata e vaai era ki runga ki te vaka. E tiaki ana Vaha i te tangata o runga o te motu. E tiaki ana hoki Kainga ia Vaha o iri atu Vaha ki runga ki te motu o runga he noho.

He tuu ki toona raa, he oho mai te poki a Kainga ko Huri-avai te ingoa, i te ahiahi po, i oho mai ai tau poki era i kau mai ai. He tomo mai ki haho ki te motu o Marotiri. He haka rongo mai Kainga, ka ui Vaha: "Ko ai koe?" "Koau ko Huri-avai." He ki a Vaha ki te poki: "Ko au ko te toa o Huri-avai" He tingai Vaha i te poki a Kainga. Tau poki era ku ngaroa a ana te ingoa e Kainga o taana poki te kihanga o Vaha. He too Vaha i tau poki era, he hoa ki haho ki te tai. He rere takoa a Vaha, he hakakau atu. He turu mai a Kainga mai runga mai te motu, he mau takoa i te kakau. He rere takoa, he kau. He oho, he tomo Kainga a Revapu. He oho rae ki Ainini. He noho ira. He kau atu a Vaha raua ko te poki. He tomo a Voro. He amo, he iri, he oho. He manau Kainga: "A uta ho a

said to his wife: "Where is our daughter?" The woman answered: "Why, you the father, do you ask me for our daughter? If our daughter were living here, you could ask me for her. She lives on the beach with her husband." So spoke the woman to the husband. Oho-takatore said again: "Call our daughter." The mother called her child, "My daughter, come up to speak with this man." The daughter came up and arrived in front of the house. The father said to his child: "My daughter, is my son-in-law [Moa] thinking of his tribe of the children of Hotu-iti?" The daughter answered to her father: "Why are you asking me such questions, father? Does your son-in-law reveal his thoughts about the people of Hotu-iti?" Oho-takatore, her father, said again: "Go down and tell him to think of the tribes of Hotu-iti." He told his daughter things to harm the people of Miru. The daughter went down.

The fight returns out to the islet. There was a man of importance, called Kainga, on the islet. There was also a man called Vaha, a warrior of the Miru. At a place on the island, Kainga was watching and Vaha was doing the same in a cave. There were no people left, they had been exterminated by Vaha who delivered them to the canoes after he had killed them. Vaha was spying on the people on the islet. Kainga spied on Vaha so that he would stay below and not climb on the islet.

One day the son of Kainga, named Huri-avai, came in the evening, swimming. He landed on the islet Marotiri. Kainga heard Vaha asking: "Who are you?" "I am Huri-avai." Vaha said to the child: "I am the enemy of Huri-avai." Vaha killed the son of Kainga. Kainga heard the name of his child when he was speaking to Vaha. Vaha took the child of Kainga [and] threw him into the sea. Vaha dived also and swam with the body. Kainga descended from the top of the island taking with him his obsidian spear. He also dived into the water and swam. Kainga arrived and landed at Revapu. He arrived first at Ainini and stayed there. Vaha was still swimming with the child. He landed at Voro. He carried the body, he went up. Kainga thought: "He will go, maybe, to the in-

Vaha ana oho ro ana oho mai a nei, he mate ia au, ana oho a uta ekore ravaa mai." He noho Kainga. He ui ai Vaha, e oho no mai era, e amo no mai era i te poki tingai era. A Kainga i ka ui atu. Ka huri mai, ka turu mai. He manau Kainga: "He mate koe ia au." He oho mai a Vaha, he tuu mai ki tupuaki ki a Kainga, he ui: "Ko ai koe?" He ki mai a Vaha: "Ko Vaha ko te toa o Huri-avai." He ki Kainga: "E ko Kainga ko te toa o Vaha." He tingai Kainga ia Vaha. He mate a Vaha. He too i te poki a Kainga. He mau, he tangi, he hata i runga i te ahu itiiti ko Ainini te ingoa. He hoki mai Kainga, he amo i te ika ia Vaha. He oho, he tuu ki Revapu. He rere hakahou ki haho ki te tai, he kau. He oho ararua ko te ika ko Vaha. He tomo ki te motu. He amo, he iri, he eke, he iri, he oho ki te potu o te motu ira te tangata etoru-te-anga-huru. He vaai i te ika tangata, he horehore i te kiko, he tao ki te aro hainga, ki te aro kauhanga. He maemae no, he too mai, he kai, he te ahi mo tunuhanga ina he ahi, ina he kona mo ka o te umu he kai no ai, peiraa i hatui ki te manga hainga no ki te manga kauhanga, he ka kai roa avai.

He hoki mai a Moa, he keri i te kumara, i te uhi, he kato i te rau, he hahati i te toa. He hoki, he tuu Moa ki te hare. He too mai i te hukahuka, he puhi i te umu, he ootu te umu, he uru i te umu, he tao i te uhi, i te kumara, i te rau. He puapua hai maea a runga a te uhi, a te kumara, he pua hai taueve, he pengopengo, he tanu hai oone. He oti, he oho ki roto ki te hare, he too mai i te kupenga, he haka-rivariva i te kupenga, viri, he hohora, he oti te hohora, he hakarivariva, he viri hakahou i te kupenga. He ahiahi moikoiko, he maoa i te umu. He too mai i te rau toa, he hohora, he papa i te kumara ki runga, i te uhi, i te rau. He here te hai o tau popo kai era. He too mai, he hakapa te kupenga, he amo, he iri i te po-haha. He iri, he oho, he tuu ki Vaipu. He too i te kupenga, he hakarere. He amo hakahou, he oho mai, he tuu ki Hanga-o-honu. He iri, he tuu ki Mahatua. He iri, he oho, he tuu ki maunga ki Vai-heva. He hakarere i te popo etahi tumu niu. He pao mai e varu tuke o te niu he too mai, he hakapa ki popo. He

terior. But if he comes here, I shall kill him. If he goes to the interior, I won't be able to catch him." Kainga stayed there. He saw Vaha walking, carring on his shoulders the body of the child he had killed. Kainga was watching. He [Vaha] turned towards him, he approached. Kainga thought, "You will be killed by me." When Vaha came near, Kainga asked: "Who are you?" Vaha answered: "Vaha, the enemy of Huri-avai." Kainga said: "I am Kainga, the enemy of Vaha." Kainga killed Vaha. Vaha died. Kainga took his child. He carried him, he wept, and put him on a small ahu called Ainini. Kainga went back, he carried Vaha's body. He went and arrived at Revapu. He entered into the sea and swam. He arrived with the body of Vaha. He landed on the island. He carried the body, he went up and arrived on the top of the islet on which there were thirty men. He gave them the body, they cut the meat and they cooked it under their armpits and between their thighs. This meat was raw and they ate it thus because they had no fire for cooking and no space to make an earth oven, so they only heated the meat under their armpits and between their thighs and devoured it all.

Moa came back, he dug out sweet potatoes, yams, plucked sweet potato leaves and broke off some sugar cane. He came back and arrived at his house. He picked up firewood, lighted the earth oven, made it warm and spread out the stones of the oven, put in it yams, sweet potatoes, and leaves. He put stones and then grass on the yams and the sweet potatoes, covered the hole with grass and covered it with soil. When he was through, he went into the house, he took a net, he mended it, unrolled it, spread it on the ground nicely, and rolled it up again. When evening was darkening, his oven was cooked. He took sugar-cane leaves and spread them and heaped the sweet potatoes, the yams, and the leaves on them. He wrapped into bundles the heap of food. He took the bundles, he put them together with the net, carrying them on his back, and set out when it was dark. He went, arrived at Vaipu. He took his net and left it there. He threw his load on his shoulders again, he went and arrived at Hanga-o-honu. He went on, arrived at Mahatua.

173
539

amo, he oho, he tuu ki te tiamo. I ka tuu atu ko te tangata e hauru roa i raro i te pu. He oho ka rua pu, he tangata toraro, he oho hakahou ka toru pu, peiraa, he oho hakahou ka ha pu, peiraa te tangata, he oho hakahou ka rima pu, he oho hakahou ka ono pu, he oho hakahou ka hitu pu, he oho hakahou ka varu pu, he tangata toraro e hauru roa. E oho hakahou etoru tangata o te hihi o te opata. He turu ki raro ki raro ki te opata, erua hoki tangata tangata mounga ko te hauru ro ana. He turu, he topa, he ui: "He korua." He hakahoki mai a roto a te ana: "Ko ai koe." "Ko au ko Moa." He tangi mai: "Aue repa e, ka oho mai." He ki a Moa: "He mee o tangi vave mai anira o otea au. Ka too atu te hai mai tooku ngao." He too, he eke a Moa, he oo ki roto ki te ana. He mataki i te popo, he tuhaa i te toa He ki Moa: "Mo hakavaivai i te haha ka kai te toa." He tuhaa hakahou i te kumara, he tuhaa hakahou i te uhi, he tuhaa hakahou i te rau. He ki Moa: "He mee o kai vave e hoki au, ana kai iho." Heui Moa: "He te ivi o Pere-rokiroki?" He ki mai kia Moa: "Ai raro era." He ki Moa: "Ka turu, ka too mai." He turu, he too mai, he tuu mai. He titingi i te ivi rae, he hakaparehe, he rivariva, he hahau ki runga ki tau tuke niu era amo oho era. He here hiohio i runga i te tuke niu. He ui hakahou Moa: "I he te timo e noho nei?" He ki mai te tangata o roto o te ana ko Ana-te-ava-nui: "Na i te kona ena."

He too Moa i tau tuke niu era i runga te mangai ivi tangata. He pao e Moa ki runga, ki te kona noho era o te timo. He hiohio, he ki: "Ka (o)ho mai, ka mau ananake, ana rangi: 'Ka haro au erunga e.' Ka ruruku mai, ka too te rua tuke ka hakarau, ka ruruku mai peira te toru, peira te ha, peira te rima, peira te ono, peira te hitu, peira te varu. Ava varu tuke ana hakahiohio, ka ruruku mai ana, topa mai a runga a te taura, korua ana iri atu. Ata kahara korua ia au ana, ui korua ia au." He tangi Moa, ku oti a te vananga, te hatu oira i hakaaroha ai

He climbed and arrived at the hill of Vaiheva. He laid the bundle near the trunk of a *niu* tree. He cut eight branches, he took them and put them with the bundle. He threw it on his back, he went and arrived at the place where people were lowered. When he arrived the people slept in the ditches. He went to the second hole, there were people in, he went to the third hole, it was the same, he went to the fourth and it was the same, he went to the fifth, the sixth, the seventh and eighth and there were people sleeping in them. Three men were on the edge of the cliff. He descended the cliff and there were there two people, the last ones, who slept. He went down and asked: "Who are you?" They answered from the interior of the cave: "Who are you?" "I am Moa." They wept: "Alas, young man, come here." Moa said: "Do not cry lest I would be surprised by the daylight. Take the bundle from my back." They took it and Moa climbed into the cave. He opened the bundle and distributed the sugar cane. Moa said: "Eat the sugar cane to make your mouths wet." He distributed the sweet potatoes, yams, and leaves. Moa said: "Do not eat yet as I am going back; then eat." Moa asked: "Where are the bones of Pere-rokiroki?" They said to Moa: "Here below they are." Moa said: "Go down and bring them." They went down, they took them and came back. He broke it into pieces first, shaped it, tied it on the end of a coconut branch he had taken with him when coming. He lashed the bone firmly on the coconut branch. Then Moa asked: "Where do the killers stay?" The people of the cave Ana-te-ava-nui said: "At this place."

Moa took the branch of coconut tree to which the hook of human bone was fixed. Moa seized something above, the place where the warriors stood. After having made his grip firm he said: "You come, seize it all and when they shout, 'Lift us up,' you pull the net down, take another hook and do the same with two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight [hooks]. Catch them with the eight hooks and pull down the net, lower it and go up. You take care of my relatives and look after them." After finishing his explanations, Moa wept because he felt sorry for his ki te tangata ona. He oti te tangi, he ki: "Ka noho korua! O ravaa au e te taua, he hoki au."

He hoki mai a Moa, he iri, he oho mai raro mai te opata, he tuu ki te ngangata era erua. He tuu hakahou ki te ngangata era etoru e hauru no ana. He ea ki runga, he tere, he oho mai ki Maunga Teatea, ki Mahatua. He hipa ki te miritonu, he too mai, he mau ki te rima. He oho, he tuu ki Vaipu, ki te kupenga, he too mai Vaipu. He amo ki te ngao, he turu, he oho, he tuu ki te hare. He moe ro ana te vie. He hohora i te kupenga a runga a te hare, he hukihuki i te miritonu ki runga ki te kupenga ki ki ai te tangata mai tai ia. He uru ki roto ki te hare, he moe ararua ko te vie, he pangahaa, he hauru kai roa te hauruhanga. I vouro ai te karanga: "Ku pae a taau taua, e tai e." He veveri hakahou a Moa, he ara. He ki te vie: "E ia koe o peaha." He ki Moa: "Kai ma mai o nga kope a peaha."

He ootea. He turu te timo, he topa te timo ki te haha o te ana. He hakarivariva te tangata o roto o te ana o Ana-te-ava-nui. He pao i te tuke rae i runga, a te rua, te toru, te ha, te rima. He ruruku mai te ono, te hitu. Ka ruruku ko ia te varu. He topa mai te timo ki roto ki te ana o Ana-te-ava-nui, i roto i te kupenga te timo tangata o Miru. He too e te tangata o roto o te ana o Ana-te-ava-nui, he tingai ararua timo, he hakarere i roto ana i te ana. He eke ro ai te tangata o roto o te ana a runga ana a te taura, he tahuti. He iri, he tuu ki tau tangata era erua. He tingai, he tuu ki te tangata era etoru o te hihi o te opata. He tingai.

He tuu ki te tangata o raro o te pu, he tingai e rima te angahuru a vavaru pu. He tikea te tangata a Moa, ina kai tingai. He rangi, "Ka noho korua tumu o mate i te terehanga." He noho tau ngangata era. He tingai i te tangata o Miru, te vie, te poki, he tingai tahi. He vae i te vie rivariva te tangata o roto o te ana o Ana-te-ava-nui. "He vae koe i taau o te vie. He vae hoki au i taaku o te vie, ananake pehu mee ana."

He tuu te taua ki te kona ko Te Hu-

people. His weeping ended, he said: "Farewell! I shall go back lest the war party will catch me."

Moa returned, he climbed from below the cliff and he arrived again where the two people were. He arrived again where three people were sleeping. When he reached the top, he fled, and went to Mount Teatea, to Mahatua. He looked for seaweed, and took some in his hand. He returned at Vaipu to his net to take from Vaipu. He put it on his back, he went down and arrived at his house. His wife was still sleeping. He spread the net on the house and spread the seaweed on it so that people would think he had come from the beach. He entered his house, he stretched beside his wife, he fell asleep but his sleep was not long. A clamor sounded: "War is on you, O people of the shore." Moa woke with a start. His wife said: "This is on account of you." Moa replied: "I do not know, perhaps the men by themselves."

The day broke. The warriors went down to the mouth of the cave. The people of the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui had made their preparations. The hook of bone caught, the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth. The sixth caught, the seventh. The eighth also caught. The warriors were dragged into the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui, within the net were the warriors of Miru. The people within the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui drew in [the net], they killed the two warriors, and left them in the cave. The people from within the cave climbed up by the rope, they fled. They climbed up and reached the two men [above]. They killed them and reached those three men on the edge of the cliff. They killed them.

They came to the people in the hole, they killed fifty in the eight holes. [When] they recognized the people of Moa, they did not kill them. They called out, "Stay, do not tire your knees by running away." Those people remained. They killed the people of Miru, the women, the children were killed alike. The people from within the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui chose the good-looking women. "You pick out for yourself from among the women. I also am selecting mine of the women, all are doing likewise."

They arrived at a place called Hukinga-

-3

173
539

kinga-heru. He rangi ki haho ki te motu o Marotiri: "E haho e, ka rere taura ko te Pua-hauhau Kuravaana." He rangi mai haho te motu: "Rangi mai na au, e uta e. Ku pua ana te rito o te maunga."

He hoki te taua o uta. He tingai i te tangata, i te vie, i te poki. He rere te mata-toa haho o te motu ki haho ki te tai. He kau, he oho, he tomo a Omamamama. He tingai i te tangata. He tuu ki Ana-havea, he tingai. He tere a Poie-nuinui-a-tuki ananake toona nga taina. He tingai te tangata, he tutute ki a Poie ki Orohie Poie, ki ahu Puoko ko taua nui takoa; ki Maio, ki Maunga Toatoa Poie ko taua nui takoa; ki moai Anonganonga Poie, te taua takoa; ki Hanga-te-tenga Poie te taua nui takoa; ki Runga-vae, ki Ana-vaero, ki Oroi, ki Akahanga. He iri a uta Poie, e iri takoa te taua ki te Rapa-tahi-auka. Poie ki Haupuamea, Poie ki te Miro-oone, Poie ko taua nui takoa. He tute era te Hotu-iti ko Kainga, he rangi Kainga, "Ka noho ka hakarere mahaki mo te tau era, mo hakareka o tatou." He hoki te taua ki te Revareva, ki Vai-tea, ki Ava-rangauka-atoroke-hau. Te taua a Kainga e tingai era i te tangata, i te vie, i te poki. E vie rivariva ana ka hue mo vie mo raua.

Ki Apui te taua a Kainga ki Maunga Opipi, ki Ahua. I ka tuu atu e hohoko ana te tangata ko Hua-karoa, ko Hua-kangori, etahi-te-angahuru te tangata pehu ingoa ana ananake. E koa ana i te ao. He oti Hotu-iti te Tupahotu, o Hotu-iti te mamate te ia raua. He ui mai a Hua-kangori ko te taua, he mataku. He oho atu Kainga ananake ko toona tangata. He tingai i tau ngangata era e koa ana i to raua ao; ina kai koa hakahou tingaingai ana e Kainga.

He piri mai te taua o roto o te ana o Ana-te-ava-nui ki a Kainga. He hakapiri ararua taua ko roto ko te ana ko haho ko te motu e tingai era i te tangata, i te vie, i te nga poki. He oti te tangata, ina he tangata toe ko Anakena no te kona i tae tingai ko Vaihu te potu o te painga era.

heru. They called over to the island of Marotiri: "Outside there, Pua-hauhau and Kuravaana [the two enemies] fell from the rope. [The people on] the island outside shouted: "You are calling us, you people on the land. We have covered [our oven] with the banana leaves of the mountain."

The fighting returned to the interior. They killed the men, the women, and the children. The warriors out on the islet jumped into the sea. They swam to the shore where they landed in Omamamama. They killed the men. They went to Ana-havea killing. Poie-nuinui-a-tuki fled with all his brothers. They killed the men, they pursued Poie to Orohie, to ahu Puoko, where all engaged in a big fight; to Maio, to Mount Toatoa went Poie, where much fighting took place; to the statue Anonganonga went Poie, where fighting took place; to Hanga-te-tenga went Poie where fighting took place; to Runga-vae, to Ana-vaero, to Oroi, to Akahanga. Poie fled to the interior, fighting took place at Rapa-tahi-auka. Poie [fled] to Haupuamea. Poie [fled] to Miro-oone where fighting took place. The Hotu-iti [warrior] Kainga pursued [Poie], Kainga shouted, "Stop, leave that man for another time to make sport for us." The fighting returned to Revareva, to Vai-tea, to Ava-rangauka-atoroke-hau. The fighting of Kainga killed the men, the women, the children. The good-looking women were spared as wives for themselves.

The war of Kainga went on to Apui, to Mount Opipi, to Ahua. When he arrived, people named Hua-karoa and Hua-kangori, and ten people all bearing similar names were dancing. They were joyous because of victory. Hotu-iti and Tupahotu were finished, Hotu-iti had been killed by them. Hua-kangori saw the war party and was afraid. Kainga and his warriors came. They killed the people who were celebrating their victory. They did not rejoice again since Kainga killed them.

The warriors from the cave Ana-te-ava-nui joined Kainga. The two war parties of the cave and of the island joined forces in killing the men, the women, and the children. There were no more people left except in Anakena and from the place not attacked in Vaihu, the point on

Ku oti a Hotu-iti te tingai peiraa Hanga-o-honu. Ka tuu ro ki Mahatua.

He hoki te taua a Ana-te-ava-nui. He too i te tangata etahi ko Paoa-aurevera aana te ura, te ika, te toa. He too i tau ika era ko Paoa-aurevera, he amo, he hoki ki tua ki roto ki te ana, ki Ana-te-ava-nui. He puhi te umu, he tao i tau ika timo era i tau ika ko Paoa-aurevera, te toru ika i tao. He ootu, he maoa, he kai. He ata i te ana noho era o raua i roto i te ana tau ika era etoru.

He kai atu, he hoki te taua a Kainga ki Ana-havea. He tao takoa to raua o te tangata mo kai.

He ea mai te tangata o Ana-te-ava-nui. He noho i Mahatua. He oho te tangata, he too mai koe i taau vie, te kope era, te kope era hoki ananake. He oho mai te tangata a Kainga. He noho i Potu-te-rangi. He too mai i to raua o te vie etahi-te-angahuru te vie kataki no tangata ararua painga. He matau toroto to te ana ko te Toki-heu, ko te Toki-punipuni, ko te Toki-rengorengo. He matau hoki to haho to te motu to Marotiri ko Ui, ko Katu, ko Mohani, ko te Hihi-o-pirato, ko te Vekeveke-o-pirato. He hakaai i te poki ararua painga. He porekoreko te poki. He hangai; he nunui ararua painga ko tua ko te ana, ko haho ko te motu. Korokorohua te nga a poki, he hakamaa, he tau te taua tautanga te nga poki. He maa te tau o te taua.

He tuu ki toona tau. E iri te taua ki a Poie mo ira i hakarere era i tau taua rae era. Iri te taua i te hora era o te poa. He tuu ki Tuutapu. He ui ia Poie i roto i te hare ina o roto. I tai i te ika tuku. Erua no mee o roto o te hare; he hungavai ana o Poie ararua ko taana uka. Te hungavai o Poie-nuinui-a-tuki ko Maikuku, hungavai rakerake. He ki Maikuku ki te mata-toa o Tupahotu: "Ana hakaea au i tooku marengo ki haho, i tai Poie; ana tae hakaea ki haho i tooku marengo; ka maa no korua i roto i te hare."

He ea ta uka era a Maikuku he ohu: "E Poie-nuinui-a-tuki e, i mua ia koe taau taua hatupaki. Hatupaki verevereu verevereu Matangi-a-tuu-tapu e. He taua o taau e Maikuku rakerake e, mo Poie

the other side. The Hotu-iti were exterminated as were Hanga-o-honu. They reached Mahatua.

The fight went back toward Ana-te-ava-nui. They captured a man named Paoa-aurevera his lobsters, fish, and sugar cane. They took the victim, Paoa-aurevera, they carried him, they returned to the other side to the cave, to Ana-te-ava-nui. They lit the oven, they cooked that enemy victim, that victim Paoa-aurevera, the third victim to be cooked. They baked, cooked, and ate. They carved images of those three victims in the caves in which they stayed.

Enough for that, the fight of Kainga goes back to Ana-havea. They also cooked their victims to eat them.

The men of the cave Ana-te-ava-nui came out. They stayed in Mahatua. The men came, every one took a woman for himself, the young men, all the young men. The men of Kainga came. They stayed at Potu-te-rangi. The men of both parties each had ten women. The valiant warriors in the cave were Toki-heu, Toki-punipuni, Toki-rengorengo. The valiant warriors from the islet of Marotiri were Ui, Katu, Mohani, Hihi-o-pirato, Veke-veke-o-pirato. Both bands procreated children. Children were born. They were nursed; they grew up in the two bands, that of the cave and that of the islet. When the children were grown up they were taught, the children were instructed in war. They became experienced for the time of fighting.

The time arrived. The war party marched out against Poie who had been spared in the first war. The warriors set out in the morning. They arrived at Tuu-tapu. They looked for Poie in his house but he was not within. He was net fishing in the sea. Two things were in the house; the father-in-law of Poie-nuinui-a-tuki was Maikuku, a bad father-in-law. Maikuku said to the warriors of Tupa-hotu, "If I show my bald head outside, Poie will be in the sea; if I do not show my bald head outside, you will know that he is in the house."

The daughter of Maikuku went out and shouted: "O Poie-nuinui-a-tuki, your enemies are upon you. There are many, many men from the village Matangi-a-tuu-tapu. Maikuku is your enemy, he is

173 539 mo toou hunonga, ika nui o te Hakataha pei nui."

He oho te taua, he piri ki a Poie. He tute ia Poie ki Hanga-roa, ki Apina-iti, ki Apina-nui, ki Hanga-piko, ki Mataveri. He rere ki haho ki te tai ananake ko te taina a Poie e kau, he oho ki te motu ko taua nui takoa. He tomo Poie ki te motu ananake ko taana nga taina. He tuu takoa atu te taua. He rere hakahou mai Poie ko taua nui takoa. He tomo Atepu. He tere, he iri ki runga ko taua nui takoa. He rava te taina rae, he rava karua, he rava ka toru, he rava ka ha. Etahi i ngaro ko Taku-hauuri. He too ia Poie, he mau, he iri. He tangi Poie: "Piri nui te toto e nga hoa e, piri nui tukaki nui." He ea ki runga ki Orongo ananake te taua. He hakapiri tahi te taua. He oho mai te poki: "Ka vaai mai tau korohua ki a au." He too Kainga, he avai ki tau poki era ia Poie. He too mai tau poki era ko Kirireva te ingoa o tau poki era. He too mai ia Poie, he hakamaroa. He too mai hai rau toa, he hai ahaho a te hakari o Poie. He pengopengo te rau toa i runga i te hakari. He too mai tau poki era ko Kirireva i te ahi, he tutuora ia Poie hai ahi. He tipatipa te hakari i te ahi, e hu era te ahi, i te vera i te ahi. He mate Poie.

He too tau poki era. He oho atu, he kai atu, he hoki te taua mai Orongo ki Mataveri, e kimi ana i te tangata, i te vie, i te poki toenga. Ki Hanga-roa ki Vakapiko, ki Ana-o-hoka ira Oho-takatore ananake ko taana nga poki. Ko toona tangata ina kai tingai. He oho mai i Ahu-te-peu, ki Ohau, ki Maitakitemoa, ki Vai-mata, ki Ru-motu, ki Hanga-tavari ki Hangoteo, ki Motu-raunuku, ki Te Emu, ki Papa-te-kena, ki Motu Kau, ki Te Ava, ki Hanga-o-Hiro. E tingai hakamaomao era ki Hiramoko, ki te Hare-titaa. E too, e oho era.

bad to Poie, to his son-in-law, the big fish [victim] of Hakataha."

The enemies went to meet Poie. They pursued Poie to Hanga-roa, to Apina-iti, to Apina-nui, to Hanga-piko, to Mataveri. All the brothers of Poie jumped into the water and swam to the rocks, and all the enemies did the same. Poie landed at the island with all his brothers. The enemies arrived too. Poie jumped again into the water and all the enemy. He landed at Atepu. He fled, he went up and all the enemy [followed]. The enemies caught the first brother, they caught the second, they caught the third, they caught the fourth. One called Taku-hauuri disappeared. They took Poie, they held him, they took him with them. Poie cried: "The abundant blood of the brothers was mixed, it has been put together." The enemies went up to Orongo. One came near the enemy. A child came: "Give me this old man." Kainga took him, he gave Poie to the child. That child took him, Kirireva was the name of that child. He took Poie, he made him stand. He took sugar-cane leaves, with them he wrapped the body of Poie. He covered the body entirely with sugar-cane leaves. The child Kirireva took fire, burned Poie alive. His body was shaking under the fire, the flames of the fire, the heat of the fire. Poie died.

Kainga took the child, they went to eat. The soldiers returned from Orongo to Mataveri searching for the men, women, and children who were left. They passed to Hanga-roa, to Vakakipo, to Ana-o-hoka where lived Oho-takatore with all his children. They did not kill them. They came to Ahu-te-peu, to Ohau, to Maitakitemoa, to Vai-mata, to Ru-motu, to Hanga-tavari, to Hangoteo, to Motu-raunuku, to Te Emu, to Papa-te-kena, to Motu Kau, to Te Ava, to Hanga-o-Hiro. They killed the people to the bay of Hiramoko and to Hare-titaa. They plundered and they left.

173 The two legends given above are connected only by the character Kainga. Both stories seem to refer to the same warrior of Tupahotu, and it appears that the events of the second legend are not even remotely caused by the incidents of the first one. Routledge (194, pp. 282-288) brings the two stories together under one title. Being inclined to admit the single identity of the

two Kainga, I follow her example, though the two legends were told to me on different occasions and as separate stories. The entire legend could be interpreted as the first strife between the Hotu-iti and Tuu people, though no mention of a real war is made in the story.

The first legend has been recorded previously only by Routledge (194, pp. 282-284). The details of her version, which differ from mine, are as follows:

> Kainga has three sons: Huriavai, Rau-hiva-aringa-erua (literally, Twin-two-faces), and Mahanga-rake-rake-a-Kainga. The third name is considered by Routledge as a proper name, whereas *mahanga* means orphan, and *rake-rake* means the bad one, the silly one. The remainder of the story is identical except that the first boat made by Kainga was not well made and he had to resort to King Tuu-ko-ihu at Ahu-te-peu, who built for him a boat twenty fathoms long.

The principal episodes of the second legend were previously recorded by Thomson (215, pp. 529-531), by Routledge (194, pp. 285-288), and by Vives Solar (220). The native text recorded by me lacks the following episode to which Thomson alludes briefly and which Routledge (194, p. 284) and Vives Solar (220, pp. 301-306) both transcribe in detail:

> There was a war between the two main districts of the island, the Tuu and the Hotu-iti. Kainga tried in vain to kill Toari, a Miru. At home he killed a white cock and gave it to his child Huriavai to eat. That night Huriavai dreamed he threw a stone at a white cock coming toward him and killed it. The dream was interpreted as foretelling Toari's death. The next day Kainga, seeing that no one could kill Toari, commanded Huriavai to go into the battle, taking two spears. Huriavai succeeded in slaying Toari. Kainga, carrying his son, left the battlefield. When deserted by their chief, all the Tupa-hotu ran away, pursued by the Miru. Some escaped and hid in the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui; others went to Marotiri. Huriavai's brother had two faces. He was killed by a man called Pau-a-ure-vera. The face behind said, "I see Pau-a-ure-vera; he comes to me with a spear in his hand. You look too." But the face in front said, "I do not like to look; you look." The face behind was angry and said, "You look too." While the two faces talked, Pau struck the boy in the neck with his spear. He fell dead, and Kainga saw from the island the fall of his son.

Variations between the different versions of the rest of the story are slight. Those in Thomson's version follow:

> Moa is the son of Oho-taka-tore instead of his son-in-law. The old man visits his daughter-in-law, who delouses him. (This detail is told by Knoche also, although he gives the wife of Moa as the daughter of Oho-taka-tore.) Kainga is mentioned only as a warrior of Hotu-iti, sixth son of the first king and the father of Huriavai. He is dead at the time of the war. The young Huriavai is not killed by Vaha but by a sentry as he tries to swim to the main island. Vaha is a Hotu-iti warrior, who avenges the dead Huriavai and swims back to the island with the corpse of his slayer. The episode of Poie's death is lacking.

Variations in Routledge's version are:

> Vaha is a Tupahotu man, father of Toari, and is killed by Huriavai. Vaha's mother is from Anakena. Vaha is a traitor who gives thousands of people of the islet to Poie, who kills them and brings their corpses ashore to be distributed among the men of Ana-

173 kena. The men besieging the cave " . . . had made twenty holes in a row in the cliff above and they stood in the holes one behind the others."

When Kainga reaches Poie he calls to him: "You have food, I have none; I shall not kill you, I will go back; but another day I will kill you." Later he asks Maikuku, a Tupahotu, to give his daughter to Poie. That is the reason why Poie's father-in-law is willing to betray him when Kainga comes to kill him.

Most of the variations in Vives Solar's version result from misunderstanding or invented details, but some of them contain complementary details:

The name of the warrior whose bones have been used to make fishhooks has been confused with the expression meaning "thin bones." The names of the chiefs in the cave of Ana-te-ava-nui are Te Toke-heu and Te Toke-kai. After victory, Kainga and Te Toke-(?) divide the land. Kainga takes the region of Hanga-nui and Toke-(?) the region of Poike. There are thirty men left in the cave and thirty on the islet Marotiri. They marry the women of the other district which they had captured.

The final episode, "The death of Poie," in Vives Solar's version (220, pp. 315-318) contains some errors: Maikuku is the wife of Poie's father-in-law. She is not the one who betrays him by showing her head, although the song clearly refers to the bald head of Maikuku. Poie-poki, son of Poie, is mentioned but does not figure in the story. Probably he is the one who advises his father of the danger threatening. (Routledge's version states it was the daughter of Poie who advised him of the ambush; in my version she is given as his wife.) The boy Kirireva tortures Poie and kills him by passing between his legs and pushing him down from the cliff.

The episodes at the end of Vives Solar's version (220, pp. 318-320) have been recorded by him only: A brother of Poie, Taka-aure, succeeded in escaping and concealing himself between rocks. He returned to Hanga-roa and married. Many years later his sons walked on the side of Rano-raraku. They were called to by an old man who asked them if they were the sons of Poie. He told them he was Kirireva who had killed their uncle [father] and that he was ready to give himself to them to be dealt with as they wished. He only asked for permission to take a bath and to put on a new loin cloth and a new cloak.

The young men brought Kirireva to Hanga-roa to show him to their mother. The mother advised them to forget about revenge because so many years had passed since the death of Poie. Besides, the relatives of Kirireva could start a revenge war. In the end, they put the old man into a hole, covered him with leaves, and burned him. The corpse was covered with ashes.

DESTRUCTION OF THE IMAGES

173 By 1864 there was not a single statue which had not been overthrown
from the burial platforms (171, p. 177). Both Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 295) and
727 La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 79) were struck by the number of images lying
778 on the ground, and G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 587) remarks that on the same
ahu some statues remained standing while others had fallen. In 1815 Kotzebue (127, vol. 1, p. 141) looked in vain for the images near Hanga-roa Bay described by Cook and La Pérouse, but he did see some standing when he turned the south point of the island. Admiral du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 225), when he skirted the western coast in 1838, was the last white man to see an ahu surmounted by its statues. Thus the overthrowing of the last statues must have occurred between 1838 and 1864. This is fully confirmed by native tradition, which attributes the destruction of the monuments to the

wars which broke out before the arrival of white men. De Lapelin (129, p. 122, 173
note 1) received information from eyewitnesses: 727
778

> The statues were overthrown not long ago. Daniel, an employee of Mr. Brander in Tahiti, saw these new iconoclasts at work. During their intertribal wars, the victorious party threw down the statues of the defeated. If the statues of Rano-raraku are still standing it is because the district was never invaded. At least this is the explanation given by many of the emigrants here in Tahiti.

Likewise from emigrants in Tahiti comes Jaussen's statement (115, p. 245): "In our days, when the natives were still pagan they showed that these *moai* were not deities, since at a certain time there broke out the war of overthrowing the statues, *huri moai*. They indulged in the barbarous pleasure of pulling down each others images."

The statue called Paro on Ahu-te-pito-te-kura, on the north coast was the 173
last one which remained standing. In 1915 an old man, who was a child when 266
it was pulled down, told Routledge (194, p. 173) that the vandals were the 727
Tupahotu-o-uta, who nursed a grudge against the Tupahotu-oone, to whom 778
the statue belonged. A woman was eaten by the people of the eastern group, the Tupahotu-oone. In revenge her son trapped thirty of the Tupahotu-o-uta in a cave and consumed them. The image was thrown down in the struggle which followed the massacre.

That the statues were voluntarily overthrown is evidenced by many signs. 173
The position of the images and the damage they suffered prove that they 727
were pulled down by means of a rope or overthrown by removal of the slab 778
on which they rested.

Besides the historical tradition, which seems perfectly correct and in harmony with the methods of warfare throughout Polynesia, the Easter Islanders have a legend which ascribes the destruction of some of the images to magic:

> A priest (*ivi-atua*) came down from Virivovo. He entered a house near Vai-maho. The men and women living in this house had eaten all the fish, the lobsters and the congers without leaving anything for the *ivi-atua*. When he came into the house, he asked, "Where is the fish, the lobsters, and the congers you left for me?" They said, "It is finished." He answered, "All right." He slept in the house. With his foot he pushed the supporting post (*oka-pou*) of the house. The inhabitants of the house heard a loud noise, made by the falling statues of ahu Tonga-riki. At dawn the men of this house said, "When we were asleep the *ivi-atua* pressed the post with his foot and caused the statues to fall. It is because we did not give him fish, conger, and lobster."

This legend refers to the ahu Tonga-riki only. I consider it important, not in itself, but as evidence that legends may have been created to account for rather recent events.

Another legend explains not only the overthrowing of the images but also 173
the sudden interruption of the work in the quarry. It was heard first by 778

173 778 Father Butaye (37, p. 30) in 1898. The natives showed him the place where a big earth oven had been dug out to cook a huge tuna fish. The same legend was told to Routledge (194, p. 182), a crayfish taking the place of the tuna. Estella (79, pp. 37-38) omits the end of this tale, thereby making the whole story meaningless:

> The carvers of the big images sent the people to get fish and crayfish in all the places. The fishermen arrived at Kikiri-mariu. They dived after a crayfish and they entered a hole where there were the body, the tail, and the legs of the crayfish. The divers came up to the surface and said to the people above that the crayfish was so large that it could not be caught. Other people came and dived, but they died.
>
> The people to whom the crayfish belonged made a big net. Although six men had already died on account of the big crayfish with the long tail, they went to capture it amidst the cries of the crowd. They entered the sea, and swam until they arrived above the hole. One young man dived down to the crayfish and opened his net. Two others drove the crayfish into it. When the crayfish was in it, the two young men pulled the rope and brought the net to the surface. They made for the shore with the crayfish. The people shouted, "Eh, eh, the large crayfish with the long tail has been caught." All admired the crayfish that the young men were carrying to Oiohie. They presented the crayfish to the image carvers, who shouted to an old magician woman: "Light the earth oven to cook the large crayfish with the long tail, Te-tu-kote-ura-rarape-nui." The old woman lit the earth oven, put in the crayfish and sweet potatoes, and said to the carvers, "When the food is done, take it out of the earth oven, but leave some of the crayfish for me." The stone carvers said, "All right." The old woman went to the house of her brothers where she stayed to talk.
>
> When the crayfish was cooked, the image carvers opened the earth oven and ate everything without thinking of the old woman. Then they returned to the statue Te Tokanga which they were carving. They had finished the face, the neck, and the hands. They were undercutting it to remove it and erect it on the ahu Vinapu and the ahu Mataitai. The old woman returned and saw that the earth oven had been opened and the crayfish eaten; only the shell remained. She said angrily, "Where is my share of the crayfish?" They said, "There is no more. We forgot you and that is why nothing has been left." The magician shouted, "Men who are standing, fall down. This is because nothing has been left of the large crayfish with the long tail, and to teach you never to take my belongings again." All the statues fell down, for the heart of the magician was full of anger.

GENEALOGIES OF KINGS

114 173 If Easter Island had kingly genealogies similar to those recorded for other parts of Polynesia, most of her mysteries might be solved. It would be possible to determine the approximate date of the first landing of Polynesian immigrants on the island, and thus to relate its traditional history to that of some other island. The early missionaries and travelers who inquired about the past of Easter Island accepted as genealogies mere lists of kings. Each author who got a list of Easter Island kings was convinced that he had the correct sequence of *ariki-mau* (supreme chief) who succeeded to power by order of primogeniture. But there are several lists which coincide neither in names nor in number of kings. A comparison of these documents gives one the impression that the informants remembered the beginning of the genealogies and of course the last kings, who lived in recent times, but forgot or

confused many of the intervening names. Some of these names undoubtedly refer to *ariki* (chiefs or noblemen) famous as ancestors of lineages or remembered for some special deed in the past. 114 173

There are many published lists of Easter Island kings, but all, except my own, are more or less faulty copies of the lists of Roussel, Jaussen, or Thomson. The first list of kings was recorded by Father Roussel (190, p. 358), probably in 1867 or 1868. This list was copied by Gana (86, p. 31) in 1870 and by De Lapelin (129, p. 103) in 1872. Various misspellings have crept into these two lists and several names have been run together as one. Gana includes three names not given by Roussel. Lesson (140, vol. 2, pp. 290-293) reproduces the lists of both Gana and De Lapelin with some unfortunate changes in spelling.

Bishop Jaussen's list of Easter Island kings was published posthumously in 1893, edited by Father Idlephonse Alazard. Jaussen probably obtained this list from an Easter Island native working for Brander in Tahiti. De Lapelin published what is undoubtedly a copy of this list as a footnote to his memoirs (129, p. 109, note). The orthography of this second list of De Lapelin appears to be the most correct of all the lists.

In 1886 Thomson transcribed from Salmon's data the longest list of kings that has been recorded. Unfortunately there are so many errors in spelling that it is difficult to use his list. A manuscript by W. D. Alexander in Bishop Museum, presumably copied from Thomson's original papers, reproduces his list with seemingly correct orthography.

In 1915 Routledge (194, p. 241) transcribed two independent lists, each containing 30 names. Neither of them has yet been published.

My own list of kings was dictated to me by the daughter of Ure-vaeiko, one of Thomson's informants. Besides native memory, my list is based on a fragmentary record that my friend Tepano had inscribed in a notebook many years ago. 173 [115]

The following table gives all recorded names of Easter Island kings in the sequence in which they were recorded. Where misspelling is obvious, the names have been transcribed in their probable form based on rules of Polynesian phonetics. But wherever a change was doubtful, I retained the original spelling even though it was apparently incorrect. W. D. Alexander's manuscript version of Thomson's list is quoted here as being more accurate than the list appearing in Thomson's publication (215). Initials in parentheses, standing for Roussel, Jaussen, Thomson, and Métraux, following a name indicate duplication of that name in another list. Numbers following initials indicate sequence.

173. My comparative table is practically identical to that of Meyer and Jablonowski (160, pp. 12-13). Seven names are common to all the lists. Twelve of the 23 names of Roussel's list are included in Thomson's list which also has 22 of the 32 names given by Jaussen. Roussel's and Jaussen's lists have 9 names in common. Twenty-seven names appear in at least two lists.

The sequence of names in Roussel's list presents striking parallels with the first and last quarter of Thomson's list, although the intermediate sections do not correspond at all. Similarly the names common to the lists of Jaussen and Thomson have the same sequence at the beginning and at the end, and the variations occur in the intermediate generations. The coincidences between lists are primarily in the kings' names which also designate tribes or districts, like Marama, Raa, Hotu-iti, Tuu, and so forth. The numerous similarities between Jaussen's and Thomson's lists are particularly striking in the series of "kings" of whose names the word *tuhunga* is a part (J:10-13;T:33-36). The leading name in this series is Kahui te tuhunga, which may be translated as "a group of *tuhunga*." Then comes the "great" *tuhunga*, (Tuhunga-nui) the "large" *tuhunga* (Tuhunga-roa), and the Tuhunga-marakapu. The same names are spelled Tuu-hunga and Tuu-hanga in Thomson's and Alexander's lists, thus including the name of the god Tuu. If we accept Jaussen's spelling, we may consider these kings as a group of experts or priests (*tuhunga*) who have been inserted in the list of kings by mistake or for some obscure reason.

It is noteworthy that identical names are given in the same order in two lists of quite different origin. It might be evidence that the islanders had preserved the memory of legendary or historical characters which they arbitrarily inserted in given succession in lists or genealogies.

Tuu was the name of the western part of the island occupied by the *mata-nui* or greater lineages (Miru, Marama, Haumoana). Roussel's list and my own give Hotu-iti and Tuu as kings; their close association with the peoples of the two halves of the island is made clear in my list which gives the names as Tuu-ko-te-mata-nui (M:20) and Hotu-iti-ko-te-mata-iti (M:21).

King Hau-moana who was very likely the ancestor of the Haumoana people was undoubtedly an *ariki* and the chief of his group, but it is not possible to ascertain whether he was an *ariki-mau* (king of the island).

Like Williamson (228, t. 1, p. 391) and Meyer and Jablonowski (160, p. 12), I consider King Korua-Rongo (?) the same person as the fifth son of Hotu-matua, Koranarongo (?), who received the land between Anakena and Rano-raraku and became the ancestor of the tribe Koro-orongo. Probably Koro-orongo was arbitrarily included in the list of Easter Island kings, and he must either be considered a separate character or be placed with Hotu-matua's sons.

Miru is the name of a king and of a lineage of which he was probably the ancestor. The Miru were the most important group on the island since they had the largest territory. They reserved to themselves the title of *ariki* because the king was always a Miru. A tradition recorded by Thomson (215, p. 527) makes Miru a son of Hotu-matua, but in Jaussen's list he is the third king, the son of Tuu-ma-heke. He is the third king in my record and the fourth in Thomson's. Roussel places him as the ninth king, but the six names intervening between Tuu-ma-heke and Miru are those of a queen and five sons of Hotu-matua, so that actually Miru is the third king in the list. There is thus a certain consistency in the different lists which tends to prove that Miru was probably the third *ariki*. Beyond any doubt it also seems that Ataranga was either the son of Miru or his direct successor. Jaussen clearly designates him as son of Miru (Ataranga-a-Miru), and in Roussel's and my lists he follows directly after Miru. On the other hand, Ataranga follows Hinariru, Aurangi, and Raa in Thomson's list. Possibly there has been [facing p. 90(a)]

TABLE 2. NAMES OF EASTER ISLAND KINGS

Roussel	Jaussen	Thomson	Métraux
1. Hotu (J :1 ;T :1 ;M :1)	Hotu-matua (R :1 ;T :1 ;M :1)	Hotumatua (R :1 ;J :1 ;M :1)	Hotu-matua (R :1 ;J :1 ;T :1)
2. Taumeeke (J :2 ;T :2 ;M :2)	Tumaheke (R :2 ;T :2 ;M :2)	Tuumaheke (R :2 ;J :2 ;M :2)	Tuu-maheke (R :2 ;J :2 ;T :2)
3. Vakai	Miru-a-Tumaheke	Nuku	Miru (R :9 ;T :4)
4. Marama (M :12)	Hata-miru	Miru (R :9 ;M :3)	Ataranga (R :10 ;S :7 ;T :8)
5. Raa (T :7)	Miru-o-hata	Hinariru	Ihu (R :12 ;T :10)
6. Mitiake (J :6)	Mitiake (R :6)	Aturangi	Tuukunga-te-mamaru (T :12)
7. Hotuiti (M :21)	Ataranga-a-Miru (R :10 ;T :8 ;M :4)	Raa (R :5)	Mahaki-tapu-vaeti (T :46)
8. Tuukura	Atuuraranga (Atu-ureraga) (T :17)	Ataranga (R :10 ;J :7 ;M :4)	Nga-uka-te-mahaki (T :23)
9. Miru (J : ;T :4 ;M :3)	Urakikena (T :28)	Hakapuna	Hau-moana (R :16 ;T :44)
10. Ataraga (J :7 ;T :8 ;M :4)	Kahui tuhunga (T :33)	O Ihu (R :12 ;M :5)	Anakena (T :48)
11. Tuu (M :20)	Te tuhunga (T :34)	Ruhoi	Tupa-ariki (R :17 ;T :45)
12. Ihu (T :10 ;M :5)	Te tuhunga-nui (T :35)	Tukanga-te-mamaru (M :6)	Marama (R :4)
13. (Ikukana)'	Te tuhunga-marakapau (T :36)	Takahiti (Takahita) (R :15 ?)	Tokoterangi
14. (Tucuiaia)	Ahu arihao	Ouaraa	Kao-aroaro
15. (Tuku-ytu) (T :13 ?)	Nui-te-patu (T :49)	Koroharua (J :23)	Mataivi (R :15)
16. Hau-moana (T :44 ;M :9)	Hirakautehito (T :25)	Mahutu-ariki	Kaohoto
17. Tupa ariki (T :45 ;M :11)	Tupuitetoki (T :26)	Atua-ure-rangi (J :8)	Te Rahai ((R :19 ;J :22 ;T :53)
18. Mataivi (M :15)	Kuratahongo (T :30)	Te-Riri-tuukura	Te Ravarava (J :21 ;T :51)
19. Te Rahai (J :22 ;T :53 ; M :17)	Hiti-rua-anea (Hitiauaanea) (T :27)	Korua-Rongo	Te Hetuke
20. Kaimokohi (J :25 ;T :54 ; M :27)	Havinikoro (Havinikiro) (T :39)	Tiki-te-hatu	Tuu-ko-te-mata-nui (R :11)
21. Gahara (J :28 ;T :56 ; M :25)	Te ravarava (T :51 ;M :18)	Urukena	Hotu-iti-ko-te-mata-iti (R :7)
22. Tepito (J :31)	Te Rahai (R :19 ;T :53 ;M :17)	Te Rurua-tiki-te-hatu	Honga
23. Gregorio (J :32)	Koroharua (T :15)	Nau-ta-mahiki (M :8)	Tekena
24.	Te Ririkatea (T :43)	Te Rika-tea	Tuukoihu (T :47)
25.	Kaimakoi (R :20 ;T :54 ;M :27)	Te Ria-kautahito (Hirakautehito) (J :16)	Nga-ara
26.	Te Hetukarakura	Ko te Pu-i-te-toki (J :17)	Nga-ara erua
27.	Huero	Ko te Hiti-rua-nea (J :19)	Kaimakoi (R :20 ;J :25 ;T :54)
28.	Kaimakoi-iti (T :56 ;M :28)	Te Urua-kikena (J :9)	– Kaimakoi iti (J :28 ;T :56)
29.	Ngaara (R :21 ;T :55 ;M :25)	Tu-terei-manara	Rokorokohetau

[Facing p. 90(h)]

	M :25)			(R :7)
22.	Tepito (J :31)	Te Rahai (R :19 ;T :53 ;M :17)	Te Rurua-tiki-te-hatu	Honga
23.	Gregorio (J :32)	Koroharua (T :15)	Nau-ta-mahiki (M :8)	Tekena
24.		Te Ririkatea (T :43)	Te Rika-tea	Tuukoihu (T :47)
25.		Kaimakoi (R :20 ;T :54 ;M :27)	Te Ria-kautahito (Hira-kautehito) (J :16)	Nga-ara
26.		Te Hetukarakura	Ko te Pu-i-te-toki (J :17)	Nga-ara erua
27.		Huero	Ko te Hiti-rua-nea (J :19)	Kaimakoi (R :20 ;J :25 ;T :54)
28.		Kaimakoi-iti (T :56 ;M :28)	Te Urua-kikena (J :9)	Kaimakoi iti (J :28 ;T :56)
29.		Ngaara (R :21 ;T :55 ;M :25)	Tu-terei-manara	Rokorokohetau
30.		Maurata (T :57)	Ko te Kura-tahoau (Te Kura-tahongo) (J :18)	Rukunga
31.		Tepito (R :22)	Taoraha-Kaihahanga	
32.		Gregorio (R :23)	Tukuma	
33.			Te kahui-te-hunga (J :10)	
34.			Te tuuhunga-nui (J :11)	
35.			Te tuuhunga-roa (J :12)	
36.			Te tuuhunga mare kapiau (J :13)	
37.			Toati-rangi-hahe	
38.			Tangaroa-tatarara	
39.			Havini-koro (J :20)	
40.			Punahako	
41.			Puna-ate-tuu	
42.			Puna-kai-te-vana	
43.			Te Riri-katea (J :24)	
44.			Hau-moana (R :16 ;M :9)	
45.			Tupa ariki (R :17 ;M :11)	
46.			Mahiki Tupuariti (Mahiki Tupa ariki) (M :7)	
47.			Tuukoihu (M :24)	
48.			Anakena (M :10)	
49.			Nui Tupahotu (J :15)	
50.			Rikanu	
51.			Te Ravarava (J :21 ;M :18)	
52.			Te Hiti-huki	
53.			Te Rahai (R :19 ;J :22 ;M :17)	
54.			Kaimokoi (R :20 ;J :25 ;M :27)	
55.			Nga-ara (R :21 ;J :29 ;M :25)	
56.			Kaimakoi-iti (J :28 ;M :28)	
57.			Maurata (J :30)	

---

[7] Numbers 13-15, given in parentheses in Roussel's list, are names given by Gana (86) in his copy of Roussel's list, which are not included in Roussel's original list.

some confusion with Aturangi, and Hinariru looks very like Hinelilu (Hineriru) who was the leader of the second canoe which came with Hotu-matua. (See 194, p. 278.)

The twentieth king listed by Thomson is Tiki-te-hatu (Tiki-the-lord), who is a very popular figure of the mythology of central and marginal Polynesia. In the Easter Island creation chant copied by Thomson, Tiki-te-hatu is mentioned four times as the male procreator of various things. In one of the verses Tiki-te-hatu is the male principle associated with Rurua-tiki-te-hatu who plays the part of the female principle, and together they produce Te Riri-katea. "Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Rurua-tiki-te-hatu, ka pu te Te Riri-katea" (Tiki-the-lord copulated with Rurua-tiki-the-lord and produced Te Riri-katea). This Te Riri-katea was the father of King Hotu-matua and reigned on the island of Marae-renga, whence Easter Islanders are said to have come. The same Riri-katea figures in Jaussen's list as the twenty-fourth king! In Thomson's list is a king called Te Rikatea whose name seems to be a duplication of Te Riri-katea or a corruption of Te Ira-katea, son of Te Riri-ka-atea and brother of Hotu-matua. These gods' names appear to have been interpolated in the middle and at the end of Thomson's list and have nothing to do with historical *ariki*. Perhaps they were included in a genealogy merging with mythology. One may argue that Te Riri-katea is synonymous with Hotu-matua's father, but, since Thomson's list is abnormally long, we may assume it to be more likely that Te Riri-katea refers to a king who did not reign on Easter Island. It is open to question whether the verse in the chant is a fragment of a real genealogy included in a creation chant or whether an element of the creation chant has been introduced into a genealogy.

Thomson's list affords no historical detail about the various kings other than the first and the last in the series. He mentions that Te-tahonga-mare-kapeau had a son, Toati-rangi-hahe, who rebelled against his father and finally killed him.

The party sent by Captain Cook to explore the south coast of Easter Island contacted a chief or an *ariki* whom G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 589) supposed to be the king of the island. This chief, whose name was Tohitai (Ko Tohitai), does not appear in any lists of kings. Meyer and Jablonowski (160, p. 13) suggest that he might have been the same as the twenty-fifth king, Te Ria-kauteahito or Hirakautehito, in Thomson's list and the sixteenth in Jaussen's. However, there is no justification for this supposition. If Tohitai and Hirakautehito were the same person, 15 kings would have reigned on Easter Island from 1774 to 1862 according to Jaussen's list—30 according to Thomson's.

Nga-ara is the only king with the full authority of the ancient *ariki* whose personality has been characterized in history. He died before the raid by Peruvian slavers in 1862. Most of what we know about the position and function of Easter Island kings rests on information obtained from Te Haha, who in his youth was Nga-ara's servant and who died sixteen years ago.

There is some uncertainty as to which king was kidnapped by the Peruvians and died in the Chincha Islands. According to Jaussen (115, p. 242) and to Thomson (215, p. 534), it was Maurata who is generally recognized as the last real *ariki* of Easter Island. According to De Lapelin (129, p. 109), Kaimakoi and his son, Maurata, were kidnapped and taken to the Chincha Islands where both died. This is entirely confirmed by oral tradition. Te Haha mentions Kaimakoi as the son of Nga-ara and Maurata as his grandson, and it is in this order that they figure in Thomson's list. I have given the father of Nga-ara as Kaimakoi and Nga-ara's son as Kaimakoi-iti (Kaimakoi-the-small). Unless we assume that Kaimakoi died immediately after the death of his father, Nga-ara, there is little doubt that he was reigning

173 at the time of the Peruvian raid and that he was carried away with his son, Maurata. Since Maurata probably died after his father, he might well be considered the last king of Easter Island. Geiseler (87, p. 22), speaking of Maurata as the last king of the island, adds that "he was kidnapped with his brother Kaimakoi." Cooke (54, p. 713), the surgeon of the *Mohican*, makes Maurata and Kaimakoi one and the same person: "The last king of the Rapa nuiis, Maurata, also called Kaimakoi . . . "

Gregorio, the child king who died in 1866 at the age of 12, succeeded Te Pito who is given by Jaussen as the successor of Maurata. Te Pito was one of the few Easter Islanders to be returned from the Chincha Islands. In De Lapelin's notes (129, p. 109), Te Pito is mentioned as the brother of Kaimakoi and Gregorio. Very likely he was the brother of Kaimakoi and the paternal uncle of Maurata, but he can hardly have been the brother of Gregorio. Palmer's allusion (171, p. 181) to the son of Rotopito (Te Pito), who died in 1864, possibly refers to Gregorio who would thus have been the son of Te Pito. Such uncertainty about the names of important men of only two generations ago makes one skeptical of the historical usefulness of the lists. Only Thomson's document seems to be accurate in the names of the last kings.

With the death of Gregorio in 1866 the kingship came to an end. Missionaries and travelers mention no successor. Pinart (178, p. 236) speaks of Koreto as the queen of the island, but his statements are not always reliable. Koreto's position as wife of Dutroux-Bornier, the despotic ruler of the island, undoubtedly gave her exceptional power. One of Koreto's children is still living, but I have never heard that she had the slightest royal prerogative or pretention. Koreto was only the wife of a chief (215, p. 473) before she became the mistress of Dutroux-Bornier. When Geiseler (87, p. 23) inquired about her, he was told that a queen of that name had never existed. A man called Kaitae was designated to Thomson (215, p. 461) and Cooke (54, p. 713) as the descendant and successor of the last king of Easter Island. Routledge and I have shown Thomson's photograph of Kaitae to the islanders, but even the oldest informant remembers neither the man nor his name.

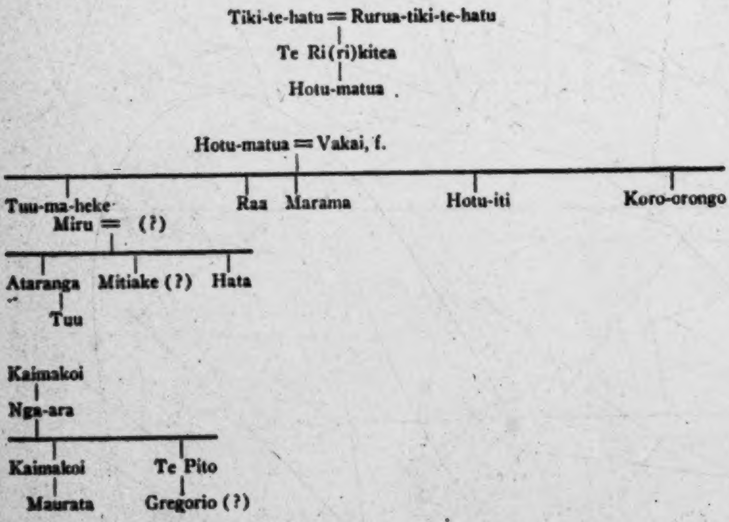
643

Not until Chile had taken possession of the island did the question of a king again arise. Although the islanders of today speak of the late kings, Atamu Te Kena and Riroroko, as if they were really kings, informants make it clear that their power was indefinite, and that they enjoyed few of the prerogatives of former *ariki*. Perhaps their only claim to the title lay in their descent line; both belonged to the Miru group. Personal pretention supported by Chilean officers who needed a responsible intermediary to deal with the population might have contributed toward the restoration of power to this fictitious and ephemeral royalty. Atamu Te Kena Maurata was made a "king" by the Bishop of Tahiti, Tepano Jaussen, who needed some one on the island to represent the interests of the missionaries. (See Estella, 79, p. 118.) He

died about 1890 and was succeeded by Riroroko. In 1898 Riroroko went to 643
Chile to complain about abuses perpetrated on the natives. He died a few days after landing in Valparaiso, probably from overindulgence in brandy. Since his time, there has been no other king on the island. Twenty years ago the Chilean officers of the *Baquedano* tried to proclaim my informant, Juan Tepano, king (219, p. 21). His new dignity was conferred upon him in a public ceremony, but no one took it very seriously, not even the new sovereign himself. There is still on the island a Riroroko, son of the late king, who could pretend to royal dignity, but he seems disinterested.

I have tried to reconstruct from the bits of evidence at hand a few 173
genealogical sequences. I realize well upon what uncertain bases these con- 174
jectural genealogies rest, but they serve to show how arbitrarily the lists of 643
kings have been formed.

Reconstructed Genealogies


Tiki-te-hatu = Rurua-tiki-te-hatu
Te Ri(ri)kitea
Hotu-matua
Hotu-matua = Vakai, f.
Tuu-ma-heke
Raa
Marama
Hotu-iti
Koro-orongo
Miru = (?)
Ataranga
Mitiake (?)
Hata
Tuu
Kaimakoi
Nga-ara
Kaimakoi
Te Pito
Maurata
Gregorio (?)

We shall never know who were the old *ariki-mau* of the island or how many reigned before the collapse of native culture. The most trustworthy document, if the personality of the collector and the time he spent on Easter Island are considered, is Roussel's original list. It must have contained 22 names, which do not correspond to the same number of generations. At least five generations should be deleted from the list, leaving about 18. Routledge and I both record 30 kings. The length of Thomson's list (57 kings) is

173 possible only because mythical names are mixed with historical ones and series
174 of names seem to have been grouped quite arbitrarily. There is no hint in
643 any of the lists that the first kings were mythical characters. Any guess concerning the actual number of generations of kings would be quite unfounded. Perhaps it was between 20 and 30 for the reigns were short, since it was the custom for the kings to abdicate when their sons married.

POLYNESIAN TRADITIONS OF VOYAGES TO EASTER ISLAND

From Rapa

173 Forty years ago Couteaud, a French surgeon, visited Rapa several times. He claims to have heard there the following traditions (55, pp. 90, 91) which he probably adapted to Rapa from the legends of Hotu-matua and the Long-ears, learned from Alexander Salmon:

> Long ago, Hotu-matua, king of Rapa, was vanquished in war. He fled with his retainers in three canoes loaded with food. Westerly winds drove them to Rapa-nui. Only the king's canoe filled with fowls, bananas, and taro roots could cover the great distance separating the two islands. Rapa-nui was inhabited by warriors with long ears, who were killed by the invaders. Only the women and girls were spared. Since that time, twenty-two generations of kings have reigned on Rapa-nui. The first king was Hotu-matua, and the names of the entire dynasty are preserved in modern documents.
>
> After a long voyage a canoe from Rapa-nui arrived at Rapa. It contained only women, who landed half dead of hunger and thirst. No man lived then on the empty land of Rapa. The women did not know how to perpetuate their race. On the advice of one of their number, they dived into the sea, stretched their arms toward Rapa-nui, and called on their gods. Their prayers were granted. Some became pregnant and the race was established forever.

Couteaud interprets the last legend as expressing merely a close connection between the two islands. He adds (55, p. 91): ". . . the accounts of the old men assert that both countries recognized the authority of one king residing on Rapa, whose last descendant I met twenty-five years ago." The few papers published by Couteaud have no scientific value, and his traditions of former migrations to Easter Island are mentioned here only because they are substantiated by further evidence collected by Stokes (212). The best informants of Stokes, Teraau and Ngariki, gave him three accounts of voyages from Rapa to Easter Island, which indicate that in Rapa there definitely existed a tradition of a migration to the east. These are presented in the chronological order adopted by the natives:

> Tamatiki, son and grandson of Tiki, the first man in Rapa, voyaged to Easter Island and named it Rapa-taaga after his own land. He died in Easter Island, and news of his arrival, his descendants, and his death in that island reached Rapa many generations later through Te Kotokoto.
>
> In the second voyage, Temarango, also known as Rango, left Rapa with three canoes, each containing forty men and no women. One canoe stopped at Morotiti, about fifty miles to the east. Another canoe was never heard of again. The third canoe, under Temarango, reached its objective.
>
> Te Kotokoto, a native of Rapa, went to Easter Island and lived there until extremely

old. Then he returned to Rapa. He brought back news of the arrival of Tamatiki at Easter Island and of his death there many generations before. He also saw the grave of Tamatiki. There were many descendants of Tamatiki with Rapan names; at Easter Island the name of the island was Rapa-taanga, given by Tamatiki in memory of Rapa. According to Te Kotokoto's account, the natives of Easter Island had large gaping holes in their ears into which they put bamboo pipes and other articles. The pipes were used for smoking tobacco and were made of a bamboo joint with a hole cut through the side. The tobacco grew with a long, pointed leaf like the present Tahitian tobacco.

The Tamatiki tradition of emigration is decidedly doubtful, as it depends mainly on the truth of the Te Kotokoto tradition. According to other information received in Rapa, Tamatiki lived and died there.

Stokes' informants agreed as to the details of Temarango's voyage but differed as to the country he reached in this migration. Ngariki claimed it to be Easter Island. Teraau thought it was New Zealand, although he did not recall its Rapan name. Ngariki further said that news of Temarango's arrival at Easter Island reached Rapa only in recent time. Ngariki had visited Easter Island, where the natives told him they knew Temarango, and they pointed out Temarango's canoe which had since turned to stone. Ngariki even heard of a village named Tama after Temarango.

Stokes thinks that Te Kotokoto and Temarango were the same person or two leaders who went together on one voyage, but this does not make the migration more credible.

When the Rapan people heard of Easter Island they decided that it was the land reached by the chief who sailed eastward. In 1834 Moerenhout had already employed Rapan sailors, and the Nuiafau Fakaoho group which landed on Rapa in 1863 had come from Peru on the same ship with the Easter Islanders who were returned to their home country.

FROM RAROTONGA

Easter Island is mentioned twice in Rarotongan traditions under the name of Rapa-nui. The island is the first in the list of lands visited by Ui-te-rangiora at the time of the scattering of the Avaiki people (209, vol. 28, pp. 67, 74). In about 1250 A.D. the famous navigator Tangiia visited Rapa-nui to find Taputapu-atea, the son of Iro (cf. Maori Whiro). Tangiia took the boy on his vessel and sailed back to Moorea (209, vol. 28, p. 192). No doubt the name Rapa-nui was inserted in the legend of Tangiia after the natives of the Cook Islands heard of Easter Island through contact with other Polynesians.

FROM MANGAREVA

Since Mangareva is near Easter Island it is logical to assume that the Polynesian migration to Easter Island started from there. Present-day Mangarevans believe that the land called Mata-ki-te-rangi to which their ancestors sailed refers to Easter Island. However Mangarevan traditions of voyages to this land recorded by Buck (28, p. 26), describe it as a high land where landing is arduous and located to the south of Mangareva. "It is fairly close to here" and is definitely associated with breadfruit trees which do not grow on the barren hills of Easter Island. In fact, the only island to which all these details would apply is Pitcairn. The traditional text says of Mata-ki-te-rangi, " . . . the land was very like Pitcairn in very truth," which may be translated to mean "that the land was in truth Pitcairn." In Mangareva Pitcairn was called Erangi or Herangi, which Buck believes to be an abbreviated form of Mata-ki-te-rangi or Kai-rangi. In the native history, a god sent a vision to Rangahenua telling him to go [illegible] Herangi; therefore Rangahenua sailed to Mata-ki-te-rangi.

Identification of Easter Island with Mat[illegible]te-rangi has occurred in post-European time when communication between Mangareva and Easter Island was frequent. When Laval wrote his manuscript on Mangareva, Rapa-nui had already been proposed by the natives as the equivalent of Easter Island. At about the same time a Mangarevan told some people in Tahiti, probably the missionaries, that his ancestors had emigrated to Easter Island, where they found a population which they exterminated. This tradition was reported to De Lapelin (129, p. 108, note 1) by a Mangarevan who must have been on Easter Island for he used to say, when he ended his account, "Have you not seen above Anakena the big heaps of stones? These are the walls of our ancestors."

This detail impressed Routledge, who remarks (194, p. 295) that though there are no signs of fortifications in Anakena, one of the hills east of this cove had been entrenched for some reason. It is called Maunga-hauepe, and Brown (27, p. 59) with vivid imagination, compares it to a Maori fortified village (*pa*) and attributes its construction to Hotu-matua, who erected it to resist the population he found on the island. On several occasions I ascended this hill but failed to find any sign of entrenchment. The hill is composed of volcanic ash and is unsuitable for defense. The depression at the top of the hill is natural. On the slope of the mountain, between Anakena and Ovahe, is an enclosure made of loose stones. The natives asserted repeatedly that this wall was an ancient corral. The entrenchment seen by the Mangarevans, which they believed to be the remainder of the fort built by Rangahenua was probably composed of blocks from the numerous ahus scattered there.

Although Polynesians have included the name of Easter Island in their traditions and attributed its discovery to legendary characters of their country, most of these identifications are late interpolations or rationalizations of old legends made up when the existence of a land far in the east became known to them after contact with European civilization. It is almost certain that before the coming of the white men, no reference to Easter Island existed in the native traditions of any other Polynesian island. 173

THE INDIVIDUAL IN SOCIETY

The small native community concentrated in the village of Hanga-roa presents today construction quite different from that which would have been observed before the collapse of the old culture. The intermixture of tribes has entirely changed the relationship of the individual to society and has abolished all ancient regulations and mutual obligations. Nowadays the only unity within the village is the biological family, whose importance has been maintained and perhaps increased since the introduction of the Catholic religion. 621

The present population of Hanga-roa village would be an interesting field for the study of changing culture and adaptation. Easter Islanders are the only Polynesians who have been subjected to the influence of a Spanish-speaking country. Contact with South American people has developed a type of society worthy of study and comparison with social conditions of Polynesians on other islands. 621 177

The culture pattern of Easter Island has been so greatly modified that very little information may be obtained as to the type of relationship observed in olden days. It is likely that after long contact with the natives certain tendencies which have been transmitted unaltered from pre-European times would be noticed, but these would be difficult to determine as they are not crystallized into specific institutions. They probably belong to the category of widespread attitudes observed by Polynesians in general. As most of my time on the island was spent in an attempt to reconstruct the past, I had little opportunity to study the new mode of life. So little is known of the past that it is impossible to determine whether the behavior followed by present natives is a survival of an ancient pattern or an adaptation due to changed conditions. 178

THE HOUSEHOLD

On Easter Island there are fifty houses for the present population of 456 natives, an average of nine persons for each house. The households include grandparents, parents and their children, brothers with their wives and children, and very often relatives or friends who are "visiting." The custom of living for an indefinite period in the home of a relative or friend is so common that it is a well-established institution. If a family is without resources, all or some of its members settle in the house of some other family. They are always welcomed and no one considers them parasites. "Visitors" usually choose a well-provided house. I found a few people who lived permanently in the homes of friends. Most of these were unmarried women with chil- 592 574

592 dren, who were afraid to remain alone or were unable to take care of their
574 plantations. Two women who were rather poor lived in the house of Victoria Rapahango, the richest woman of the island. They helped her with her housework as if they were her servants. (See also 79, pp. 14-15.)

Social conditions have changed so much that it is impossible to determine
whether this system of permanent guests belonged to the old culture. Very
[596] likely it constitutes the only survival of the extended family (*ivi*) living in
one big hut and possessing land in common. Formerly, "hospitality was
practiced in behalf of friends (*repa-hoa*) who might have been of the same
[609] cove or from some other place. It was extended to foreigners but always with
the purpose of getting from them more than they gave" (190, p. 464).

362 The crowding of people into a single small house was in part due to
592 scarcity of wood and the expense of building a new home. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 122) observes that in former times the habit of crowding ten or twelve persons into a small shack or into a cave was detrimental to morals as well as to health. People of a common abode were certainly relatives, probably brothers and cousins. When Viriamo was young she lived at Anakena with the first wife of her husband, his family, and four brothers. A *hare-paenga* was translated as a house with stone foundations. *Paenga* standing alone was given as a large family (probably extended family). There is certainly a link between the two ideas.

PATERNAL AUTHORITY

593 Even today, in spite of many examples to the contrary, there is a general tendency to recognize and respect the authority of a father. He can object to the marriage of his son or daughter, either of whom would hesitate to oppose his will. Tepano ruled his family despotically and treated his sons like servants, though they were grown and married. Charli Teao had so much authority over his sons that one of them, in our presence, jumped into the surf on a stormy day to salvage a hat, endangering his life to obey his father. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 383) tells of rescuing a boy whose father intended to drown him for disobedience.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 The system of relationship terms of Easter Island is essentially the same as that used in the rest of Polynesia. It stresses the speaker's own generation level (0) and recognizes five or more generations (table 3). The terms which designate the generation strata are extended to the collaterals and include all members of the extended family.

Burrows' comparative researches have shown that the Easter Island relationship terms follow exactly the same pattern as those of central Polynesia (Tuamotu, Tahiti, Cook Islands) and Hawaii. However, with the exception of the terms of address and the words for the brothers- and sisters-in-law, the Easter Island system does not distinguish sex. Sex is indicated by adding the words *tamaaroa* (male) and *tamahahine* (female) to the relationship terms. Because of the absence of the term *iramutu* used in Manihiki, Marquesas, and New Zealand to designate nephews and nieces, the Easter Island system seems nearer that of central Polynesia. As in New Zealand, an uncle or aunt is distinguished from father and mother by the word *keke* (different, remote) placed after *matua* and the father, uncle, or older brother is addressed as *koro*. An uncle may be addressed also as *korohua* (the old one) and the mother or aunt as *nua*. A father may address his son as *koro* which does not imply that *koro* is a reciprocal term. When applied to a son, it is a term of endearment and has almost the same connotation as the expression "little father" used in French for a small boy. Similarly *nua* may be applied to a daughter. Adoptive parents are qualified by the term *matua hangai* (to feed) and are addressed as ordinary parents. Today the children address their parents with the terms "papa" and "mama" in European manner. Formerly grown children called their father by his given name (Zumbohm, 230, vol. 6, p. 131).

The term *tuakana* (self, sibling of same sex as speaker) seems to have fallen into disuse, but it has been preserved with its original meaning by Roussel. When asked for the term used for elder brother, my informants gave me the compound term *taina atariki*. They even mentioned a third term, *taina-tupuaki-atariki* or *taina vaenga*, which, according to them, indicated an older brother second to the eldest. I was told that brothers and sisters frequently address each other as *hoa* (friend).

As in New Zealand, the Tuamotus, the Marquesas, the Cook Islands, the Society Islands, and Hawaii, the word *taokete* designates the sibling-in-law of the speaker's sex (Burrows). At present, however, the natives do not abide by this rule and *taokete* designates also the brother-in-law of a woman. The ancient term for this relationship is *haana*. In a tale, a woman calls on her sister and is received by the latter's husband (*tangata haana*). A man calls his wife's sister *nuahine*, which corresponds to the Maori *auwahine*. The term *muko* is used for the husband of the sister-in-law or the wife of the brother-in-law. Parents-in-law of a couple are reciprocally *muko* to each other. The husband is *kenu* and the wife *vie*. In legends the term *mahaki* frequently refers to a parent, brother, sister, son, or daughter who is absent. Relationship on the distaff side was expressed by the word *heu*.

The term *ivi* (bone) designates descendants of a common ancestor and refers to the relationship group designated as lineage in this work; in New Zealand the same word designates a tribe, but in Mangareva it has the same significance as on Easter Island (*ivi*, family, genealogy). (See 28, p. 139.) The ancient relationship terms establish no obligations other than the coopera-

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Generation Stratum	Collateral	Lineal	Affinal	Adoptive
—2 or more (ascendant)	tupuna (grand uncles and aunts)	tupuna (grandparents)		
—1	matua keke (uncles and aunts) matua tamaaroa (uncle) matua tamahahine (aunt)	matua (parents) matua tamaaroa (father) matua tamahahine (mother)	matua hungavai (parents-in-law) matua tamaaroa hungavai (father-in-law) matua tamahahine hungavai (mother-in-law)	matua hangai (adoptive parents) matua tamaaroa hangai (adoptive father) matua tamahahine hangai (adoptive mother)
0 (ego)	tuakana (senior cousin) taina (junior cousin)	tuakana (self, older brother or sister, same sex as speaker; brother or sister of opposite sex indicated by adding tamaaroa or tamahahine) taina (younger brother or sister) tuahine (sister, man speaking) vovo (elder sister, man speaking; term of address only)	taokete (brother-in-law or sister-in-law, same sex as speaker) haana (brother-in-law, woman speaking) nuahine (sister-in-law, man speaking) kenu (husband) vie (wife)	
+1	poki-tamaaroa tama-iti (nephew) kope poki-tamahahine vovo (niece)	poki-tamaaroa (male child) kope (young man) (son) tama-iti (child) atariki (first-born son) hangupotu (younger son) huatahi (only son) poki-tamahahine (female child) uka (young girl) vovo (term of address)	hunonga (son-in-law and daughter-in-law)	maanga (adopted child)
+2	makupuna (any relative two or more generations younger than the speaker)			
+3 (descendant)	hinarere (all relatives three generations younger than the speaker) makupuna			

tion that members of a family are always ready to give each other. Relatives 601
are inclined to exchange presents chiefly among themselves, but there is a
constant giving and receiving among all of the people of the village of Hangaroa.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Children are always welcomed into a family and the rapid increase of 163
the Easter Island population in the last fifty years indicates the fertility of 842
most of the married couples. There are now 216 children under 13 years of
age. I never heard of a woman who was annoyed at the prospect of having a [847]
child or of a woman who had an abortion. The desire for children is
illustrated by the following popular Easter Island tale, which was given to
me as an actual recent incident: 842

> A woman named Rere-ao slept with her husband but saw that she would never have 539
> a child. One day she noticed a woman who was pregnant. She pretended to be pregnant too. She also pretended to suffer when the pregnant woman felt the first pains of labor. The other woman gave birth to a child. Rere-ao said to the midwives, "You stay here. I must go out to defecate." She went to the house of the woman to whom the child had been born. She said, "Give me this child. I want to suckle it." The woman passed the child to her and she stole it. She put it in front between her tapa skirt and her waist. Then she returned to her house and said to the women sitting there, "Hurry and take my child." They came to deliver the child and it was born from the front part of her bosom. The real parents looked for their child who had been stolen by Rere-ao. They came to the house of Rere-ao and said, "The child is ours. Why did you steal him?" Then they said to the people, "She only pretended to have a child and for that reason she has taken our child. She is Rere-ao, stealer of the child." The parents took their child back, and thereafter the people made fun of Rere-ao and called her Rere-ao-toki-poki (Rere-ao-the-stealer-of-the-child).

The present islanders do not care whether they have sons or daughters. 842
Formerly sons were preferred, as in many parts of Polynesia. "The son has to carry on the line, succeed to the title and inherit the estate" (31, p. 37). Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 131) writes:

> . . . If the newborn child was a boy, there was great rejoicing, but if it was a [513
> daughter there was less enthusiasm. All of the affection of the family was bestowed
> upon the first born son, whereas the last one was despised; he bore a nickname that 551
> nobody pronounced without laughing. 578]

PREGNANCY

At the third or fifth month of pregnancy, but never in the fourth or later 843
than the fifth month, the husband's father offered an earth oven to the parents
of the expectant mother. This oven was called *umu takapu moa kokoma* 431
(*takapu*, ceremonial earth oven; *moa kokoma*, intestines of the fowls) and
was "proportioned to the number of sweet potatoes or fowls they had at their
disposal" (230, vol. 6, p. 130). The food cooked in it was presented with
the words, "Umu takapu moa ka kai" (Eat the earth oven of fowl's intestines),
and eaten on the spot. The name of this feast was *rae* (the first fruits, the

843 firstlings), and was perpetuated long after the natives were converted to
Christianity. After the food was removed, the pit of the oven was carefully
431 filled in so that no rats could get into it, for if any food scraps were taken
by a rat, the child would die. The father of the pregnant woman could make
an earth oven and present it to the husband's relatives, but this gift had no
ceremonial value.

DELIVERY

844 Before delivery a black stone was heated in an open fire, wrapped in bulrushes, and put under the parturient. This practice was supposed to stimulate labor pains (121, pp. 659-660). My informants did not give any information about this custom.

A woman in labor delivers in a squatting position. She kneels on the floor, reclining against her husband, who assumes the same position behind her. The husband or some other person assists the parturient by holding her under her armpits and massaging her stomach with both hands crossed on the navel region. Relatives and friends gather in the house to comfort the woman.

At the moment of delivery the man who ties the navel cord (*tangata hahau pito*) is called in. The tying of the navel cord is sacred and must be performed according to ritual (pp. 64-65). At the present time only five persons on the island know how to bind the navel; they are Juan Tepano, Mateo Beriberi, Timoteo Pakarati, Santiago Pakarati, and Leon Rahoroa. The first knot (*hahau a te matau,* string of the right) is tied after the string has made transverse turns around the navel cord passing from left to right. After three more transverse turns passing from right to left, the second knot (*hahau patu maui,* string of the left) is tied. These knots keep the child's strength in his body. The navel cord is cut by a boy or girl (*kope* or *vie nagi pito,*
465 young man or woman who bites the navel), who cuts with the teeth or an
obsidian knife—formerly they preferred to bite it. The cord cutter was paid
with fowls and sweet potatoes. Sometimes he received a young cock which
he could not kill lest the strength of the new-born child be destroyed. He
could give the cock to a foreigner, but usually it was allowed to die with age.
787 Generally the cord cutter must tell what he dreamed the night before. If he
saw cows or stars it was a favorable sign for the child. Anything related
to the skies was a good sign, but falling stars or any falling thing was believed
to portend ill-luck. Modern Easter Islanders retain this belief in the signifi-
845 cance of omens. The word *topa-tini* is used for children that are born by
breech presentation.

846 Most ceremonial customs dealing with disposal of the umbilical cord have become obsolete. In ancient times the wound was smeared with red ocher (*kiea*) from a place called Te Tiamo, near Poike. Sometimes the umbilical cord and placenta were put into a calabash and taken to the shore by the

child's paternal grandmother who threw them into the sea as she pronounced 846
a charm (*ivi-atua*): "Ka oho, kangaro ki hiva!" (May it be lost in a foreign
country!) Sometimes the cord was buried under stone, and a charm pronounced
over it: "Ka noho hiohio koe i toou kainga!" (May you stay strong
in your country!) The land in which the umbilical cord was concealed was [784]
tapu; if anyone trod upon it, his legs were covered with white spots (*kino*).
Ahu Hanga-varevare, near Tahai, is one of the places where navel cords
were hidden. In 1886 Easter Island natives told Thomson that the people [753]
who walked over certain rocks near Ana-hoi-hangaroa were afflicted with
sore feet. Thomson (215, p. 484) remarks, "We received many solemn
warnings in regard to it."

Immediately after birth the child was washed in a large calabash filled [844]
with warm water heated with hot stones. According to Knoche (121, p. 660)
hot, flat stones were applied to the stomach of the mother after childbirth, to
keep the waist without folds. I heard no mention of this custom and the
pitiful condition of young women after several childbirths does not testify
to the efficiency of this precaution. A woman who has had children is called [824]
heipara. The same word applies to a plant which produces young shoots.

BIRTH FEAST

A feast was celebrated on the day of the child's birth (*te topanga*). The 851
father's family presented a gift of food to the mother's family. As at the 431
pregnancy feast, the woman ate first or, at her suggestion, her husband started 784
the meal. It was forbidden to cook sweet potatoes in the oven. The oven was
tapu and refuse was buried carefully in the ground. Two feasts were given 553
for the first-born child only, whose name was given by the father's brother
or sister.

CHILDHOOD

A small child, until he is 6 months old, is a *puepue*; at 6 months he becomes 852
a *poki-tua-huri* (child-who-can-turn). When the child was 6 or 7 856
months old, his father's brother cut his hair with an obsidian point (*mataa*).
At the same time a brother or cousin of his mother gave him a basket containing 431
three or five chickens. This ceremony was called *puoko varu* (hair
cutting). When the child began to creep, a maternal uncle gave him a basket
with fowls (*kete hakaraka*, basket of crawling). Another present was given
to him when he put on his first breechcloth of tapa (*hami-haka-hune*). At 8 [304
or 10 years of age he was tattooed on his legs. At this time his maternal 784]
uncle offered him 20 or 30 fowls called *moa o te kona* (fowls for the legs)
which became tapu; they could not be eaten by the family but could be traded
to a foreigner or transferred to another family, according to the rules of the
koro (p. 346). 784

The child was surrounded by many tapus. His head was considered sacred 771

784 and his mother was very careful to avoid holding food over him, as any food
778 that touched his head must be discarded. My informant Victoria inadvertently
carried sweet potatoes in her child's hat and was obliged to throw them away
because they had come in indirect contact with the child's head. When a child
was old enough to marry, his head was no longer sacred.

Modern children have a carefree existence, perhaps not very different
857 from that of old days. They gather near the beach and spend the entire day
playing or swimming in the sea. They are particularly fond of riding and
are excellent horsemen from an early age. Some of them accompany their
parents in shore fishing, and I knew a little girl 11 years old who caught fish
with a small spear. Young children help their parents, and many fathers are
pleased to rid themselves of all work and to transmit it to their sons.

SECLUSION

173 Legends tell of girls who were kept in seclusion (*huru*) inside huts so
562 that they might acquire a fair complexion. When they appeared in public
855 later, they aroused great admiration for the whiteness of their skin. Accord-
515 ing to one popular Easter Island tale, the girl in seclusion was daily washed
302 (*hopu*), deloused (*aruke kutu*), combed (*harihari*), stained (*akui*) with tur-
831 meric and red earth, and her clitoris was stretched (*haro matatuu*) so that
it would be long and hanging.

Easter Islanders pointed out to me two caves in Poike which were said to
173 have been inhabited by *neru*, boys and girls who were separated according
554 to sex and were secluded by their parents in caves where they lived for years.
591 They were probably of chiefly families and, as in Mangareva, were isolated
in order to become white and stout and to manifest by their appearance the
855 distinguished position of their families. Attendants of their own sex cared
for them. Their parents brought them food, and it is said that during the
[731] smallpox epidemic of 1863 many of the *neru* died of starvation because there
was no one left to feed them. They lived in idleness and allowed their nails
to grow long. It may be recalled that the wooden hand, purchased by G.
Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 582-583) on Easter Island and given by him to the
British Museum has long nails, thus proving the accuracy of at least part of
the tradition. The *neru* sometimes appeared at feasts but stayed a little apart
[196] from other people. The fact that the secluded boys and girls lived in chastity
induced the natives of later times to translate the word *neru* as virgin, nun,
or women observing celibacy. The following songs refer to the *neru*:

[539]

Ka huru koe, neru e, i te ana.	You are secluded, O *neru*, in the cave.
Tautau ipu kiea o nga neru.	Hanging is the gourd with red ocher of the *neru*.
Tuai era ka huru koe, neru e.	You have been secluded for a long time, O *neru*.
A te manava he mate,	I am in love,
Ka huru koe, neru e,	You are secluded, O *neru*,
Ka huru kataia ritorito.	Being secluded you have become white.

173
All traditions of the seclusion of children rest on an authentic custom, the memory of which has not been entirely lost. Both De Langle (130, vol. 1, p. 81) and members of Gonzalez' expedition (90, p. 40) mention having seen huts where children were apparently secluded, guarded by adults. 591 855

FEAST HOUSE

A large house (*hare nui*) was built before a feast (*koro*) where young people gathered to play and sing. They lived in more or less promiscuity, and tradition says that they had many opportunities to make love and to have sexual intercourse. Foundations were laid for many marriages during the feast, but as evidenced by numerous tales, the feast houses were not for the young people only but for all invited guests. Routledge was told that the young people who shared in the dances had to be "white" (*ritorito*) which in Easter Island is almost synonymous with "fine." Routledge (194, p. 235) writes: "In connection with some or all of the *kaunga* (dancing grounds) there was a house where the party remained indoors for a long time previous to the dances, in order 'to get their complexions,' a touch which shows that a white skin was admired." In traditional records of *koro* some confusion may have arisen between the seclusion before the feast and the actual *koro*. 345 836 527 826

INITIATION RITES

When the children between the ages of 13 and 15 years were submitted to seclusion, rites were celebrated which had perhaps the character of a consecration. Little is known about these ceremonies, and their significance is obscure. The boys and girls who went through the ceremonies were termed *poki take* and *poki manu* (bird children). Routledge (194, p. 266) was told that the *take* ceremonies were dropped about 30 years before the arrival of the missionaries and that no living person had attended such a ceremony. The oldest man in the village when Routledge was there stated that the *take* ceremony was intended for adults and that the father performed the rites when the son was born. My information was obtained from Viriamo through Tepano. She said that boys and girls were sent to Motu-nui when they were 13 years of age. They sojourned on the island for three months, living in separate caves. Food was taken to them in canoes, and ornaments (*tahonga*, wooden balls) and special breechcloths of tapa called *hami mama* were sent them by their parents. The children were given red and white ocher (*kiea* and *marikuru*) for the painting of their bodies. White bands were painted around the arms and feet, concentric white circles on the back at the level of the waist, and two white rings on the buttocks. 881 [178] [591] [302 386]

The ceremony following seclusion was called *te manu mo ta poki* (the bird for the child). I could discover no better explanation of this feast and its benefit than that given by Routledge, which is vague and probably incor-

881 rect: " . . . a child whose parents had not performed the ceremony, and whose love affairs, for instance, went wrong, might even kill his father in revenge for the omission." The boy had his head shaved, and he presented an egg to a man called *tangata tapu manu*, who was told the child's name, in order to insert it in the ritual. Each boy went to Orongo in company with a *tangata tapu manu*. A man who had been a *poki manu* (child for whom the ceremony had been performed) told Routledge that when he went to Orongo with nine other children, they had taken ten chickens with them. Routledge writes (194, p. 267):

> The party danced in front of all the houses, went to the carved rocks at the end, and, coming back, stood in a semicircle in front of the door of Taura-renga, the house of the statue, the experts being behind and all singing; no offering was made to the images. Another authority stated that the parents and children went on the roof of the house, the experts being below, and the parents gave chickens to the men. Jotefa's party returned to their home, had a feast, and gave more food to the professionals. The *tangata-tapu-manu* subsequently repeated the ritual at any *koro* which were being held on the island, the object apparently being to make public the child's initiation.

881 831 Quite different was the ceremony for girls. After they had dressed and decorated themselves as well as they could, they went to Orongo where their parents awaited them. There they were entrusted to five men called *mata-ngarahu* (eye-paint). Each girl stood up on a rock called Papa-rona, with legs spread open, and two men below examined her vulva. If it was small (*teketeke*), they announced the fact in a loud voice. Then they carved the rock with an image of the vulva. This tradition is probably an attempt to explain the various representations of the vulva carved on a rock at Orongo.

881 More nearly correct is the reference to a special feast celebrated for the girl, who gave chickens to her brothers and cousins. At the ceremonies some reverence was paid to the image Taura-renga in Orongo. Viriamo explained to Routledge (194, p. 267) that she was a *poki manu* and was taken with her three sisters to the ahu Orohie. Both parents went and " . . . the mother took two chickens, one in each hand, and the mother and children stood upright and the 'maori sang'; they did not go to Orongo because there was war."

PUBERTY

146 864 According to Dr. Drapkin, puberty begins for girls at the age of 10 and is completed at 12. The critical age for boys is between 12 and 14. However, the sexual life of children begins long before they have reached puberty; at 6 or 7 years they indulge in sexual contacts, which are taken as a matter of course. They try to imitate what they have seen among the older children or adults. Sexual instincts develop rapidly and quite unrestrainedly. Girls 836 and boys under 10 years of age have sexual intercourse, and many girls of about that age have been violated by grown men. Very young girls often

try to prostitute themselves to foreign visitors, and their playmates act as go-betweens. 836

Roussel (190, p. 429) speaks with disparagement of the "shameful laziness" of Easter Island girls until they were married. 461 Probably here, as in Mangareva, young people of both sexes lived an easy life until they had to 883 support a family. In the seclusion houses they probably spent their days lying on the ground, composing songs, telling stories, discussing their dreams. Some young men engaged themselves as workmen for a salary consisting of one or two rats and a few sweet potatoes. Others helped the adults to till and plant, but they did not accompany them on fishing parties—probably because they were afraid of spoiling their complexions through exposure to the sun (190, p. 10).

ADOPTION

Adoption of children has always been widely practiced on Easter Island. 597 Nothing expresses more strikingly the strength of the old custom than the fact that my informant, Victoria Rapahango, who lived many years with an Englishman and bore him several children, gave one of them to an old Italian with whom she was on friendly terms. It is not known to which relatives or friends the children were given formerly; now they are generally entrusted to the godparents. If the child's new parents can feed him, he is given to them a few days after birth; otherwise, he is given after weaning. The adoptive parents treat the child as if he were their own. Roussel (190, p. 466) observes that " . . . the adopted children were put on the same rank as the legitimate. They were entitled to the same care and the same attentions." This attitude continues today.

The child takes the name of his adoptive parents and inherits from them. Much difficulty has arisen in tracing genealogies because adoptive parents will not permit a distinction to be made between their own and adoptive children. "I have raised him and consequently he is my son" is a statement frequently heard on Easter Island. The blood parents take no interest in the children they have given away; they see them rarely and lavish no particular tenderness upon them.

SEXUAL LICENSE

The accounts of early travelers indicate that the first reaction of the 548 natives on the arrival of a ship was to barter food and women. By the first 554 half of the nineteenth century Easter Islanders seem to have built up a regular 562 trade with their women (p. 36). However, the small number of women seen by the navigators makes it evident, as Cook suggests, that most of the feminine population had been hidden somewhere (p. 20). Probably fear was one of the main causes for these precautions, but we may assume that the same sexual freedom was not permitted to all women. Those who were allowed and even

548
554 urged to prostitute themselves were probably unmarried girls or women
belonging to a lower class. Wives of chiefs, priests, or jealous men were
562 probably obliged to remain hidden while visitors stayed on the island.

There has been little change in Easter Island morals. Every foreigner who
548 comes ashore is the object of the most provocative offers on the part of the
562 women, assisted by the men. Prostitution is considered a great source of
837 profit by both sexes and is practiced not only with foreigners but among
the natives themselves. An elderly man may have sexual intercourse with
girls of 12 or 13 years whom he pays for it. Some women who are no longer
attractive take as lovers very young boys to whom they give presents or make
an offer to reveal the secrets of sexual life.

831 Despite the intense religious feeling of the islanders and the efforts of
the catechist, sexual life is extremely free, usually with no restrictions what-
834 ever. Apparently love intrigues are short and devoid of sentimental back-
ground. Unions between young people are temporary and little jealousy, if
[431] any, is shown. Handsome young men who are good dancers are evidently
favorites of the women. Gifts play an important part in love affairs.

Missionaries allude to the great "immorality" of the natives and complain
836 that the pagan feasts, especially those that lasted a long time, were occasions
for great license (230, vol. 6, p. 122). Geiseler (87, p. 29) writes:

> There are many cases of young girls remaining unmarried and belonging to the community, and they were highly valued . . . Even girls betrothed in childhood were to the moment they went to live with their husbands entirely free and might dispose of their persons without provoking scandal. In many instances girls had at least five permanent lovers. With the scarcity of women and the great number of men obliged to remain bachelors, such a condition is easily understood.

835 Pederasty does not appear among adults and no instance of such sexual aberration has been referred to by any inquirer. On the other hand, abnormal sex relationships between women is tolerated and accepted. Such relationships are between middle-aged women who are unattractive to men, and young women whom they have seduced. No other sex abnormalities have been reported.

MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE LAWS

582 When asked about marriage restrictions, the islanders would say only
that *taina* (cousins) may not marry unless they are *taina haihai* (remote
cousins). Relationship between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law was con-
[835] sidered incestuous. Degrees of relationship permissible in marriage have
been accurately established by Routledge (228, vol. 2, pp. 144-145):

> Brother and sister were two degrees apart, first cousins were four degrees, second cousins six degrees, and third cousins eight degrees, a method, I may point out, evidently based upon counting from one of the related persons up to the common ancestor, and then

down again to the other. "The only restriction was that which forbade marriage" before the fourth generation—that is, it only went down to and included second cousins; so that third cousins might marry. 582

A tale dictated by my informant expresses the horror inspired by incest and the punishment that threatened those who committed this crime. The word *paakeake* applies to the act of committing incest with a cousin. 684 835

> A man whose name was Taropa had sexual intercourse at night with his cousin. The girl asked, "Who are you?" He said, "I am Taropa." The girl said, "Do not touch me. You are my cousin." "No," replied Taropa, "it does not matter if you do not speak about it." He grasped the girl firmly to violate her. All the time she was protesting, "No, no, I am your cousin," but Taropa did not listen to her. In the end she grew tired of the struggle, and the man put his hand between her legs. He copulated with her. When he finished, he left and ran away. She took the sperm, put it into a piece of tapa, and kept it. At dawn she took it to her father and said, "Here is a bundle belonging to Taropa. He slept with me." The father took the bundle and put it aside. A war broke out between the Tupa-hotu and the Miru. The people fled and hid in a cave called Ana-tetehe-tama. The young Taropa also hid there. The father of the girl whom Taropa had violated was among the enemies. They took the people of Tupa-hotu and killed them. Taropa went out, and the girl's father cut his throat with the bone of a swordfish. He took the blood and drank it because this Taropa had slept with his own cousin.

Infant betrothal was apparently a widespread custom in olden days. Children whose parents were friends were often engaged to each other, the bride being supposedly chosen by the boy's father, especially if he were a chief. Child marriages were celebrated with the same formalities as those of the adults but the children were not allowed to live together until mature. In the only concrete instance of such a union the boy was 12 years old and the girl was the same age or younger (87, p. 29; 54, p. 717; 86, p. 39). Traditions persisting today about infant betrothal may be summarized as follows: 584

> A little girl was considered the prospective wife of an adult man who waited until she became mature. The bridegroom's father brought food for his future daughter-in-law, and his present was called *taku te hunonga ma taana poki* (present of the father-in-law to his child). The father of the boy filled big baskets with fowls and carried them to the girl's house. On the other hand, an adult woman might be engaged to a little boy who received presents from his future father-in-law. 584. 431

Girls often bear their first child when they are 15 or 16 years old. At marriage a woman may already have several children, frequently by different fathers. The husband does not object to the children and assumes responsibility for them as if they were his own. Widows usually marry again and there are a few women who have had three or four husbands in succession. 848 587

According to Geiseler (87, p. 29), young men married between the ages of 17 and 20. Each built a hut of his own where the girl to whom he was betrothed came to live. Geiseler states that only married men were allowed to bear the vulva motif tattooed on their chest. As this is not recorded elsewhere it is probably a misinterpretation. 582 591 304 831

POLYGYNY

595 In reconstructing the past from legends and traditions one gains the impression that monogamy was general, but that several men, owing to their power or wealth, could afford many wives. The last supporters of paganism were certain chiefs who, having several wives, hesitated to become Christian lest they be obliged to part with them (230, vol. 6, p. 565). However, not all the chiefs availed themselves of this privilege and at the time of European contact there were only a few persons with several mates. No conclusion can be drawn from this situation since at that period there were just half as many women as men. I was told that the chiefs or persons of rank (*tangata honui*) were allowed several wives who were supposed to live in separate houses to avoid fighting—this last detail is perhaps a modern rationalization. Iri, Victoria's grandfather, had eight wives. A man generally resided with the first wife (*vie rae*), but sometimes several favorite wives lived with him. Viriamo, Tepano's mother, had been the second wife of a man of the Miru tribe (194, p. 227).

What truth there is in Thomson's statement (215, p. 465) that a husband could sell or lease his wife to another for a stated term I do not know. This may be an allusion to polyandric habits, as in the Marquesas. In the legend of Hamea and Raa, the two brothers live successively with the same woman. Some natives are said not to be very particular about their wives' adulteries with foreigners if some profit is to be gained.

MARRIAGE CEREMONY

[582]
585 Young men now marry at about the age of 20; girls marry a little earlier. If they have the mutual consent of their parents, a ceremony is performed at the church under the direction of the catechist. As the marriage is not considered entirely valid until it is blessed by a priest, they usually wait for the coming of the frigate *Baquedano* to have all unions consecrated by the chaplain. I have numerous proofs of the importance attached to the parents' consent for marriage, but Roussel (190, pp. 465-466), who lived many years among the natives in the early sixties of the nineteenth century, asserts: "Marriages were contracted without consulting the will of the parents. They were decided by inclination." Roussel made the same statement to Palmer (168, p. 281) and to Gana (86, p. 39).
584

583 Although they visited the island at the same time and had access to the same source of information, Thomson and Cooke make contradictory statements concerning the formalities of marriage. Thomson (215, p. 465) says, "the betrothal is conducted by parents, the relations of the female paying a stipulated amount generally in food to be consumed by the friends at the feast given to celebrate the event." Cooke (54, pp. 716-717) states that the bride-
[584]

groom's parents had to pay for the bride and that the amount of the purchase price was the object of lengthy bargaining. On the wedding day a great feast was held at the bride's house and "everything edible, that is to say the price of the girl," was consumed. After this ceremony the bride was taken to the house of her husband. 583

Purchase price never existed on Easter Island and the apparent discrepancies between these two authors are easily solved by first-hand information obtained from present natives:

> When young people married, the family of the bridegroom gave fowls and food for the feast, but the family of the bride could help by making an earth oven of their own. The husband's father presented food to the wife's father, who gave him more food in return. At the wedding many fowls were killed and eaten. The brothers of the bridegroom's father sometimes helped in bringing food. It is unlikely that the couple to be married helped prepare the banquet. 585

Even though much of the past has been forgotten, it is obvious that marriage ceremonies were never surrounded by a complicated ritual. When old Viriamo married her first husband " . . . there was no ceremony of any kind, no new clothes nor feasting; her father simply took her to her new home and handed her over" (194, p. 227). This was probably an exception. Normal weddings required the celebration of a feast with the usual distribution of food. Probably most of the food consumed on this occasion was supplied by the family of the bridegroom, but the bride's family contributed its share. The food was accumulated around a conical stage made of a bundle of *hau* poles (190, p. 466), evidently similar to the conical *akari* of the Maori which served the same purpose (20, vol. 1, p. 381). The young married couple presided at the feast and took part in the meal. After all the food was eaten, the marriage was considered valid (190, p. 466). [417]

STATUS OF WOMEN

Modern Easter Island women seem to be well treated and to have considerable influence. They insist on expressing their opinions in all discussions but probably would not dare to resist openly the will of their husbands. Tepano's wife, Maria Ika, was in our employ but left because her husband wished her to do so. She expressed her regret but said, "I am a woman, I must always obey." I know of numerous women who were beaten because of disobedience. 562 593

Most family troubles I heard of were provoked by the infidelity of the husband and the anger of the wife. However, there are some couples with equal and mutual love. A particularly striking example of conjugal fidelity and affection is that of Rosario Arencibe Teao who followed her husband into the leper settlement when he was confined there. At the time she entered the settlement she was in perfect health, but she contracted the disease many years later. 593 152 734

152 593 years later. Conjugal love is expressed in the following legend, given by the natives as a true story:

> A man from Tahai married a girl from Vai-mata and returned with her to Tahai. There they lived and every day the man went out in his canoe to fish *pei* and tuna which he sent to his father-in-law at Vai-mata. The woman became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter.
>
> There was a famine in the country and the father of the girl came from Vai-mata to stay at Tahai in her house. Tuna and other fish were their only food. On the seventh day the father said to his daughter, "Have you always the same food?" The girl answered, "Yes, there isn't anything else to eat." The husband was then out fishing and the father said to his daughter, "Come with me." The girl said, "All right," and they left together. Many times she tried to go back to her husband but her father made her continue on until they came to Vai-turu where there were plenty of sweet potatoes. The father said, "This is the reason I took you away. Go and enter the house where I live. Light the earth oven and dig out the sweet potatoes and cook them." The girl wept for her child whom she had left behind but she remained and lived with her father.
>
> The husband had seen his wife and her father leave. He immediately came ashore and went to his house. He asked his daughter, "Where is your mother?" "She left with her father," replied the girl. The father told her to get out of the house so that he could close it. The girl left and shut the door. Her father cried, "Look at the house, my daughter, don't open it." He lay down inside, sorrowing because his wife had been taken from him. He stayed in the house without eating for two days and nights and died because he was filled with grief for his wife.

593 Native women who have lived with foreigners complain that native husbands or lovers are often rude and cruel and declare openly that they prefer white men "not only because they are wealthier but also because they are nicer."

562 593 I suppose that most of the details obtained by Thomson and Cooke during the short time they were on Easter Island were given to them by Salmon. Thus the information may be trustworthy. Cooke (54, p. 716) says that "the women were a source of great solicitude and that much consideration was shown them. . . . They are fairly well taken care of, and treated generally with kindness, not to say affection." There is perhaps some exaggeration in his statement, but the preponderance of the male over the female at that time may have contributed to giving the women an exceptional position.

593 In bartering for archaeological specimens I noted that the men generally wanted to have clothes or necklaces for their wives. Former visitors made the same observation and reported that the natives, when presented with gifts, never forgot their wives and children.

462 561 Women do little work. They keep the house in order, cook, help to harvest tubers, and go fishing along the shore. Tilling of the soil is, and was in olden times, a man's activity, and the woman's part in cultivating is secondary. The economic activities of women a few years after the coming of the white men are enumerated by Roussel (190, p. 430) as follows: "The woman must get the sweet potatoes and the wood and grass to cook them. Woe to her if she does not take good care of her housekeeping; she may suffer for her negli-

462 562 gence. She must also beat and dew barkcloth." Plaiting and tapa making should be mentioned among the woman's industries. Contrary to Geiseler's statement (87, p. 41) women never made nets (190, p. 430).

562 593 [487] Misled by their preconceived ideas regarding the status of women in primitive societies, the missionaries assumed that before the introduction of Christianity the Easter Island women were drudges. The only recorded instance in which a woman was submitted to drudgery is that in which a chief named Manu walked carefree while his wife bent double under a heavy load. When the missionary remonstrated, the chief answered, "That is woman's work. He appeared very much ashamed when the missionary compelled him to help with his wife's burden (230, vol. 6, p. 124).

As the general tendency of missionaries is to depict the character of the natives in the darkest colors in order to stress the benefits of their own influence, the mistreatment of women which they report so complacently cannot be accepted as entirely true. Roussel (190, p. 430) says with indignation: "How many times have I not seen husbands striking their wives with a knife on the face or head with the intention of killing or mutilating them!" Such brutalities occur occasionally at present but are not typical of the ordinary behavior of men toward their wives.

264 562 Strict separation of sexes during meals does not seem to have been enforced on Easter Island, at least in daily life. Perhaps chiefs or priests ate apart as is testified by the passage below and by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p 124) who alludes to the fact that sometimes no place was reserved for women at banquets. Roussel (190, p. 430) says:

> No tapu prevents men and women from eating together or with their children of either sex, but the husband, being the strongest, always gets the choicest parts. He must be very much attached to his wife or children before he will give them an equal portion or even leave any portion for them if he is eating chicken or fish. Some husbands receive their food separately.

DIVORCE

586 Viriamo was married three times during her long life. She left her first husband who was unsatisfactory and went to live with a Miru man in Anakena. Her third husband was a Tupa-hotu, the father of Tepano. The apparent ease with which she left her first husband suggests that marriage ties were not very strong in the old days. Testimony of the early missionaries verifies this. "The slightest disagreement or disgust between the consorts was sufficient to break the ties that united them" (190, p. 466). "The islanders of Rapa-nui do not consider marriage as an unbreakable tie. Husband and wife were allowed to part by common consent" (230, vol. 6, p. 122). "Divorce in general was very simple. When the husband said to his wife that he did not want her any more, the separation was made. The wife had the same right as her husband" (87, p. 29).

586 Today separation is as simple and easy as in the past. Many men leave their wives because they are old or have become tiresome. Recently an English administrator tried to force the natives to live again with their original spouses, but so many men had separated and formed new ties that his experiment was decidedly unsuccessful.

ADULTERY

Unfaithfulness on the part of the husband is common and its discovery
837 brings about quarrels which the men try to avoid. According to Dr. Drapkin who had the confidence of the natives, adultery on the part of the wife is not uncommon though not so frequent as has been assumed. A husband leaves a wife guilty of adultery only if her relations with another man have become notorious. So far as we know, a woman is seldom punished by thrashing. Sometimes the revenge of the outraged husband consists in taking away his wife's clothes, thus preventing her from going to church. Geiseler (87, p. 29) was told, probably by Salmon, that adultery was frequent but rarely discovered because the participants used such extraordinary tricks to avoid being recognized. For instance, the men are said to have worn the long gowns of
272 women and hats of horse hair (a kind of wig) called *iveve* so as to be taken for women in the dark. This statement may refer to a particular anecdote or incident, but it would be rash to consider wigs as being in general use by lovers of married women.

837 Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 122) says that the woman who was suspected of sinful relations was in danger of losing her life, but Geiseler (87, p. 29)
684 states that the death penalty was inflicted only if the guilty woman was the wife of a chief. A chiefess was usually killed by her husband or his brother. Among commoners the woman was severely thrashed or cast out of the house, and the marriage was dissolved. A jealous husband sometimes killed his wife's lover, as in the following tale:

> 539 While her husband went fishing, a woman fell in love with an orphan named Moa-ure-nui (The-cock-with-the-big-penis) and slept with him. When the husband returned
> 837 from fishing and landed at Puapau, the woman went to the shore to take the fish. But the people shouted, "Where are you going for your fish? You have no right to it.
> 831 Where is the fish of Moa-ure-nui?" The husband heard them.
>
> The woman took the fish, went back to her house, and cooked it. Her son said, "Give me the fish with the red tail." But the woman answered, "I shall take the fish with the red tail to Moa-ure-nui so that he will lick my things." The child was ashamed and did not speak again. After the woman had eaten some fish, she took a bundle to Moa-ure-nui and stayed with him. Her husband found them; he killed Moa-ure-nui and buried his corpse in the ahu. The woman took the penis, wrapped it in a piece of tapa, and wept over it. All night she wept and the next day her husband found her in a paper mulberry pit still weeping. He took the parcel from her, tore it out, smashed it, pounded it. Then he said to the woman, "Now go down; your man came back." The woman returned to her house but did not weep because her husband had destroyed the thing she had.

DEATH

FUNERAL RITES

The rites which accompanied burial were probably the last of the ancient 764 Easter Island customs to yield to missionary influence. As late as 1880 the natives still felt reluctant to bury their dead in the Catholic cemetery and 177 used to steal the bodies at night and carry them to the ahus (funeral terraces) of their ancestors. I saw two isolated graves at the bay of Hangoteo in which, the natives explained, were buried two Christians whom relatives had tried to put in their lineage ahu, but who had been again inhumed according to the Catholic ceremonial. The persistency of ancient funeral customs has helped to preserve in the memories of Easter Islanders more details concerning death rituals than of any other phase of the old culture. An insight into native practices may be had from a study of the 200 to 250 ahus scattered throughout the island (p. 283). Although the ahus were probably sanctuaries of the various social units, their use as sepulchers has entirely obliterated any other significance and to the present natives they are the equivalent of our cemeteries.

Soon after death the body was "wrapped in a straw mat [tapa or rush 764 mat] longer than the body and tied with *purau* string. The whole bundle was put in front of the house, on the shore. These bodies, enveloped in mats, were placed on a heap of stones or on a kind of wooden structure, the head being turned toward the sea" (81, vol. 38, p. 74). Sometimes the corpse was wrapped in tapa and "lowered into the cleft of a rock or some other inaccessible place" (171, p. 174). We discovered many skeletons concealed in caves or fissures in the rock along the north coast, thus attesting to the accuracy of this statement. After exposure near the house the corpse was carried on staves to the ahu where it was placed on an oblong frame. According to [417] Routledge (194, p. 170),

> . . . this [frame] consisted of four corner uprights set up in the ground, the upper extremities of which were Y-shaped, two transverse bars rested in the bifurcated ends, one at the head, the other at the foot, and on these transverse bars were placed the extremities of the bundle which wrapped the corpse. . . . At times, instead of four supports, two stones were used with a hole in each, into which a Y-shaped stick was placed.

This last type of platform must have been exceptional, for stone cylinders which might have served such a purpose are found only at the ahu Hangahahave. (See p. 302.)

It is not known how long the dead were exposed. Probably when they were entirely decomposed the remainder of the bodies was removed to a vault of the ahu. Routledge's statement that fishhooks, chisels, and other objects were sometimes included with the dead seems very doubtful as there is no surviving tradition of any such practice and no implements have been discovered in the ahus.

2

764 Most of the tombs we opened contained only one skeleton but collective burial was sometimes practiced. In a long narrow vault of a rectangular ahu under the hill of Vai-tara-kai-ua we procured the bones of several individuals. Between La Pérouse and Ovahe is an ahu with vaults perpendicular to the sea which are filled with an incredible number of bones. Geiseler (87, p. 30) writes: "A burial is chosen by a family and kept by it for a long time. In order to make more room when other people die, all the bones of the dead are removed with the exception of the skulls." Thomson (215, p. 503) found in a vault of ahu Hanahakou (?), between Ahu-te-peu and ahu Ohau, many skulls, "and the surroundings excluded the idea of any other portions of the bodies having been interred with them." I found no vaults reserved exclusively for skulls.

Often the remains of the dead were scattered on or near the ahu. This custom explains the observation of Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 294): "I, as well as some others, saw a human skeleton lying in one of these platforms, just covered with stones." La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 79) "met with several pyramids of stone arranged nearly like balls in a park of artillery, and perceived some human bones in the neighborhood of the pyramids and statues, of which the latter had always their backs directed toward the sea." The decay of many ahus, even at the time of Captain Cook, might explain the presence of bones on the surface.

764 784 688 The removal of the dead to the ahu probably ended the mourning period. While the body was exposed near the ahu, the surrounding region was under tapu; fishing was prohibited along the near-by shore and cooking was restricted. In principle, fire could not be lighted in the area under the interdiction, and smoke which was especially feared had to be hidden or smothered with grass. The symbol of the tapu was a pile of stones (*pipi hereko*) with a bleached stone on the top (p. 327). The penalty for breaking the tapu was death inflicted with a club. The spot marked by the tapu could not be approached in the daylight (?). (See 194, p. 232.)

764 The funeral for a man was always the occasion for big banquets, concerning which I collected confusing evidence.

262 An earth oven called *umu ki te takapu o koro* (for the funeral of the father) was prepared by a brother or cousin of the deceased in behalf of the eldest son of the dead. Fowls were given to the brothers or cousins of the dead and were tied together in groups of ten before the ahu. On the day of death the eldest son and the family of the deceased made an earth oven. The widow also made a special earth oven with the help of her parents. The food was presented to the eldest son, who gave it to his father's brother or sister. The son did not eat anything and he delivered his own earth oven to his mother or his mother's family. Neither the son nor the daughter was allowed to partake of the first food. But on the same day, the brother of the dead, his father, or his mother, or some other relative prepared a special earth oven for the children of the dead who had not been allowed to eat the first food. The brothers-in-law could also make the earth oven called *takapu*. If there were no parents to make the *takapu*, the sons made an earth oven for themselves. The parents of a dead child could not eat the first *umu*. In Tepano's time the Easter Islanders still buried people in the ahu, but they did not let the bodies rot on the scaffolds.

During a funeral the people wept and danced, while they lamented the dead as follows: 764 533 539

E koro e, ka moemoe koe, tou aringa ena.	O father, you are lying, your face.
E koro e, aue taua e, e koro e, e koro kai nui e,	Father, alas for us, father, father who brought us much food,
Ika nui e, koreha nui e, koira nui e,	Many fish, many eels, many conger eels,
Toa nui e, maika nui e.	Much sugar cane, many bananas.

The woman wept enumerating all that her husband had done:

E koro e, ka moemoe koe, tou aringa ena,	O father, you are lying, your face,
Aue taua e, e koro e, e koro kai nui e,	Alas for us, father, O father who brought much food,
Ika nui e, uhi nui e, kumara nui e,	Many fish, many yams, many sweet potatoes,
Koreha nui e, toa nui e, maika nui e,	Many eels, much sugar cane, many bananas,
E koro tae noinoi ki hare era e,	O father who did not go begging to the houses of others.
Aue koro e, i ngaroro ai e.	He is lost.
E koro ika nui, o hau tangitangi e.	O father, great fisherman, your taut line sung.
Aue taua e.	Alas for us two.

The wife wept each time she saw an article of food that reminded her of her husband. At a woman's funeral the men wept, but did not sing. They merely said: [152]

Aue hua e takatore nui e, heke nui e, tuamingo nui e.	O lady, you brought always many shells, many octopus, many *tuamingo* [species of fish].

The family contributed to the heavy funeral expenses. Relatives paid singers who improvised songs called *ute atua* (praising the dead). The singers sat in two rows with the women in front and the men behind. Only one man danced on the resounding board, a wooden slab placed over a hole in the ground. [535]

Today when a native dies the catechist observes the Catholic rites. Everyone recites the prayers for the death and sings religious hymns. The only survival of the old ceremonial is a banquet held by the natives on the death day. Sometimes they even dance on this occasion. Such practices were severely condemned by Father Estella, who succeeded in shifting the mortuary feast to the day after death. The natives promised him that they would make no *umu* for great crowds, only small ones for the nearest relatives. The occasion of the priest's intervention was a feast celebrated after news of an Easter Islander's death in Chile had reached the island. The priest complained that the natives were excited by the banquet and could not refrain from speaking loudly and dancing the *upaupa*. 764 177

764 177 Twenty years ago Routledge (194, p. 149) assisted in the interment of Angata, Pakomio's mother, who was put into a coffin and lowered into a grave in the Catholic cemetery. Curiously enough her prie-dieu was buried with her. Three English cheers added the only odd touch to the whole ceremony which was performed according to strictest Catholic custom. On the same day, a great feast of pigs was held, probably as a funeral banquet.

765 From the English Company I obtained an old photograph showing a group of girls, dressed in white, singing for the dead. My informant, Victoria Rapahango, told me later that the picture was taken at a feast held six months after the death of one of her children. The long period between the death and the feast suggests a survival of some old custom.

769 787 775 Offerings of food were made for the dead, but we do not know whether this was a general custom for all dead or only for those who asked for food through the medium of dreams or in the form of ghosts. Our only source of information is the following passage in a letter of Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 120):

> As to the souls of the bad men, they stay near the corpses enduring hunger and thirst in proportion to their wickedness. From there they sometimes go to beg food from their relatives and friends who must give it if they wish to be rid of the importunity of the dead. I had many opportunities to fight against this superstition, especially among women who had been converted. Very often, as a consequence of a nightmare, they were induced to put food on the grave of a relative they believed they had seen in a dream.

765 262 The mourning of relatives lasts from one to two years (87, p. 30) or even three years, according to Routledge (194, p. 171). For only sons the mourning might have continued for three or four years. Relatives—we do not know exactly who—had to keep food tapus and were not allowed to eat sweet potatoes (87, p. 30). When the mourning was over a great feast was celebrated and the "pappa was finished" (194, p. 171).

Comparison with other Polynesian Funeral Rites

171 764 The wooden platforms on which the corpses were exposed resemble the Mangarevan biers described and figured by Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 170). They are also similar to the Marquesan biers resting on four posts (142, p. 57). The stone platforms behind some Easter Island ahus have their equivalents in the Marquesas. On Hivaoa the platform for the dead was made of stream boulders, well fitted together and encasing rough stones, rubble, and earth (104, p. 117).

SUICIDE

762 152 Suicide is reported to have been very frequent before Christianity was introduced. For the "slightest provocation" natives jumped from a cliff (190, p. 464). Very likely the psychological background for these suicides was the same as in other parts of Polynesia, especially Mangareva, where it seems to

have been most frequent among the chiefly women. Unfortunate love, spite, jealousy, and hurt vanity were probably the main causes of suicide. It is probable that suicide has not occurred recently as I do not remember having a single case mentioned to me by natives. 762 152

CONCEPTS OF LIFE AFTER DEATH

There are two contradictory statements about the Easter Island beliefs concerning the after life. These may contain some truth but are probably superficial and inaccurate statements. The more ancient and the more reliable information is that of Roussel, who says (190, p. 495): 775

> After death the soul of a person went to a foreign country where the degree of his happiness depended upon the extent to which he had respected tapus during his life. If the soul was happy (well dressed) it remained forever in the new country. If it was unhappy (poorly dressed), it returned to harass its relatives.

Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 120) expresses the same general idea, but adds that the souls of bad people stay near the corpses and suffer hunger and thirst in proportion to their wickedness. It has already been shown that the latter belief justified the food offerings put on the graves (p. 118).

This view of the future life is probably too ingenuous to be the true conception of the learned natives. Another version of the same problem, collected by Geiseler (87, p. 31) many years later, associates the destiny of souls with the god Makemake who kills and eats the souls of the wicked dead, while the souls of the good are allowed to rest on the island under his protection. The unburied dead can see Makemake when he comes for them and thus may escape him. Geiseler (87, p. 30) mistook the hen houses scattered about the island for sepulchers and made the erroneous statement that the dead of high rank were put into a stone house that had two holes through which their souls might escape when pursued by Makemake. Beliefs concerning ghosts and the uncanny appearance of souls of the dead have been dealt with elsewhere (pp. 318-320). [776]

There is a belief, expressed in legends, that the souls of the departed were helpful to their relatives and sent them material favors. One father promised his son before his death that he would send him a tree, another foretold the coming of a turtle (p. 372). These gifts were exclusively destined to the persons designated by the dead man; if other people attempted to appropriate them the gifts were withdrawn. The same belief existed in the Tuamotus. [171]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Very little information on social organization can be found in the missionaries' accounts of Easter Island. This is not due to lack of interest but rather to the series of catastrophes which befell Easter Island immediately preceding the advent of the missionaries and which removed from the tribes their 114 797

114 797 ancient social importance. When Eyraud landed in 1863, the population was distributed in Hanga-roa, Anakena, perhaps Vaihu, and the district surrounding Rano-raraku. The missionaries concentrated the population in a single village and thus broke the last connections of the individuals with their ancestral territory. The memory of the old order survived with remarkable tenacity and as late as 1914 Routledge was able to obtain from aged natives references to lineage groups and their respective distribution. Williamson incorporated some unpublished material given him by Routledge in his study of the Easter Island political system (228, vol. 1, pp. 384-409). My study is based upon Routledge, Williamson, and new evidence which I obtained from natives.

TRIBES

619 Until recently the entire population of Easter Island was divided into ten paternal descent groups, called "clans" by Routledge. However, the word clan is too definite to be accurate here. I prefer the more general and more appropriate term tribe (*mata*). Although more than two thirds of the present population of Easter Island is composed of half-castes, each native knows to which tribe he belongs, either through his father, or, if the father is a foreigner, through his mother.

Probably at one time every tribe had its own territory which was known by the name of the group. Later the tribes became more scattered and isolated members or entire households of one tribe lived within the limits of another district; in some regions along the coast representatives of more than three groups were mixed. The old territorial divisions thus came to be mere districts where the main part of the *mata*, perhaps the senior line, was settled, and had little to do with the actual distribution of the tribes.

619 727 567 The spreading of the members of a tribe outside of the district bearing the name of the *mata* might have been the consequence of intermarriage and probably also of adoption if the adopted children kept their relationship to the paternal group. Certainly war was an agent of diffusion. Legends frequently allude to defeated people who asked for the protection of some relative among the victors. Members of the tribe which had been crushed in a war became prisoners or subjects (*kio*) of the victors. The *kio* were treated as slaves. Gana (86, p. 34) writes:

> The vanquished men fell as captives to the victor who carried off everything belonging to them including their wives and daughters. The conquered persons were forced to cultivate the ground of their owners. When the victor became tired of his slave as consequence of his age or of some illness, he drove him away and gave him permission to attend to his own affairs. The defeated man, fearing to be made a slave a second time, cultivated only a tenth of the land needed to support him and his family. He preferred to starve rather than arouse the jealousy of his enemies. According to the missionaries and other people with experience in this matter the fear of slavery has been one of the principal factors in decimating the Easter Island people who have become emaciated and consumptive.

Gana is such a doubtful authority that we cannot know to what extent his 619
depiction of the condition of slaves conforms to reality. It is certainly true 727
that the vanquished were taken to the district of the victors and were employed 567
in menial work. The transfer of families and individuals from one region to another might have aided in the mixture of the tribes.

Some tribes, the Hamea and the Raa for instance, were entirely included 619
within the territory of another group, in this instance the Miru. This is a typical example of the subdivision of a large group into smaller groups. Three tribes (or subtribes) of the east, the Tupa-hotu, the Ureohei (Hitiura), and the Koro-orongo, had no districts of their own, but were mixed and scattered between the north coast and the south coast, east of Anakena and Akahanga, in the region called Hotu-iti. Hotu-iti might have been the name of a tribe, descended from the youngest son of Hotu-matua, which was subdivided into the above-mentioned subtribes, thus explaining the close association of the Tupa-hotu, Ureohei, and Koro-orongo as well as the absence of any distinct area belonging to each of the three groups.

Each tribe had a common ancestor, usually a son or a grandson of Hotu- 173
matua, discoverer and first king of the island. When Hotu-matua knew death
was near, he summoned a council of chiefs and the " . . . island was divided 619
into districts and portioned out to the children of the king." To Tuu-maheke, the eldest son and successor to Hotu-matua, were given the royal establishment and lands extending northwest from Anakena as far as Maunga Teatea; to Miru, the second son, the lands between Anakena and Hanga-roa; to Marama, the third son, the land between Akahanga and Vinapu; to Raa, the fourth son, the land lying north and west of Maunga Teatea, which was called Hangoteo; to Koro-orongo (incorrectly spelled Koronga-ronga by Thomson), the fifth son, the lands between Anakena and the crater of Rano-raraku; to Hotu-iti, the sixth son, the east side of the island (215, p. 527). There are some inaccuracies and obscurities in the traditional division, as, for example, the inclusion of Raa as a son of Hotu-matua. In view of the following myth which describes the complicated descent of the Hamea and Raa from the Miru through two brothers and one mother, it is quite improbable that Raa was counted among the sons of Hotu-matua as the ancestor of a primary group.

> A war broke out between the Tupa-hotu and the Miru. Taka and Parapuna, two young men of Miru, hid in a cave below Vai-mata with a Miru woman. The woman was pregnant by the eldest brother Taka. Nine months later when she was about to be delivered, she swam with Taka and Parapuna from the cave to Mahatua, where they arrived in the night. The two brothers had a cousin married to a Tupa-hotu who lived there and they walked directly to her house. From outside they asked, "You, our dear sister, are you here?" The cousin answered, "Who are you?" "We are Taka and Parapuna and we bring your sister-in-law who is about to be delivered. That is why we came to you." Their cousin came out and they wept together. She sent them into the cave Ana Omu where they could be hidden. The pregnant woman felt the pains of

173 labor and the cousin assisted with the birth. The child was a boy. His navel cord was bitten by an old man named Humu-ave, who was later killed by the Tupa-hotu.

619 The elder brother gave his wife to his younger brother so that he could have a child of his own. Nine months later a male child was born. The woman returned to Taka and she became pregnant by him. This child was also a male. Then she was again given to the younger brother and a second boy was born to him. The woman was again pregnant with the third child of Taka. Later a third child was born to Parapuna. Each brother had a fourth child by the same woman. The children grew up. The people of Hamea and Raa were exterminated by the Tupa-hotu, but the enemies had not succeeded in capturing Taka and Parapuna who became progenitors of the Hamea and Raa groups, the younger one of the descent group of Hamea. The people multiplied. There was no longer a war so they returned to their country, Peperenga, near the bay of Hangoteo.

Peperenga, the place where the two brothers settled, was not far from Puna Marengo, or Hangoteo Bay, where there is an ahu called Taka Parapuna, belonging to the Hamea and Raa groups. In Estella's list (79, p. 63) of the tribes of Easter Island, Raa is mentioned as the name of the "tribe of Hangoteo."

The above legend and facts do not agree with Routledge's map, based on native information, in which the Hamea are located in the exact region of Hangoteo, and the Raa are placed together with other Hamea groups east of Anakena. According to my sources of information, most of those groups were established near Hangoteo, at the northern end of the island.

Supposing the traditional land division to be accurate, there would remain 619 five groups (Haumoana, Ngatimo, Ngaure, Tupa-hotu, and Hitiuira) whose origin cannot be attributed with certainty to any known ancestor or to any ancestor whose name can be placed on a genealogical record. A logical supposition is that the curious absence of a definite district associated with the names of Hitiuira and Tupa-hotu indicates that these tribes have developed since the other groups to whom special territory was allotted. The greater importance of Marama in comparison with Ngatimo and Haumoana tends to indicate that the latter were originally subtribes of that important *mata*.

In speaking of the social organization of the past, the natives frequently 572 use the word *tumu* which they do not entirely understand and cannot definitely 582 define. Routledge and Williamson (228, vol. 2, p. 145) were both puzzled by 571 the word. Routledge refers in her note to a "mysterious word *tumu*" which she believed to mean only "neighbour". She says " . . . it was vaguely believed that originally one only married one's *tumu*; but no such restriction existed in known time." Williamson (228, vol. 2, p. 145) believes that *tumu* "might possibly mean a human group, represented primarily by its main trunk family, and having its common origin or head. In that case, however, we should expect that the *tumu* would represent the group of people into which a man might not marry." I obtained the following definitions of *tumu*: "*Tumu* is a group from which you may get a wife. The *tumu* is a friend,

but always of another group; he plants for you, he works for you. Every 571
group has its *tumu*." The Hamea and the Raa were pointed out to me as
being the *tumu* of the Miru. Victoria told me that the Miru was the *tumu* 572
of the Tupa-hotu, Ureohei, and Marama, as they might intermarry; but later, 582
in speaking of the subgroups or families of the Miru, she explained that the
Tekena were the *tumu* of Ureokao (both subgroups of the Miru), because
they intermarried.

A *tumu* may be defined, as Routledge surmised, as "a group of people into which a man may marry." However, I was told that there were also *tumu* with whom it was impossible to contract blood alliance "because they lived too near your house. When they lived as near as parents or friends, intermarriage was impossible even though they were *tumu*." From the definitions received, I deduce that *tumu* were people of one tribe who stood in a special relation to people of another. I cannot establish any relationship between the lineages in the different *mata*. It is not clear whether marriage was obligatory or only customary between the *tumu*. Marriage was forbidden to members of two *tumu* which were closely related by blood or perhaps by living together in the same family group. Routledge believed, as I do, that members of a group who settled in the territory of another were either related to the inhabitants by marriage or were captives. Such relationship would explain why my informants defined *tumu* as a group with which there existed marriage connections, or as a group obliged to work for another.

All of the present-day members of the Miru *mata* were pointed out to 619
Routledge and me as being *ariki-paka* (noblemen) except the king of the
island who was called the *ariki-mau* (principal *ariki*). It seems unlikely that 554
every individual in such a large and powerful tribe should be considered an
aristocrat even though belonging to the king's group. Probably the status of
the ordinary members of the Miru was no different from that in other tribes,
but some of the dignity and pride of the royal blood extended to the whole
tribe, making it a little more aristocratic than the other tribes. Any member
whose genealogy could be traced could claim direct relationship to the king's
family.

In sum, the tribes (*mata*) of Easter Island seem to have been separate 619
social groups made up of descendants of a common ancestor. They were
thus, fictitiously perhaps, all related by tracing their origin to the king, Hotu-
matua.

There were no marriage restrictions among tribes, save those of the *tumu*. 619
There is, however, a persistent tradition on the island that it is not proper 582
for a man of another group to marry a Miru woman. Even now the natives 626
believe that men who disregard that tradition are punished by physical disability. Tepano and Pakomio, who married Miru women, told me with great seriousness that by so doing they had exposed themselves to grave danger.

619 After their wedding nights both suffered from cruel pains in the stomachs
and would have died if they had not applied to Pakarati, the catechist, who
582 saved their lives by prayer and other ritual performances. This belief is perhaps
626 the survival of an ancient tapu against marriages between female members
of the *ariki* group and common members of other *mata*. However, Routledge
[792] (194, p. 246) affirms that unions between *ariki-paka* and commoners
were possible in the old days, for the daughter of the great king Nga-ara is
said to have married a man of the Marama tribe. It is certain that the king
had to marry in his own tribe, though not in his own lineage. Other men of
the Miru could marry into any descent line.

619 Certain physical peculiarities were attributed to the members of the different
tribes. Thus the Tupa-hotu were said to have tender feet which easily
826 became sore in war expeditions. The Miru were bow-legged (*ngapau*).

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES

Ruins of houses and ahus scattered over Easter Island correspond to the
172 distribution of the ancient population. All villages were concentrated along
311 the coast and the mountains and plains of the interior were sparsely inhabited.
On the slope of Rano-aroi, near Vai-tea, the remains of two or three ahus
361 may still be seen. Another ahu is a little north of Mount Oroi. On the west
619 of the island were some villages and ahus built at the base of the slopes of
Ranó-aroi and at some distance from the coast. The settlements belonged to
the Miru and the Hamea. Some Marama were scattered farther toward the
interior. All the ancient settlements east of Vai-tea had been founded by
families from groups in the east. As testified by the scarcity and the relative
unimportance of the ruins, the groups living in the interior were isolated and
composed of only a few members.

The ten *mata* or tribes were divided into two main divisions corresponding
619 roughly to the western and eastern parts of the island. The western and
616 northwestern tribes were called Tuu (usually spelled Ko Tuu) or *mata nui*
(greater groups), and the eastern tribes were the people of Hotu-iti or *mata
iti* (lesser groups). The reason for this dualism is not clear. There is no
tradition or fact suggesting that the splitting of the *mata* into two main divisions
had a social function and it is probable that it was a political institution.
It was manifest mainly in a perpetual antagonism between the groups,
the memory of which has been preserved in legends (p. 74). It is important
to stress the fact that the tribes of the eastern division are more frequently
mentioned under the collective name of Hotu-iti that the tribes of the west
are under the name Tuu. Thus it may be inferred that the eastern tribes
were more unified than the western ones. The above data implies that Hotu-iti
was a primary tribe which divided into smaller groups. Tuu seems to be
a simple geographic designation. Near Hanga-roa on the west coast there is

a mountain called Tuu which may have some connection with the general 619
name of the western groups. 616

Dual division was correlated with certain aspects of the religious ceremonies. For instance the servants (*hopu*) who stayed on the island of Motu-nui awaiting the first eggs of the tern (*manu-tara*) were grouped according [222] to the region from which they came (p. 335). The island Motu-nui was divided into two sections by a line passing through the center of a cave where the contestants lived and, according to Routledge (194, p. 261), " . . . also through another cave nearer the edge of the islet; in this latter there was at one time a statue about two feet high and known as Tita-hanga-o-te-henua, or the Boundary of the Land." The dual division of the groups was also observed at the stone village of Orongo where, to quote Routledge (194, p. 260), " . . . the group of houses at the end among the cave rocks was taboo during the festival, for they were inhabited by the rongo-rongo men, the western half being apportioned to the experts from Hotu-iti, the eastern to those from Ko Tuu." This dualism can be interpreted in the light of conditions prevailing on other islands. Hotu-iti and Tuu were probably two antagonistic confederations of tribes fighting for hegemony of the entire island.

The eastern headland, Poike, was not included in any district. That region 311
is entirely barren and only three ahus were built on its edges—one at the foot
of Mount Teatea, another on the eastern slope of Mount Puakatiki, and an- 619
other facing the island Marotiri. The burial places were erected by Ureohei 764
and Tupa-hotu people. The southwestern point of the island with its volcano, Rano-kao, was also outside of the districts, though some Marama, Haumoana, and Miru families lived near the present Mataveri and by the Ahu-rikiriki on the southern slope of the volcano.

The Miru were the most widely distributed of the *mata*, and families or representatives of the Miru lived in the districts of Marama and Haumoana, near the village of 619
Hanga-roa and the bay of Hanga-piko, and on the slopes of Rano-kao near Mataveri. The Hamea and Raa groups are always mentioned together and are represented as being closely associated with the Miru in whose district they lived. They had no territory of their own. The Marama occupied a long strip of land from the west coast to the south coast. They are frequently mentioned with the names of certain important places where they were numerous. They are spoken of as the Marama of Tahai, the Marama of Vaihu, the Marama of Hanga-roa. The district given by Hotu-matua to his son Marama does not coincide exactly with the distribution of the Marama tribe. It includes the territory of the Ngaure, the Ngatimo, and a part of the Haumoana, but it does not extend to the west coast through the interior of the land. The Haumoana, like the Marama, extended from the southern coast to the western coast. Haumoana people are mentioned east of their boundary, settled in the district of the Ngatimo. The Ngatimo group was concentrated in a very short section of the south coast where fishing was unfavorable. However, Ngatimo families occupied the shore from Vinapu to Vaihu. The Ngaure were natives of Akahanga cove, but their real location overlapped their district, and some of them lived to the east of their land. The Tupa-hotu, Ureohei (Hitiuira), and Koro-

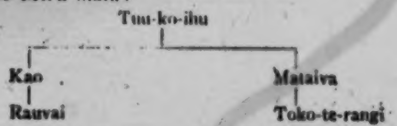
619 orongo had no districts of their own but were more or less scattered in the eastern part of the island from the north coast to the south coast. They had settlements everywhere in the interior, one as far as the vicinity of Vai-tea.

LINEAGE

613 The tribes included a number of lineages or subtribes. The natives of today fully agree that the ahus which extended along the coast, belonged to different "families" or lineages and that members of the lineage were buried there. The houses of the living members of the lineage were erected behind the ahus. Williamson (228, vol. 2, p. 56), following Routledge's data, explains the origin of the lineages by a continuous process of segmentation: "They were smaller family units arising within the larger family unit, and again subdividing; and that process can be traced, not only in tradition, but in what appears to be comparatively recent times." Quoting what is probably a native definition reproduced by Routledge, he says, "The little clans were the children of the big ones."

My attention was drawn to such lineages by Victoria when she was trying to explain to me the position of the king in relation to his fellow members of the Miru *mata*. She stated that the king was always a representative of the Honga lineage which consisted of the direct descendants of the first king, Hotu-matua. According to Victoria, the other lineages of the Miru were the Ure-o-kao, the Ure-o-koera, the Toko-te-rangi, and the Te Kena. Some lineages were more closely related to each other than to the others of the same tribe. Thus, the Honga and the Te Kena claimed descent from two brothers of that name, sons of Tuu-ma-heke, the heir of Hotu-matua. Among the Miru, the Honga men were not allowed to marry Ure-o-koera and Toko-te-rangi women. They took their wives either from the Ure-o-kao or from the Te Kena. On the other hand, the Te Kena were *tumu* of the Ure-o-kao and intermarried with them.

Actually the lineages or subgroups of the Miru were far more numerous than has been recorded. They were: (1) Ongo (Honga), (2) Mataiva, (3) Rauvai, (4) Kao, (5) Toko-te-rangi, (6) Maari, (7) Ko-era, (8) Hahai, (9) Matapu, (10) Moa-tahu, (11) Kai-huharu, (12) Ure-te-Niu, (13) Tuu-ko-ihu. In that list the Te Kena are missing and the Ure-o-kao appear under the form of Kao. Nevertheless we find the Te Kena in the genealogies of the founders of the lineage. The following genealogy shows the origin of several lineages of the Miru *mata*:

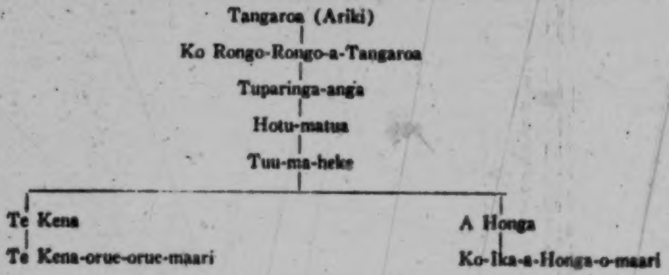


Tuu-ko-ihu was a powerful *ariki* who came to the island with Hotu-matua and to whom most of the sacred rituals are attributed. The other names in the genealogy are

613

those of lineages; there is no doubt that in the minds of the natives they referred to heads of the lineages.

The genealogy of the Honga lineage goes back, as do kingly genealogies in other parts of Polynesia, to Tangaroa and to Rongo created by Tangaroa (Rongo-Rongo-a-Tangaroa). It does not contradict the genealogy given by Victoria who insisted that the Te Kena and the Honga were sons of Tuu-ma-heke. Tuu-ma-heke was the first-born son of Hotu-matua and consequently the direct descendant of Tangaroa and Rongo.



Geographical Distribution of Lineages

I could obtain no information regarding the location of the various lineages within the Miru district. I was told that the Honga lived at Anakena and the Te Kena at Ovahe and that the boundary between them passed through the hill which lies between the two bays. Probably the respective location of the lineages corresponds to that of the different ahus. The Ahu-anakoiroroa in Anakena belonged, according to tradition, half to Te Kena and half to Honga. Routledge apparently received considerable information on the distribution of lineages which she communicated to Williamson. Though his documents are not entirely reliable and are vitiated by omissions and contradictions, I reproduce them here in the form in which Williamson understood them:

> The sub-group at Vai-toa was Maari, and somewhere between Vai-toa and Anakena there was an Ongo-Kao mixture. In the neighbourhood of Anakena there was an Ongo-Kao mixture. In the neighbourhood of Anakena she [Routledge] shows an Ongo-Kao-Niu mixture, followed (further west) by a Kao-Niu mixture; but these two seem to be struck off. Then follows (further west) an Ongo- area, this last being apparently somewhat extensive. Next after this comes a Rauwai-Tokoterangi mixture, followed by a Rauwai group. We have now reached Ahu Tepeau, where there was a Mataiva-Kao mixture; and after this followed in succession, groups first of Mataiva, then of Tokoterangi, next of Koera, and finally, of Hahai. At this point the information stops.
>
> It will be noticed that the names of four of her sub-groups—Matapu, Moa-tahu, Kae-huharu, and Tuukoihu do not appear in these particulars; it may be that their habitats were all in the extreme southern part of the Miru group on the western shore, or perhaps the explanation is that the particulars are not complete, there being places on the coast line of the district whose habitants Mrs. Routledge has not been able to identify. The particulars do not appear to disclose a mere haphazard intermixture of sub-groups. The Maari seem to have been confined to their own district; then there has apparently been a length of coast occupied by the Ongo, Kao, and Niu (mixed or separate); then we come to the Rauwai, Mataiva, and Toko-te-rangi (mixed or separate);

613 and finally to two unmixed sub-groups, the Koera and Hahai. I do not know what was the character of the mixing in these cases, but very possibly the bulk of it arose through intermarriages, in which case the fact of the mixings of sub-groups would not necessarily be antagonistic to suggestions that their grouping was in the main social and local coincidently.

VILLAGES

172 361 Remains of villages or houses are scattered along almost the entire coast. Few evidences of former occupation are found in the interior; only on the slope of Rano-raraku are there ruins of some villages. It is difficult to determine whether all the points along the coast were ever simultaneously occupied. We may assume that stony, inhospitable areas which bear traces of ancient settlements were inhabited after more favorable regions were entirely settled. Some villages were situated at the head of bays or near small creeks where canoes could be landed and where men and women could fish on the coast. Other villages, such as Vai-mata, Puna-marengo, Ahu-te-peu, were perched high upon cliffs. Large settlements were never far from fresh water. Ahu-te-peu is only a mile from a pool and Vai-mata has brackish water. The ruins of Puna-marengo can be explained only by the fresh-water spring there. Vai-tara-kai-ua was an important settlement, because it had one of the best wells on the island.

Stone foundations which are still found on the sites of ancient villages must not be taken as a basis for evaluating the density of the ancient population. Many ancient huts did not have stone curbs; and not all of the preserved house foundations were contemporary. It seems best to resort to earlier accounts to estimate the extent of ancient aggregation.

361 Roggeveen (186, p. 19), who landed on the north coast, saw only six or seven long huts at that place, and inferred "that all the Indians make use of their possessions in common, for the large size and small number of their dwellings give one to know that many live together and sleep in a single building." Gonzalez' men (90, p. 102) assumed that most inhabitants lived in caves.

G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 569), standing on a hill near Hangaroa, "did not see above ten or twelve huts, though the view commanded a great part of the island." J. R. Forster and Cook mention houses on the south coast, about 3 miles from Vinapu (53, vol. 1, p. 282). De Langle, officer of the La Pérouse expedition, who made an excursion toward the interior of the island, describes briefly a little village near Vaihu, where he saw one long house and the foundations of several huts. (130, vol. 1, pp. 79-80).

The large scale map of Hanga-roa Bay in La Pérouse's Atlas (130) shows the distribution of the population on the coast. Near the present pier were a hut and an ahu. About 200 yards away stood three more huts and two stone houses. On the border of the actual village, the map indicates huts and caves; and a big house with stone foundations occupied the present site of

the village. This representation is confirmed by Lisiansky's description (143, 361
p. 56) of the same village, seen in 1803. Delano (5, p. 356) observed that along Hanga-roa Bay were a big house and many more of different form.

In 1866, most of the natives still lived in Anakena (81, p. 53) and in 1872 a number of them were in La Pérouse (145, p. 65). The missionaries first attempted to concentrate the population in Hangaroa and Vaihu (215, p. 453).

Geiseler (87, p. 40) noticed ruins of houses at the following places: on the south coast Hotu-iti, Rano-raraku, Hanga-te-tenga, Hanga-mai-iku, Akahanga, Vaihu and Vinapu; on the west coast Ahu-a-kapú, Ahu-te-peu; on the north coast Vai-mata, Hangoteo; Te Akaue, Anakena, Hanga-o-honu, Mahatua. The precipitous east coast, from Cape O'Higgins to Cape Roggeveen, bears no sign of occupancy although the presence of an ahu seems to prove that this coast was not entirely uninhabited.

The large village mentioned by Thomson (215, pp. 486-487) must refer to the houses between Tahai and Ahu-te-peu (village of Ana-o-hoka). There are remains of several houses, though some have been pulled down by Williamson-Balfour Company agents for stones to build their walls.

CLASSES OF SOCIETY

There were four grades or classes in the Easter Island society: *ariki* 565
(noblemen), *ivi-atua* (priests), *matatoa* (warriors), and *kio* (servants or farmers). This schematic outline made by Roussel (190, p. 660) is only superficially exact. It does not indicate the actual position of the aristocracy and of the commoners and does not include the specialized groups like those of the experts (*maori*). -

The ruler of the hierarchy was the principal high chief (*ariki-mau*) whom 643
the missionaries and the present natives designate as "king of the island." 619
As descendant of Hotu-matua by right of primogeniture, the king had great
prestige which was increased by the sacredness of his person although his 554
political influence was slight. The term *ariki-paka*, applied indiscriminately 565
to all the Miru, expressed a real or fictitious relationship which every Miru could claim with the king's family (p. 126). The ancestors of several tribes were supposed to have been younger sons of Hotu-matua, but there is no evidence in literature or in modern traditions that the *ariki* title was held by tribes other than the Miru. Here there is a striking parallel with Mangaia where only one tribe established *ariki* titles (31, p. 103). On Easter Island, as on Mangareva, the commoners were called *hurumanu*.

KING

Information about the nature of kingship in ancient times has been derived 643
from letters and reports of missionaries, especially the notes of Father Roussel, and from anecdotes and details remembered by native informants. According

643 to Roussel (190, p. 358) kings, who in the beginning were considered deities and had absolute power on the island, did not retain such authority for long but kept only the prestige of a supernatural power and certain personal privileges. The political power of the king was slight, at least during the last period of Easter Island history; his exalted position rested mainly on the religious beliefs of the natives, and his functions, although limited, had a strong bearing upon the magico-economic structure of the island culture. (For a detailed discussion of the functions of Easter Island kingship, see Métraux, The kings of Easter Island: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 46, pp. 41-62, 1937.)

POSSESSION OF DIVINE MANA

643
773
778 The *ariki-mau* or king of Easter Island was a divine chief who had mana (supernatural power) and was therefore surrounded by tapus; as a member of the Honga lineage of the Miru tribe he was descended from the gods Tangaroa and Rongo. (See genealogy, p. 127.) The following legend shows how a king with an oversupply of mana might bring calamity to his people:

> The king Nga-ara slept with three wives, all of whom became pregnant and gave birth to sons. The first two sons had no mana but the third son, Rokoroko-te-tau, mysteriously possessed it. The people brought flower wreaths and standards for Rokoroko-he-tau whom they considered king. Sharks and seals came to the island and chased and ate the people, and white fowls appeared. These three things, together with a white feather diadem, manifested the power of Rokoroko-he-tau. Nga-ara was afraid that the sharks and seals would kill all the people, so he stole Rokoroko-he-tau during the night and hid him near the Rano-aroi and later killed him. The sharks, seals, and white fowls disappeared, never to return.

This brief legend emphasizes the extreme importance of mana; in spite of the tradition that succession to title went to the eldest son, the first two sons of Nga-ara were disregarded because they had no mana, and the third son, who possessed it, was considered king. Throughout Polynesia the birth [787] of the divine chief was often associated with many portents and wonders, but in this tale the phenomena which accompanied the king's birth were emanations from his mana and were the cause of his destruction.

Another legend, strange and incomprehensible in its present form, deals with the mana of the king and of his miraculous birth. Although there is no way of knowing whether this tale refers to a legendary king with great mana or to the son of the god Tangaroa, it contributes to a better understanding of the various aspects of a king's personality.

> Tangaroa and his brother went to the beach at Hangavee one night. After catching some fish they went on to Huareva and to Akahanga. At Anavaero Tangaroa copulated with a hen which he saw sitting on a stone. The two brothers continued to Hanga-nui, where they fished, and to Vaimangaro where they bathed in the sea. There Tangaroa killed the hen, plucked it, and put it in a basin. Both returned to Tuu-tapu. An old woman from Hanga-nui went to the well at Vaimangaro. There she heard a child crying from inside the stomach of the hen in the basin. She took the child to her home, cared

643 773 778

> for him, and named him Tu-ki-haka-he-vari (Curled-up-as-a-chicken-in-an-egg). He grew up and stayed with her at Hakarava. One day he asked the old woman, "Where is my father?" She replied, "There, where there is a dark cloud." Then the boy called to the people, "Make a litter to carry me to Tuu." This the people did and they accompanied him to Pare where he remained. Some died on the way, others died after they had returned to their homes, because of the mana of Tu-ki-haka-he-vari.

[482]

Here, as in the preceding tale, the king's mana is so strong that it becomes deadly to those who carry him. Moreover, the king is carried on a litter; probably to prevent any contact between the ground and the mana embodied in him. This is the only hint of such a custom on Easter Island, but the attitude fits the Polynesian pattern of culture.

TAPUS

643 778 784

The sacredness of the *ariki-mau* obliged both him and the people of lesser rank to subject themselves to a series of restrictions in their mutual relations. No one could touch any part of the king's body without running the risk of falling dead or of suffering severe pain. There is no doubt that the head of the king was the most sacred part of his person—so sacred that he was obliged to let his "hair grow without ever allowing the *mataa* (obsidian knife) to pass through it" (190, p. 360). The head of every man was more or less tapu (p. 103), but probably only the king's head was so sacred that the hair on it could not be cut. When the missionaries wanted to cut the hair of the little Gregorio, the last king of the island, "the child opposed it firmly and yielded only through force or fear." The anger was so general that "the hairdresser was on the point of being stoned when he achieved his work" (190, p. 360).

The hands of the king were also tapu. The only activities permitted to him were making fishing lines and nets and fishing in canoes. The extremely contagious nature of his mana extended to all his belongings which were consequently tapu. "Their huts, their enclosure, their food, their entire persons and everything they used were tapu for other persons of both sexes" (190, p. 360).

643 644

It was not permissible to see the king or his son eat or sleep, and none but his servants who were noblemen (*ariki*) were allowed to enter his house. There were two classes of servants, the *tuura* and the *haka-paapa*. The first provided for the maintenance of the king, tilling the soil, gathering seashells, and fishing for him; and the latter attended the king in the capacity of valets and served his meals. A fragment of legend mentions only one *tuura* and one *hakapaapa*, but the informant who dictated the legend told me on another occasion that there were several of each class of servants, though he was not sure of the number. I am unable to tell what truth there is in Palmer's statement (168, p. 282) that next to the king there was a "prime minister, who was obliged to be a celibate."

643 262 784

Several foods were tapu to the king. He could never eat rats and it is

643 quite possible that the same tapu applied to the other members of the Miru
tribe (194, p. 242). The *mahore, kotea, pahika, teteme,* and *kahi* (tuna) were
262 the only fish allowed the king. The tapu on tuna fishing during the winter
784 months (p. 173) did not apply to the king and a few noblemen. During the tapu period expert fishermen went to catch tuna in the king's boat which was called *vaka-vaero* and was decorated with cock feathers. All fish caught from the *vaka-vaero* were presented to the king, who kept them for his own use or, more often, distributed them among the important old men (*tangata-honui*). The first *kahi* taken after the lifting of the tapu in summer were taken to the king, who tasted a bit and gave the rest to the *tangata-honui.* The food for the king was strictly tapu and only the *haka-paapa* could touch it.

DRESS

643 The dress of the king was similar to that of any wealthy man. He wore
291 a beautiful tapa cloak stained yellow (*nua*) with turmeric and "feather hats
of various descriptions." From his neck, both back and front, hung six
386 wooden balls (*tahonga*) and six small wooden crescents (*rei-miro*) with
301 small shell tassels (*rei-pipipipi*) dangling from them. The only distinguishing
826 physical characteristic of the sons of kings was an alleged growth of down
under the eyes.

RESIDENCE

Nga-ara, the last king who died with full rank, had his headquarters at
644 Anakena, which is the most pleasant part of the island. This was the beach
764 chosen by the discoverers of the island for their king, Hotu-matua. There
Hotu-matua landed and died. From that time on the bones of the kings and
533 of the members of the Honga lineage were buried in the ahus which still surround the cove. Near them are to be seen the foundations of a school of chanters, in front of which people gathered to hear the recitations and chants. Modern natives are fond of this cove where hills dominate a long beach which slopes gently to the sea and where swimming is pleasant (pl. 1, *B*).

According to a tradition which I was unable to check, each new king went
173 to live at Ahu-a-kapu, near Tahai on the west coast. Later, when he had
644 yielded his authority to his son, he went to ahu Tahai and then to Anakena where he spent his last years. Nga-ara was the only king who died in Tahai, and his remains were buried in the large ahu there. The young princes were raised in a village called Papa-o-pea, near ahu Ohau, not far from Ahu-te-peu. The literature on Easter Island contains only one allusion to the kings' changes of residence. However, Routledge (194, p. 279) has recorded a tradition in which Hotu-matua quarreled with his eldest son, Tuu-ma-heke, to whom he ceded his position and then retired to the top of the Rano-kao, where he lived on the southern side of the crater, opposite Orongo. Traditions

connected with the ruins of Anakena prove that it was an important site and the one most closely associated with the memory of kings. There is no doubt that it was a royal residence, but with the present lack of knowledge, the frequent and obligatory changes of the king's home are inexplicable and will undoubtedly remain so. Perhaps such changes concerned only a few kings of historical times and cannot be generalized. 173 644

SUCCESSION TO POWER

A king resigned his power in favor of his first-born son when he married. My informant, Juan Tepano, was positive about this fact which is confirmed by Roussel (190, p. 360): "The king resigned on the occasion of the marriage of his son, but his wedding could be delayed for a long time, since the custom of the country allowed him to marry only at an advanced age." This custom is similar to that in Mangareva where the chief yielded the rule to his son before his death. In the Marquesas, if Gracia's statement (9!, p. 103) is correct, the eldest son of the chief took the title and rank of his father on the day of his birth while the old chief remained a sort of regent. In Tahiti, the child of a chief took the title and office of his father soon after birth; during the minority of the child the "father exercised all authority, though in the name of the child" (70, vol. 1, p. 260). 643

INFLUENCE OVER NATURE

The bearing of the king on the magico-economic activity of his people is shown not only in the influence of his mana on the welfare of the people but also in his power over nature. When King Tuu-ma-heke was born a new mollusk called *kovare* appeared in the sea. White chickens multiplied at the birth of King Rokoroko-he-tau. There is still a belief among the natives that a great many plants vanished from the island with the kings who controlled them. The favorite variety of sweet potato called *huatea* is no longer found on Easter Island for it could not exist without the king who made it grow, explained my informant. Since the kidnapping of Maurata and his family no tortoises have appeared on the shore. 643 778

The following chant celebrated the king's beneficent influence upon nature, especially on the sources of staple foods. The chant is here presented as reconstructed and retranslated by me with the aid of Tepano. It had formerly been transcribed freely and erroneously by Thomson (251, pp. 523-524). 643 778 533 539

What does the king make fertile in the country?
Mars comes up, appears in the sky. The king makes the shoots of the white sweet-potatoes grow in the country.
Now he makes the sweet-potatoes favorable, the sky favorable, the ancestors favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The crayfish, the *poopoo* fish, the conger eels, the *nohu* fish (*ape* fish?), the king makes fertile in the country.

643 Now he makes the crayfish good to eat and the *poopoo* fish, the moss, the ferns, the *hatuhatu-atua* plants.
778 What does the king make fertile in the country?
The mosses, the ferns, the *hatuhàtu-atua* plants, the king makes grow in the country.
533 Now he makes the mosses favorable, makes the ferns favorable, he makes the roots of
539 the *hatuhatu-atua* favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
He introduces the tuna fish, the *atu* fish, and the *ature* fish.
Now he makes the tuna fish favorable, he makes the *atu* favorable, he makes the *ature* favorable too.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The yams, the taro, the sweet-potatoes the king makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the yams, the sweet-potatoes, the sugar cane, the shoots favorable in the country, in the shade.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The turtle, its abdominal shell, its legs—these he makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the turtle, its abdominal shell and its legs favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The stars, the sky, the heat, the sun, the moon, the king makes fertile there above.
Now he makes the sky, the heat, the sun, and the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Going up, he makes the dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
Now he makes dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The chiefs, the chiefesses he makes favorable in the country.
Now the king makes the chiefs, the chiefesses favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Worms, earwigs, beetles, the king makes fertile in the country.
Now he makes the worms, the earwigs, the beetles favorable, he makes them grow in the country.

643
241
The first fruits of all the products of the land were presented to the king with great ceremony (described by Roussel, 190, p. 360). "Only the king could initiate the harvesting of crops which were tapu as long as he ordered them to be."

643
782
Certain priestly functions related to nature were incumbent on the king. In time of drought he must send his son or another *ariki-paka* to perform rites beseeching Hiro to make rain fall. It may be assumed that the king also prayed to Hiro for rain, that he had something to do with the fertilizing of the fields, and that his power was beneficial to chickens.

SUPERVISION OF SEMI-RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

643
845
553
342
Assisted by a priest, the king had to eat in every house before it could be occupied by its owners. He also had to perform rites on a new boat. All twins were presented to him to be given a "royal name." I was unable to obtain details about this name or the mystical beliefs connected with twins.

643
304
Tradition tells that the recently tattooed young men gathered in Anakena and exhibited their designs to the king who sat on the head of an old image to examine them. If he was satisfied with the work of the artist, he said to the young man, "Ka hoa ki Tuna-roa" (Go to the ahu Tuna-roa), but if he

643 304 considered the motifs poor, he said to the unfortunate bearer, "Ka hoa ki ahu runga" (Go to the lower ahu). He criticized the form and size of the ear piercings and probably the ornaments worn in them.

643 The king's interest in the reading of the tablets by the *rongorongo* men and his knowledge of the script is discussed later (pp. 390-391).

ROYAL INSIGNIA

643 644 554 The legend of Rokoroko-he-tau (p. 130) tells how the people brought wreaths (*mukomuko*) and standards (*huhu*) to the first-born children of the king. Those who presented the first fruits to the young king Gregorio were accompanied by two files of boys holding branches of *hau*, peeled and stained dark. The symbolism of such ensigns is not known, but they were probably brought before the king as a token of respect. Natives still remember such sacred ornaments and tell how once each month the people went to Anakena to present the *ariki-mau* with *huhu* and *maru*. (Tepano insisted, however, that the presentation was made once a week.) My informant translated the word *huhu* as "standard" and described it as a pole with three to five small, red, white, or black sticks inserted into it. The ends of these sticks were decorated with cock feathers, and the top bore a long feather garland (*maru* ?). Similar ones are still made by the natives for trade. The *huhu* and *maru* were planted in the ground in front of the king's house and left there until they rotted. Standards, used as marks of honor and friendship, were carried before some of the early voyagers who landed on Easter Island (18, p. 128; 53, vol. 1, p. 281).

Te Haha, who in his youth was attached to the court of King Nga-ara, told Routledge (194, p. 242) that " . . . if the people wanted chickens, they applied to the Ariki-mau, who sent him with *maru*, and his visits were always attended with satisfactory results."

POLITICAL POWER

643 The king was not a ruler in the ordinary sense of the word. Roussel (190, p. 260) makes the following general statement concerning the king's influence in the political system of the island that seems to be very near the truth:

> In late times, although the kings were still surrounded with respect by the natives who considered their persons to be sacred, their authority was nil and entirely disregarded. It has passed entirely into the hands of the mata-toa [warriors] who decided everything and carried on the war without beforehand consulting his majesty.

Thomson (215, p. 473) states that the ancient government was an arbitrary hereditary monarchy. The king ruled over the entire island and was never involved in intertribal wars. "Disputes were settled by the king without regard for law or justice. No great homage was paid him and no tax was expected of the people."

643 The *ariki-mau* was respected because of his mana, his influence over nature, and the magic connected with his person, but he was certainly not a ruler or civilian chief. As a direct descendant of the first king who settled on the island and thus of the gods, the *ariki-mau* had a status superior to that of other chiefs or heads of tribes, but he probably had little authority over them. Though the king did not interfere in the intertribal wars, he may occasionally have acted as mediator in quarrels. His lack of real power and exalted position is shown by the following historical incident which took place just before 1862:

> The Ngaure tribe defeated the Miru whom they took as slaves (*mata-kio*). The king, his son Kamakoi, and his grandson Maurata were held in captivity in the territory of the Ngaure and were not rescued until a few years later by the Miru who had in the meantime united with the Tupa-hotu.

In view of all available evidence, kingship on Easter Island may be defined as follows. The king was the man with the most aristocratic pedigree and the most exalted social position on the island. His person was overflowing with mana and his sacredness caused him to be feared and respected. His function in society was to insure through his very being the abundance of crops and the fertility of the ground and to exercise his influence on animal life. Certain religious activities were derived from his sacredness and he held supervisory control over various practices connected with religion.

PRIESTS

793 Very little information is available about the status of priests (*ivi-atua*) (family of the gods) except that, according to Roussel, their social rank was
554 next to that of the *ariki*. They were feared and respected, and the attitude of
565 the common people toward them was probably similar to that observed toward the king or other high chiefs. The fact that native traditions, referring to certain important ceremonies, insist that these were performed by *ariki-paka*, implies that some high priests belonged to the families of kings. Very few allusions to *ivi-atua* are made in legends, but by analogy with Mangareva and the rest of Polynesia, we may suppose that they had a great deal of influence and played an important part in the history of the island. Their power and prestige seem to have been annihilated before the missionaries came, since they made no opposition to the introduction of Christianity. Accounts by the missionaries do not allude to them.

EXPERTS AND CRAFTSMEN

463 An expert in any profession is called *maori*. The chanters or reciters of genealogies were *maori*, as well as the carvers of the big images, and the wood cutters. The common Polynesian word *tahunga* seems to have been known formerly, but it is not in the modern language. *Tahonga* is a formative

element in the names of several kings, and an old chant alludes to the *tahonga.* 463

[533
539]

He naunau no ta Puku-naunau.	There is a sandalwood tree in Puku-naunau.
He rongo-rongo no ta Orongo.	There is a chanter at Orongo.
He tahonga no ta Puku-tahonga.	There is an expert craftsman in Puku-tahonga.
He kiakia no ta Puku-kiakia.	There is a *kiakia* bird on Puku-kiakia.

Present-day islanders still remember that the stone carvers were organized 324
into a sort of guild. They were a privileged class, highly esteemed, and 467
their profession was transmitted from father to son. To Geiseler (87, p. 13) and Thomson (215, p. 498) were pointed out natives who claimed to be the descendants of the image makers. They referred to their ancestors with as much pride as to the royal family. One of Thomson's guides "never missed an opportunity of stating that one of his forefathers was Uuratahui, the distinguished image maker."

Tepano told me that expert stone carvers (*tangata maori anga moai maea*) 324
received orders from people who wanted a monument for their ahu. They 465
worked under the leadership of a master (*tangata honui maori*) and were paid in fish, lobsters, and eels.

Expert fishermen were called *vaka-tangata* (people of the boat). They 226
went fishing at the request of people who wanted fish.

RONGORONGO MEN

The sacred lore of Easter Island was stored in the memories of experts, 533
called *tangata rongorongo.* Routledge (194, p. 244) is the first to apply this 463
term to a special category of learned people. Present-day natives always speak of the chanters and learned men of the past as *tangata rongorongo.*

Thomson (215, p. 514) states that the knowledge of chants and of the 533
so-called script associated with them was possessed only by members of the 463
royal family, the chiefs of the six districts, the sons of the chiefs, and certain 565
priests and teachers. There is little doubt that many experts belonged to aristocratic families. King Nga-ara, who was trained by his father, was one of the most famous *rongorongo* men of the nineteenth century. Other traditions, however, imply that chanters were numerous, and if this impression is correct, we may assume that nobility was not an absolute prerequisite for the profession. Probably on Easter Island as on Mangareva it was fitting for the king to possess the science of a priest, though it was not obligatory.

Little is known of the social functions of the *rongorongo* men. We know 533
only that they taught chants in special schools, met once a year at Anakena 463
to read the tablets, and gathered at Orongo during the annual competition of the bird-men (p. 390) where they "chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that is all" (194, p. 260).

463 533 171 The *tangata rongorongo* of Easter Island is analogous to the *tuhuna o'ono* of the Marquesas who served as "master chanter, tribal bard, or ceremonial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore" (104, p. 145). He also taught the sacred chants and led the chanting at family feasts. There were chanting contests between the *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes. The word *o'ono* is the equivalent of *rongo* since in the Marquesan dialect the *r* is dropped and the nasal velar (*ng*) becomes *n*.

On Mangareva there was a special class of chanters or "intellectuals" who were termed *rongorongo* (*taura rongorongo*). They were responsible for the sacred chants for important festivals and recited genealogies and chants in praise of nobility at feasts organized by the king or by chiefs. They knew and transmitted to their pupils both sacred and profane lore—myths, legends, traditions, and historical narrative (28, p. 304).

WARRIORS

701 565 Thomson (215, p. 475) is mistaken when he assumes that "there was no class of professional fighters or soldiers; every able-bodied man was supposed to be a warrior and compelled to do duty in time of war." It is certainly true that most of the men of a tribe participated in a fight but the *matatoa* were nearly, if not exactly, professional warriors. As men of recognized courage and strength, they were expected to go to war and their presence in a battle was considered a guarantee of victory. Their prestige and the fear they inspired placed them in a special category above the average members of their tribes. They probably did no work. They might be compared to the Marquesan war leaders, *matahoha* (courageous faces, 104, p. 126). [171]

In the native texts two words are generally used to designate warriors—*matatoa* which applies to a man of military fame, and *paoa* which designates an ordinary soldier. *Paoa* also means "club" (the short club like the Maori *patupatu*). The expression *kai-tangata* or *paoa-kai-tangata* (cannibal-warriors) appears occasionally in legends in reference to fierce fighters. The use of *kai-tangata* in this sense forms an exact parallel to the word *kaia* (famed warrior) of Mangareva. [171]

Legends and missionary accounts fully agree that the *matatoa* were not only the leaders in war but were also the actual rulers of the tribes. Some of the *matatoa* seem to have procured for themselves privileges usually reserved for the *ariki*. On this point Roussel (190, p. 428) says: "The custom transmitted up to our time requires that the fishermen hand over the tuna fish he caught to the chief or, in his place, to the matatoa." Similar conditions existed on Mangaia where the temporal power passed from the *ariki* of the Nga-ariki tribe to victorious warriors (31, p. 122). On Easter Island there is no specific record that a *matatoa* ever ruled over the whole island, but cer-

701

tain legends seem to indicate that some *matatoa* exercised, at least temporarily, supremacy over all the tribes. 565

SERFS

567 171 The *kio* were defeated people who were obliged to serve their conquerors or to pay tribute to them with the produce of their lands. Roussel translates *kio* to mean farmer or servant. On Mangareva a *kio* was a farmer who had put himself under the protection of a rich landowner or who cultivated a piece of land leased to him by some wealthy man. The *kio* were the lowest class of small farmers.

567 727 266 After a tribe had been defeated, those who were not killed and eaten were reduced to the condition of *kio*. Their sufferings and humiliation have been well described by Roussel (190, p. 424) whose information seems to have been obtained first-hand.

567 727 When a war was over, the defeated people were kept in caves which they could leave only during working hours. All became slaves and had to plant a certain portion of land for their respective masters. When these masters no longer needed the services of the *kio*, they sent them home under any pretext but really to have fewer people to feed and especially to make it necessary for them to plant all over again. If a dismissed slave forgot the oft-taught lesson and planted again what he needed for his family, he could expect to be robbed; resistance was useless because it would be paid for by renewed slavery or a new war. Therefore the released slaves planted only one tenth of what they needed for sustenance (p. 120), as they preferred to starve rather than to plant for someone else.

The tales and legends make frequent allusions to *kio* concealed in caves, pursued to the most uninhabitable parts of the land, and existing there miserably until they were allowed to return to their land or until the fortunes of war had been decided in their favor.

SECRET SOCIETIES

575 The following Easter Island legend, if taken literally, seems to indicate the existence of secret societies and of masked persons organized into bands with the purpose of extorting food from the people:

> Six young men named Aamai went with a distant cousin Toka-ngütu, to make masks. They put the masks on and left Hanga-maihiku where they had been concealed, and went then to Hanga-o-honu. They arrived there at night and entered the houses, saying, "We are gods; we are the god Makemake." They behaved like gods and their voices were like that of a spirit. They said, "We want food, wooden images, dance paddles—all the things you have." When they finished with one house, they went to another, and were again given food and other things from the people there. The seven men left Hango-o-honu loaded with goods and returned to Hanga-mai-hiku where they spent a few days. At night they changed their voices to sound like gods. Men, women and children were terrified and believed they were really gods and gave them food, chickens, wooden images, and all sorts of other things.

575 The young Aamai and their cousin went to other places also—to Hanga-roa, Mataveri, Vinapu, Ahu Akapu, Tahai, Vai-mata and Ahu-te-peu. They always went at night and were given crayfish, fish, tuna, and eels. The people were afraid and thought that they were really gods.

One day they came to the house of Hipa where they received food. The men who were carrying the food to the Aamai came to a place called Vai-hoata. The Aamai said, "Return to your houses." The men made as if they were leaving, but they concealed themselves. The Aamai took a bath in a well and talked with their natural voices. Then they took the extorted goods on their backs and went on. The men watching them said, "They are not gods but men." When the Aamai had gone, the carriers returned home and told what they had seen. The people said, "Go back and kill these young men. They are not gods, but men who imitate the voice of the gods." The news spread everywhere. That night the Aamai did not return, but Toka-gnutu went alone in the night, wearing his mask. Men were waiting for him. When he entered the house he was seized and killed. The men who had killed him said, "They were just men, they were deceiving us." But all except Toka-gnutu escaped from them.

575 171 Those who advocate a Melanesian origin for the Easter Island culture might use this legend as a strong argument in favor of a possible connection between the Melanesian secret societies of masked people who begged food and terrified the uninitiated and a similar institution on Easter Island which is recorded only in the above tale. However, masks are termed *manu uru*, the term used for tapa kites and tapa images. Tepano is the only informant who claimed that masks were an ancient culture trait, but it must be remembered that Tepano spent many years in Chile where he had opportunities to see masquerades. There is little doubt that the element of the masks is an addition made by Tepano. In the text stress is put on the fact that the young men imitated the voice of the gods, and those spying on them recognized them as human when they spoke in a natural voice. A shortened version of this legend by Routledge (194, p. 224) twenty years ago does not refer to masks but to painting. The fraud was detected when the men were surprised washing their faces in a well. My version mentions the washing which is a meaningless detail if we do not know that they were painted.

SALUTATIONS

201 The well-known Polynesian salutation of pressing noses has never been recorded for Easter Island but must have existed, as we find the word *hongi* (to press noses) still in use with the modern meanings "to smell" and "to kiss." I observed women sniffing their children to manifest their tenderness.

152 Easter Islanders wept when they met friends or relatives from whom they had been separated for a long time. This is related to the widespread Polynesian custom of weeping for those who have died during separation. The word *tangi* (to weep) is used in Easter Island tales in which people meet. I noticed that Easter Islanders, like other Polynesians, were inclined to weep over articles which reminded them of a dead relative. A woman asked me for her father's photograph which had been published in the report of a

former expedition. She said, "Show it to me so that I may cry over it." On 152
another occasion, when I asked a woman to describe a certain feast, she wept bitterly because a relative of hers, who had taken part in it, had died afterward.

The Tahitian greeting, *ia-o-rana*, is the usual form used by the natives, 576
though occasionally they resort to Spanish or English expressions. However, 192
they remember the old native terms and jokingly readopted them in my presence. In former times a visitor was received with a strongly modulated *K(a) oho mai* (Come), sometimes augmented with *repa* or *uka rivariva* (good-looking young man or young girl). When several people came together, the sentence was: *K(a) oho mai korua, ko oou* [or *toou*] *mahingo* (Come, you and your family) and the answer was simply *Ko koe a* (Yourself). When leaving a house the formula was: *Ka noho korua* (You stay).

In Geiseler's time the natives had not yet dropped their traditional greetings (87, p. 27):

> The salutations are lively. At a distance they shout "Kohomai" and then shake hands with the kindest expressions. Some utter a shy "Morning", and are proud to salute thus the Europeans. The form of their salutations differs according to whether they are addressing a European, a friend, or a relative. Relatives and friends are received with the expression: "Aue hoa e kohomai koe." These who are addressed by these words repeat them. Relatives and friends are received with the expression, "Aue hoa e k(a) oho mai [Alas, my friend, come]." Those thus addressed repeat the words. To Europeans they say, "K(a) oho mai (Come)" or "Koe e te tangata hiva e [You, O stranger]" and shake hands. Parents usually salute their children with "Aue poki" or "Aue potu e [Alas, small one]" or "Aue tauku [probably taaku] a te [Alas, you the mine]."
>
> The giving of a greeting is the general custom, and even people who pass at a distance shout "K(a) oho mai" to each other. The parting expression is "Ka ea mai [Go]."
>
> Their salutation, except that used with children, consists of bowing, shaking hands, and friendly gestures. Thus they give expression to their kind sentiments.

In speaking of a salutation, the natives use the term *aroha (ka aroha)*. 576

A returning native who had been absent from the island for two years was stoned by the natives when he was about to land. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 121) gives as the reason for this extraordinary reception the fear felt by the natives that they had seen a ghost and not a living person. The native's wife saved him from further injuries by swimming to the canoe and embracing him. "Shouting with all her energy she finally convinced the aggressors that he was not a ghost but a living reality." The interpretation of the missionary may be correct, but this kind of reception is not foreign to other Polynesians. People who return to their country after a long absence are often threatened by their relatives, who feign violence to show them how much they were missed. This apparently hostile attitude honors the returning person, making him responsible for the deaths or other misfortunes which happened during his absence. The formal reception of an honored guest is recorded by Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 235) who paid a visit to the

576 chief of Hotu-iti. Men had been posted at distances along the way followed by the missionaries. All had badges on their heads or on their arms. Each group received the guests with cheers and joined the retinue, marching behind the missionaries. Among this escort were two men who walked in front bearing two European swords. When they arrived where the chief was standing, the guests were received with the formula *Ka oho mai korua* (You come) and invited to sit on beautiful stones. A stone seat was given to the young king who had accompanied the missionaries.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

423 All information about property rights of ancient times is summarized in a few passages by Roussel (190, p. 429):

> In more recent times, property has been less respected; the land belonging to the first occupant. Formerly, every family owned the land that either hereditary, compulsory, or voluntary occupation put into its hands. Property was not valued because of the great expanse of uncultivated lands and the absence of purchasers. The dishonesty of the natives, their continual changing of residence, resulting from their constant wars, have created the most confusing and entangled situation in matter of property. So if you intend to buy land, you have—I do not want to say always, because there are exceptions—to buy the lands from all the individuals on the place in order not to cheat somebody. If you add to this entanglement the difficulty arising from the orphans who are [736] very numerous, you will have an idea of the property system on Rapa-nui. [As on other Polynesian islands] the sea contiguous to an estate belonged to the owner of this estate. He was the only one who was authorized to fish, to look for squid and shellfish there. For his protection he placed a *rahui*.

[613] I could get scant information about ancient property rights. The ground belonging to a lineage was called *henua poreko ranga* (the land where the ancestors were born). Since 1866, when the entire population was concentrated at Hanga-roa on the west coast, the ties between lineages and land have been broken. Dutroux-Bornier, by unscrupulous tricks, bought from the natives most of their lands; through Brander, his rights passed to the Williamson-Balfour Company which now owns the island. I believe that the natives yielded their lands more readily because they had left them. However, they have remembered the portions of land of which their families were the legitimate owners. Estella (79, pp. 122-126) has reproduced a letter of the so-called king Atamu Te Kena, wherein the king gives the exact boundaries of his estate at Hanga-piko. In the same document are listed the names of forty persons who were the owners of Hanga-piko, Mataveri, and Rano-kao. As an example of the accuracy with which old boundaries were traced, I translate a part of Estella's document which was destroyed later with the archives, in a fire ignited by the natives themselves:

> . . . The line goes from Hanga-piko to the stone Taiaa, from there passing through the middle of the said stone it extends to the stone Mataoti where there is a house. From the middle of this house the boundary reaches the mountain of the Mata, where

there is another house. . . The other line goes from the pool to the big stone, Huhaturupei. I tell you this clearly so that you may know the boundary; this is the stone. 423
From there, looking to the east, it runs to the right to the point, Iarako.

With the intention of harming the English Company, Estella (79, pp. 114-119) tried to establish the property rights of the natives according to their claims. At the meetings arranged for that purpose, each native gave the boundaries of the land which would have been his under the old property-right system. If purported rights were to be recognized, all of the east part of the island called Hotu-iti would belong to the family of Tepano. When I asked about the property of his family, he mentioned no such rights and even boasted that he fooled Estella. However inaccurate it may be, Estella's 423
census attempt shows that the districts of the island were once divided into
fairly large portions which belonged to lineages, and that the hereditary land 613
of a lineage was divided among households. Victoria Rapahango and Maria Ika who are of the Honga family are at present the theoretical owners of the land around the eastern part of Anakena Cove. Their land includes the ahu of Hotu-matua and the near-by hill. The ahu near the cave at Anakena Cove was the property of Simon Riroroko and Charli Teao. The statue, called Rahi, of ahu Tongariki marked the boundary between the lineage of the Vaimaho and that of the Vaikoveka.

Brothers lived together in the same house and to each was allotted a portion of the land when he married. 423 All the people were supposed to have about the same amount of land to cultivate. Each estate was probably a straight strip of land (*kainga*) which stretched away from the shore toward the interior of the land. Shares owned by the different families were subject to changes from one generation to the next, depending upon the deaths and resultant inheritances. After the kidnapping of the Easter Islanders in 1862, the lands left vacant were claimed by the relatives of those abducted, and thus many quarrels arose among the contenders.

As in the rest of Polynesia, Easter Island children inherited from both 428
their father and their mother. Many of the people who presented their claims to Estella founded their pretensions on the rights of mothers and even of aunts (probably father's sisters). Tepano's mother was married first to an *ariki* named Vaka. She bore him ten children and afterwards married Rano Vavara, Tepano's father. When Vaka died he left some land to her and her children. Tepano, as the only survivor of all of Viriamo's children, might claim as his own both Vaka's and his father's land. Only Charli Teao, who was a relative of Vaka, could demand some share of the latter's estate. In answer to my question as to the disposal of his estate after his death, Tepano told me that it would go to his wife and afterward to "his favorite son."

At present the Chilean government gives ten hectares (25 acres) of land 425
to each man when he marries.

JOINT PROPERTY

592 423 241 Roussel (190, p. 428) says that the fields were planted and the crops harvested in common by the members of a household or by the people living at the same place [lineage]. The workers were rewarded with a feast (*hatu*), the size of which depended upon the extent of the land and the importance of the owner. The dimensions given by early voyagers for the dwelling houses suggest that several biological families, probably closely related, lived together.

235 422 436 Near the foundations of ancient houses are generally found chicken houses of stone in which the fowls were kept during the night. It is impossible to determine now what system of property was applied as regards poultry. Hens undoubtedly had a great value and were used for exchange. Today fowls are personal property and every man identifies his hens by an ownership mark cut on the legs. I was unable to discover whether ownership marks were used in ancient times or adopted under Chilian influence.

431 476 602 Today everyone gives freely of his clothes and of cooking and tilling implements. Between relatives there is a constant exchange of gifts conforming to patterns of reciprocity. Children are permitted to use anything they need from the houses of either their paternal or maternal relatives. During his first stay on the island, Eyraud was obliged by the natives to build a boat. They gathered wood from all over the island and everyone participated in the construction of the truly "national boat."

226 422 501 The few boats on Easter Island are joint property of all those who have contributed to their building, either in work or in furnishing wood. One such boat belongs to seven men, and each must give his permission before the boat can be used. The joint owners of a boat fish together and divide their catch among their own families. If the canoe belongs to a single person, those who help him fish receive the least desirable fish, and the owner keeps the tuna fish.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

THIEVERY

674 577 The thievery of Easter Islanders has been stressed by all visitors and their dishonesty has become as famous as their statues. Even when the Europeans avenged the small thefts by slaughtering the unarmed natives, the islanders continued to steal. They used the charms of their women to distract the seamen while they robbed them of their hats or handkerchiefs.

181 674 577 The thievery of the natives is not merely the result of uncontrolled desire for many new and astonishing things. Their dishonesty appears innate and systematic; they enjoy stealing the fruits they have given to their visitors as much as the theft of cloth or European articles. Their bartering with the white men is absolutely unscrupulous; they filled with stones the baskets

they presented to Captain Cook (83, vol. 1, p. 579), laying a few potatoes on top. The larcenies were committed so openly and so generally that they seem to have been considered perfectly natural, although by running away the natives showed that they felt they might be punished if they were caught in the act of pilfering. 181 577 674

While anchored off Easter Island, Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 228) received some natives on board his ship:

> The crew were busy taking off their underwear when one of the savages proved himself to be a very clever thief. He sat, as if he did not notice it, upon a red necktie which he hid very adroitly in a little basket he had with him. When obliged to give back the tie he manifested neither anger nor surprise. He tried his trick again with the hope of being more successful next time.

Geiseler (87, p. 29) says that the natives "deem it a sign of cleverness" to plunder Europeans. "We observed during our stay at Vaihu that they attempted, in every way, to recover the eggs they had already sold to us and to sell them a second time. They would burst into laughter when we noticed the theft."

When Eyraud went to the island for the first time, he was robbed of his clothing and left almost naked. Once, as he worked in a well, he was threatened with death if he did not hand over immediately the trousers he had on. Ollivier (165, p. 254) writes in a letter to his superior that "the instinct of destruction together with that of stealing appear to me as the dominant features of their character."

The islanders of today have changed very little. In trade they perpetrate the most remarkable tricks to deceive the foreigners. After the visit of the *Baquedano* in 1934, one of them boasted that he had sold a bag full of stones as antiques. For years they have robbed the Williamson-Balfour Company of cattle and sheep; in 1934 they stole more than 3,000 sheep. Their raids are not justified by necessity; the Company sells them sheep at 20 cents a head, an amount they can easily afford to pay. The company store is constantly threatened by possible plundering. Despite the police organized by company managers, it is seldom that thieves are caught in the very act of stealing. [625] Although all know who the culprits are, no one would dare to tell their names. In Easter Island, as in Tahiti, it was probably considered smart to steal if the larceny remained undiscovered.

Thomson (215, p. 465) correctly says that the natives saw no moral delinquency in the practice of thieving. More doubtful is his statement, based on information from Salmon, that "they had a god of thieving, and successful [776] operations were believed to be accomplished under his patronage, and only detected when not sanctioned by that spirit."

The treatment of visitors differed not at all from the methods the natives would have used among themselves had such abuse been tolerated without [574] retaliation. Gonzalez (90, p. 98) remarks:

> 181 . . . they are so fond of taking other people's property that what one man obtains
> another will take from him, and he yields it without feeling aggrieved; the most he will
> 577 do is to resist a little, then he loosens his hold of it and they remain friends. It appears
> as if among themselves their gods are held in common, and I believe they conceal as
> 674 much as they can get possession of below the ground, for we never saw afterwards any
> of the things we gave them.

Legends often mention episodes in which persons who took things from others ran away to escape punishment. Modern natives steal among themselves as much as they pilfer foreigners. If they are detected they make no effort to keep the stolen goods, but quietly return it. They prefer to steal food which may be used without attracting undue attention, and they alter stolen clothes so that the legitimate owner cannot recognize them.

PUNISHMENT OF THEFT

685 The breaking down of the old order and the deposition of the old chiefs brought about, as a natural consequence, the destruction of ancient rules of justice. No tradition has been preserved as to the maintenance of justice in ancient times. Missionaries are silent on this subject, and the later voyagers had little opportunity to inquire into the functioning of the old institutions. Thomson (215, p. 473) tried to obtain details concerning laws but had to be content with vague and contradictory statements.

Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 131) says in regard to punishment for theft:

> 685 As for their fellow countrymen, it was very different, it is true that they robbed
> 696 one another as much as they could, but secretly. But woe to the thief caught in the
> very act by a victim stronger than himself. He might expect a terrible vengeance.
> Here is an instance of the barbarious deeds which might happen in such occasions.
> Before our arrival a young boy had stolen a chicken from the chief of Hotu-iti. The
> chief took the poor child by the foot with one hand and with the other he seized his
> thigh and then putting the leg on his knee he broke it as if it was a piece of wood.

Geiseler (87, p. 28) remarks that, inasmuch as there was no authority vested in the chiefs, the victim of a theft had to mete out justice himself:

> This happens in most of the cases in such a way that the robbed person as soon as he discovers the right thief takes back what has been stolen or something else as compensation, asking for satisfaction amid loud shoutings. Very seldom do they resort to beatings or fights for this motive. A chief would in that way make justice for himself if somebody steals from him. They can never punish others for this crime.

Thomson (215, p. 465) probably on the authority of Salmon, writes:

> Thieves caught in the act might be beaten, knocked about, and the aggressor was permitted to offer no resistance in the efforts to escape, although he might be the largest and the most powerful. Before the retaliation could be enforced, the theft had to be proven and fixed beyond question, then the plundered individual here was at liberty to recover the value of the loss from any property available belonging to the robber, and in the event of the value not being recovered, articles of value could be destroyed to equalize the amount. Retaliation for theft could be enforced by the weak and feeble against the strong and powerful, and any resistance would call to their aid the entire community.

My experiences with modern natives of Easter Island make me doubt 685
the truth of this system of retaliation. Certainly the offended person would 696
try to avenge the theft by any method possible, but it seems hardly probable
that the thief would accept his punishment if he were the stronger.

At the present time, a robbed person may try to identify the thief and 685
recover the lost property. A thief caught in the act of stealing is punished.
Many natives now go to the Chilean Subdelegado to complain, although they 692
know he can do little. The captain of the training ship, *Baquedano*, is the
supreme authority to which the islanders appeal. He stays on the island only
a few days and metes justice according to his temper or fancy.

VENGEANCE

Persons who felt deeply injured or unjustly treated were sometimes overwhelmed 158
by madness (*heva*) which led them to commit the most daring deeds.
A man or woman who yielded to this state of fury ate soil (*kai te oone*),
ran to-and-fro with a rat in his mouth, and tried to harm those who had
offended him. "I am eating soil" is still a common expression to indicate
anger or spite. These crises were considered temporary diseases. If a person 754
in this state of anger recited an appropriate charm, he might succeed in
killing the person who had aroused his wrath. (See the legend of Raraku,
p. 370.)

Revenge was the most usual incentive for wars and feuds. Many tales 628
and legends of Easter Island are concerned with details of revenge (*ati te* 672
kopeka) taken by lineages or tribes for the murder of one of their members.
According to information given me by the natives, the family of the murdered 754
tried to kill the murderer, but if they did not succeed, any other person
belonging to the culprit's family was killed. The victim's father or some
other relative resorted to a special priest called *timo-ika* (chanter of the
corpse) who performed certain rites to cause the murderer to die. Every
lineage or subtribe had many such priests who carried out all rituals for
revenge. This did not prevent the injured party from waging war or pursuing
the culprit. The corpse of the dead man was put on the ahu and the *timo-ika*
chanted spells, at the same time brandishing a pallet (*rapa-ika*). My informant
gave rhythmic and gutteral sounds which he pretended were an imitation
of the *timo-ika's* chant. The only words he remembered were: *Oeo e hiva
e.* From time to time the priest turned the body of the dead, an act supposed
to be very harmful to the family or the entire group of the murderer.

The pallets used in the above ceremony were of wood or bone, oval, and provided 754
with a short handle. Two *rapa-ika*, one made of wood and the other of whalebone,
were purchased by Thomson (215, pl. 53, figs. 3-4). The wooden specimen had cracked
and the two pieces were sewn together through small holes perforated along the break.
The whalebone pallet is 30 inches long and 14 inches wide. It is decorated with the
incised figures of two birds traced according to the style of the tablets.

628 The ceremony is still remembered by the natives and was well known to
754 Salmon, who gave some information about it to Geiseler and Thomson. Geiseler (87, p. 28) says:

> Revenge was more frequent in days of old than it is now. The man claiming vengeance publicly challenged his enemy. For that he placed on his head a wig made of horsehair and made a loud noise by striking against each other a wooden and a bone pallet, and by singing continuously insulting and revengeful chants. The duels were
> [672] fought with spears and clubs of various descriptions. Sometimes they killed the children of the offender from revenge.

237 A wig of horsehair (*rehau*) was collected by Geiseler and is now in the
301 Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (VI 4978). This specimen is undoubtedly
628 a curio without much ethnological value. The poor technique and the use of foreign material suggest that it was made after European contact. This wig does not differ greatly from those used by lovers who did not want to be recognized (p. 114). At the time of Geiseler's visit (1884) feuds were no longer fought and duels, in the strict sense of the word, are not referred to in traditions or legends of the island.

754 Thomson (215, p. 536) says the pallets were used "in working a charm
628 against an enemy. The injured individual performing a sort of convulsive dance, makes mystic movements with the paddle meanwhile muttering incantations in a monotonous tone. The result is believed to be the speedy death of the person against whom the fetish is invoked." Valuable information about this has been published by Routledge (194, p. 229):

> Most elaborate spells were performed in connection with a man who had been slain, known as "tangata ika", or fish-man; the corpse was kept from resting either day or night while his neighbours went in pursuit of vengeance. In front of one *ahu*, on the north coast, some pieces of the old statues have been formed into a rude chair. On this, it was said, had been seated the naked body of a man belonging to the district, Kota-vari-vari by name, who had been killed at Akahanga on the south coast. One man kept the corpse from falling, while two others sat behind and chanted songs to aid the avengers. These watchers were covered with black ashes, wore only feather hats, and carried the small dancing-paddle known as "rapa"; the chief man in charge of the ceremony was known as the "timo". It must have been an eerie scene as dusk came on. The story is told of a murder near Tongariki. In this case the victim's corpse was placed on the *ahu* and turned over at intervals by the watchers. Hanga Maihiko, a converted image *ahu* on the south coast, is one of those which have a paved approach, and there are on the pavement two stones—pieces of a hat and a statue—especially used for exposing "fish-men". If these charms failed to act, there was a still more reliable way. The clothes of the victim were buried beneath the cooking-place of the foe, and when he had partaken of food prepared there he would certainly die the night following. Some of the carved tablets were connected with these rites; one was certainly known as that of the "Ika", while there is said to have been another called "Timo", which was the "list" kept by each *ahu* of its murdered men.

Routledge is wrong when she translates *ika* as fish; this word means "slain person" and is a homonym of the word *ika* signifying "fish."

WAR

As reflected in legends and the accounts of missionaries, there was constant rivalry between the tribes, particularly between those of the eastern and western parts of the island. 721 Wars were frequent and arose from the merest trifles, the principal causes being personal revenge, jealousy, greediness, and want (194, p. 360). Thomson (215, p. 476) states very pertinently that their "traditions are filled with accounts of sanguinary conflicts originating from trivial causes and continued through generations, until one party or the other were entirely exterminated." Disputes over the name of a night of the moon or a breach in etiquette might lead to war (81, vol. 38, p. 136). Generally words and blows were exchanged but people were not actually killed. The first act of war was to burn the hut of one's opponent. However even this did not always provoke war. The importance of the *matatoa* (warriors) in social organization shows the significance of war in the daily life of the island (p. 138).

Various games, principally spear and stone throwing, trained the children and the young men for war. 868 If we may rely on Thomson (215, p. 476) these were the favorite amusements at feasts, even for grown men. 526 A very popular legend, recorded by Roussel (190, p. 426) in 1867, and still well known, tells how young men had mock fights with spears with a blade made of calabash shell: "He hakamaa i te taua pahera" (They were learning the fight of the spears terminating in a calabash shell).

In the recently published manuscript of Father Roussel (190, p. 423) 726 there is a very detailed and interesting account of warfare:

> When war was declared, all those who intended to take part in it smeared themselves with black and spent a sleepless night. They were busy preparing their weapons and hiding their most precious belongings. [There is no hint of human sacrifice or other offerings to the gods to procure favor.]
>
> Before daybreak the warriors set out, followed by their wives and children who accompanied them with protective chants and moans. The women and the children went to the hills nearest the battlefield to witness the victory or defeat of their husbands or fathers.
>
> As soon as their adversaries heard of the expedition they lay in ambush awaiting 726 an opportunity to begin the fight. If they did not feel strong enough, they stayed at home and abandoned themselves to the victors who immediately started to burn and loot. 727 Everything became prey of the flames—huts, sugar cane, and so forth. When all was burnt and looted, the vanquished were carried away indiscriminately, men, women and children, to a place chosen beforehand. On their way they satisfied their private grievances, striking the captives with cudgels was the mildest treatment. Some were buried alive and put into the oven when they died. Some were cut into pieces with an axe or trodden under the feet until their intestines burst forth. Others were burnt gradually until they died. All the cruel devices pagan barbary could invent were put to work against defenseless victims of all ages, sex and status.

A few more details, apparently authentic, are added by Thomson (215, p. 476):

> 726 The clans were always led to battle by the chief, but there was no particular formation. Every man acted in accordance with his individual fancy, or as occasion demanded, relying upon skill and strength. . . . 727 The slaughter on the field of battle was never very great, but in the event of a general defeat, the vanquished party was pursued by the victors to the hiding places, their habitations destroyed, females captured, children and infirm persons brutally murdered. The defenseless unfortunates who fell victims to their merciless captors, accepted their fate, whether it was slavery, torture, or butchery, with remarkable fortitude, seldom if ever making any show of resistance.

These wars between tribes or lineages are always presented in legends according to the same pattern:

> The western tribes attacked the eastern or vice versa. When one party felt that it was overwhelmed and that victory (*ao*) was with their adversaries, the warriors fled and tried to take refuge in caves (*he opo ki roto ki te ana, he pipiko*) or on the rocks or islets off the coast. The old men, the women, and the children scattered and hid in caves or in deserted places. Those who had a powerful relative among the victors put themselves under his protection. These refugees were called *pakiroki*.
>
> 727 The victorious warriors promptly invaded enemy territory, looking for the hidden people. Those who were discovered were slaughtered or taken as slaves. Sometimes the women and girls were spared and given as wives to young unmarried warriors (87, p. 31). Guards were set on the coast to prevent refugees on the islets from renewing their attacks or from getting food. They had to live on seaweed (*auke*) and on fish. Most fortunate were those who could find *poporo* berries (*Solanum nigrum*).
>
> [266 578] If among the dead enemies there was a man of high rank, the victors not only ate him, but burned his skull. This was considered the greatest of insults.

721 War for the modern Easter Islanders belongs to a far distant past and they know no more about it than is contained in the legends. (See pp. 363-389.) The fights with visiting Europeans were so brief that no observations of ethnological value could be made. Little material on warfare is given in missionary accounts, though a series of wars broke out in 1863 and 1864, provoked by disputes over land belonging to natives kidnapped by the Peruvians (p. 43). Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 663) says: "When the crops were to be distributed there arose quarrels which degenerated into wars, the consequences of which were looting, devastation and famine." These wars were stopped by the missionaries but were renewed under the influence of Dutroux-Bornier (p. 45).

CANNIBALISM

266 Victoria Rapahango told me that when she was a small girl she had known the last *kai-tangata* (cannibal) of the island. All the children were much afraid of him. No native on the island denied that his ancestors were cannibals. Some laughed at it; others resented any allusion to such a savage custom. Most of the islanders lost their self-consciousness about cannibalism after hearing of some instances of it in Europe. Roussel (190, p. 463) writes that cannibalism was abandoned only after the introduction of Christianity. Before that natives had eaten some white men, including two Peruvian slavers. Cannibalistic meals were eaten by warriors in a secluded spot, and women and

children were rarely admitted to such feasts. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 241) 266 was told by natives that the fingers and toes were the most palatable bits.

Cannibalism was closely associated with war; the victors feasted on the 727 corpses of the defeated and killed prisoners to be eaten. Geiseler (87, p. 30) 266 says that "when they had many captives, they shut them in huts erected for that purpose in front of the stone idols. They were kept there until a great feast was celebrated for the victory and food consumed in abundance. On occasion of these feasts the victims were killed in honor of the gods." Legends 266 tell of grown persons and children who were slaughtered during peace time 682 by warriors craving human flesh. (See 215, p. 427; 230, vol. 6, p. 241.) These 578 acts were deeply resented by the relatives of the victims who took cruel revenge for the crime, which was considered a terrible insult to the family.

Traditional history frequently alludes to cannibalism. The long war between 266 the Tuu and Hotu-iti districts was indirectly caused by two men who 727 craved human flesh (p. 74). When Tuu was victorious and the Hotu-iti people were crowded on Marotiri, the victorious party organized regular raids to kill them. The corpses were taken back in canoes and distributed among the warriors to be eaten. A quarrel about a corpse precipitated the final defeat of the Tuu district. The Hotu-iti men besieged in the caves celebrated their victory by eating some of the enemies they had slain in their successful attack. Other tales show that some individuals did not hesitate to commit murder to satisfy their appetites.

AGRICULTURE AND COOKING

GROUND CULTIVATION

It is difficult to estimate the extent of cultivated ground in ancient times. 241 Certainly the peninsula of Poike was as desolate in pre-European times as 311 it is today, with the possible exception of the land near the three hills where some water was available. The interior of the island was apparently always sparsely inhabited. Evidences of ancient agriculture in the form of enclosures of varying sizes are found scattered over the island, generally near old ahus. According to natives, some of these enclosures were built after European contact to protect the crops from voracious sheep and goats. This statement must be true for material from ancient monuments has been used in their construction. The extent of ground so protected is not great, but if one considers the number of enclosures and the fact that many were built when the population was decreasing, it is evident that the natives took an interest in the cultivation of the soil which must not be underestimated.

Knoche, who paid some attention to the agriculture of Easter Island seems 241 to have had a poor opinion of the native plantations of his time (1912). He

241 writes (123, p. 124): "All the cultures in the surroundings of Hanga-roa are in bad shape and covered with weeds. They are not manured and their limits are badly indicated." Actually the aspect of each field varies with its owner and most of the plantations which I saw were as well cared for as those in Europe.

The impression that one receives by reading the descriptions of the first visitors to the island is that plantations were numerous and well ordered. The symmetry of the fields "prettily laid out by line" or "in a rectangular figure" is generally stressed in these early accounts (130, vol. 2, p. 259; 53, vol. 1, p. 294) as well as the fact that there were neither fences nor hedges except around the paper mulberry plantations. A mulch of dried grass was laid over some of the fields to protect the crops from the heat of the sun, to retain moisture, and to serve as manure (83, vol. 1, p. 579; 215, p. 456). Grass was sometimes "burnt in heaps" in order to fertilize the soil with its ashes. De Langle (130, vol. 1, p. 78) praises the soil as "a very fat vegetable earth, very proper for the culture of our grain." Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 41) saw numerous fields along the north coast which, if his statements are correct, bore the mark of an advanced technique: "Such places as were not immediately exposed to the scorching rays of the sun were laid out in oblong strips taking the direction of the ravines; and furrows were ploughed at right angles to them, for the purposes of intercepting the streams of water in their descent."

412 241 The digging stick was used until 1912. It has since been displaced by the plow, the spade, and the iron stick.

[177] There were two kinds of digging sticks. One was very solid, called *oka* or *huki*, and was used to loosen the soil, to break up clods of earth, and to remove stones. It was sometimes replaced by an oblong stone. The other (*akaue*) was thinner, a real dibble used to plant tubers. To plant yams or sweet potatoes is *hao*; to plant sugar cane or bananas is *oka*. The ancient word for "to harvest," "dig out" yams, taro, or sweet potatoes is *huaki*, but the word *keri* is more generally known today. The act of weeding is called *vere*.

241 462 Agriculture is largely the work of men though harvesting is done by both men and women. Men plant tubers and sow corn. Formerly the entire extended family cooperated in the tilling of the soil and in planting, but nowadays agriculture is carried on by the owner of the fields, his wife, or his children. Crops were under a *rahui* (tapu) until the moment of harvesting was [821] authorized by the chief. The positions of certain stars (*matamea*) fixed the time for crops and the harvest was accompanied by great feasts.

241 The efforts of ancient agriculturalists have been greatly underestimated. It is no easy task to remove the stones from the ground, to pull up the long-rooted weeds which cover it, then to loosen the soil, to build mounds, and finally to cover the young plants with grass. These requirements, coupled with the fact that the climate permits the growing of crops the year around, explain why Easter Islanders do not cultivate large areas.

CULTIVATED PLANTS

Hotu-matua is said to have brought to Easter Island all the plants that 241
the natives formerly cultivated, some of which they still raise on a small scale. 177
There is little doubt that most of these plants were growing on the island when the first discoverers landed there. Some additional varieties may have been introduced later, when active intercourse between Tahiti and Easter Island became common. On the other hand, many varieties and forms of plants have died out and some species, the arrowroot (*pia*) for example, have entirely disappeared. In 1780 La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 78) made the first attempt to introduce new plants on the island. The gardener of his expedition sowed cabbage, carrot, beet, corn, and gourd seeds together with orange, citron, and cotton. Nothing is known as to the fate of these plants or the natives' attitude toward them. The missionaries, especially Roussel, and later the colonist Salmon, greatly increased the resources of the island by introducing useful plants and trees. Figs and mulberry trees, grapes, peaches, *miro-tahiti* (*Melia azedarach*), and acacias are associated in the natives' memory with the name of Father Roussel who first brought them to the island. The English managers residing at Mataveri have done much to acquaint the natives with new kinds of food.

Sweet Potato

The sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) is known as *kumara*. Its importance 244
to Easter Islanders is symbolically expressed in the following sentence in
which a woman of the island epitomizes the monotony of life in that isolated 262
land: "Here we begin at birth by eating sweet potatoes, then we go on eating sweet potatoes, and finally we die." Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 126), the first European to live a long time with the Easter Islanders, says: "They cook the eternal sweet potatoes. It is the everyday dish, the invariable staple food of the Kanaka, big and small." Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 130) correctly states that sweet potatoes take the place of bread on Easter Island. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) asserts that the sweet potatoes he ate on the island were the best he ever tasted, and Thomson (215, p. 456) reiterates the statement. According to G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 573) they were "gold, yellow and as sweet as carrots and extremely nourishing."

Sweet potatoes thrive in well-drained soil and porosity is one of the chief 244
characteristics of Easter Island ground. Nowadays ground for the cultivation of sweet potatoes is tilled with the plow, but the old method of sticking (*hao*) the stems with buds (*tumu hua*) into small earth mounds (*puku*) is still used. I was told that when the plant is high the mound around it is raised (*puke*) in order to prevent attacks of insects and rot. The term *kau* applies to the stems of the potato which root to form the new plant; *roria* applies to the

244 high stem when it extends and begins to produce tubers. Old tubers, no longer edible, are called *heipara*. Natives often gather (*tua*) sweet potatoes from old, abandoned fields.

244 The appearance of the plant, especially of its leaves, distinguishes for the natives the forms to which they give different names. Knoche (123, p. 134) 192 collected in 1912 more than 25 names for kinds of sweet potato, and he believes that formerly the natives had a more extensive classification. My more recent list of names is little shorter than his. Taste plays an insignificant part in the classifications, whereas external and trifling characteristics are important. Often the distinguishing traits disappear entirely when the leaves are dry. Sweet potato names obtained either from informants or from literature are:

Kumara ure-omo, *kumara-uriuri* (black), *kumara-uka-tue*, *ehiva* (white), *aropiro* (yellow), *renga-moe-tahi-teatea*, *renga-moe-tahi-uriuri*, *okeoke* (slightly red), *paka-taero* (violet or black), *tipa-tai-paka* (white), *apuka* (white), *pita* (white), *mari-mamu* (like white of egg), *mari-kia-kia* (long form), *tuitui-ko-viro*, *rau-miro* (black), *epunua* (black), *makuto*, *kava-tangueti* (white), *kava-aka-iroiro* (white), *ure-vai*, *apuka-eu* (white), *mine* (white), *tua-tea* (white), *puku*. All these names refer to shape and color of the tubers, not to the leaves. The most prized sweet potato, *tua-tea*, is believed to have disappeared from the island with the passing of the kings.

271 Several travelers have stated that the natives ate raw sweet potatoes to quench their thirst. Thomson (215, p. 456) expressly declares that "they ate them both raw and cooked." With their abundant supply of rain water, collected from the zinc roofs, modern natives never need to wet their mouths with the scanty juice of the *kumara*.

TARO

244 Taro (*Colocasia antiquorum* var. *esculenta*) is much less important as food than sweet potatoes. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 587) says that during his trip 262 across the island he passed "through a number of plantations of bananas, potatoes and yams, and one of the eddoes." Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) mentions the "tara or eddy root" after the sweet potatoes and yams. It is possible that the white roots mentioned by Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 130) were taro. Gonzalez (190, p. 101) most certainly alludes to the taro when he writes of "yucca".

Before centralizing in Hanga-roa, the Easter Islanders cultivated taro in 244 enclosures where some tubers still grow. Today the most valued ground for taro cultivation is that covered with stones. Near Hanga-roa I saw taro plants growing in such a depth of small volcanic stones that not the slightest trace of earth could be seen. The layer of stones retains some humidity and pro-244 tects the young plants from the direct rays of the sun. The natives say that 192 the stones cause the taro to "suffer" (*hakamamae*), thereby making it grow better. Like the sweet potato, taro has many forms or types, and their classifi-

cation is based upon minor characteristics of the plants. I collected the fol- 244
lowing 24 names of supposed taro varieties: 192

Taro-vaihi, vaihi-iti, ketu-anga-mea, hore-hore-tapatea, tua-koiro, pia nguhu-haha-tea, ngeti-tea-tea, ngaatu, hara-hara, tea-tea, koro-maruu, mango, taro-ketu-turi, kape Rapanui, taro-ngeti-uriuri. The *hiva taro* (foreign taro) is subdivided into *taro-uriuri* and *taro-teatea.* The commonest form is the *hara-hara.*

Arum, *kape* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*) is mentioned in the creation chant 244
collected by Thomson (p. 321): "Acridness copulating with Bad Taste produced the Kape." The name of this species, which is akin to taro, was given to me in the list of taro names. It was probably introduced on the island in early time and is still cultivated.

YAM

Yams, *uhi* (*Dioscorea* sp.), have ceased to be cultivated, though some still
grow wild on the inner side of the crater of *Rano-kao.* The natives seem to
have held them in higher esteem in olden times, for all of the travelers of [262]
the eighteenth century allude to them as one of the principal staple foods of
the natives. Today the islanders think yams tasteless, and during my whole
stay I was offered them only once. Martinez (151, p. 37) lists the following
41 yam names:

Pua-rau-oho-uri, pua-rau-oho-tea, pua-tiveka, pua-aru-aru, pua-rona, pua-vahi, eihe, 244
ihe-matao-raha, ihe-mutu-po, nahe, nahe-mataa-toka, nahe-rehe-rehe, ravi, ravi-uri, ravi- 192
tea, ravi-a-kurakura, tea-ho-popo, tea-makuna, tea-nuhi, veri-aka-tau, moko-haha-tea, veri-pupuru, rua-papa, tuke ipuakere, tuke taro kura, tupere-uri, tupere-tea, moko-iku-keu, papake-tea, apuku eu, kunekune, pa, erere, kukuru toua, mine, papake-uri, papake-kahukahu, anaukaho, ravei, ravei mangamanga, ravei pako, ekoka rua ravei.

Yams were planted in carefully made mounds of earth. Overgrown yams which become hard are called *kane.* Tubers eaten by worms are said to be *momo.*

TI

The ti (*Cordyline fruticosa*) is mentioned for the first time by Palmer 244
(171, p. 170) in 1868. He writes that the plant "is pretty plentiful, but is put
to no other use than for wattling of the grass houses and as javeline shafts." [262]
The ti has become extremely rare. I saw only a few plants, growing wild
near La Pérouse Bay; there are, or were, specimens in Rano-kao. Charred ti [386
leaves supplied the black powder (*ngarahu*) which was used for tattooing. 304]

SUGAR CANE

Sugar cane, *toa (Saccharum officinarum),* is first referred to by Roggeveen 249
(186, p. 13), who lists it among the products brought to him in great quantities. The sugar-cane stalks which G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 571) noticed near a house "were about nine or ten feet high, even in this parched country, and

249 contained a very sweet juice which the inhabitants presented to us very
frequently, and particularly whenever we asked for something to drink."
[271] Only fifty years ago the natives quenched their thirst during their journeys
with sugar cane. Even more recently uncultivated sugar cane has been
found on several parts of the island. The juice was used as an ointment
[302 or as an adhesive upon which pigments were stuck in face painting, and the
[342] leaves served as hut coverings. Sugar cane was consumed in great quantities
during the feasts. The name for a fragment of sugar cane planted in the
824] soil is *pupura*.

BANANAS

245 All early travelers (186, p. 13; 90, p. 101; 53, vol. 1, p. 288) mention
bananas, *maika* (*Musa sapientum*), as products offered by the islanders for
[439] trade. They were extensively cultivated, for some Spaniards under Gonzalez
(90, p. 123) visited a plantation near Vinapu "which stretched about a quarter
262] of a league in extent, and was about half that distance in breadth." Lisiansky
(143, p. 86) noticed that "every house was planted round with bananas and
sugar cane."

The trees in these plantations were disposed "in the order called quincunx" (130, vol. 2, p. 259) and "planted in straight lines by the cord" (130, vol. 1, p. 76). According to G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 571), who went through some plantations near the present Hanga-roa, "the bananas were all growing in holes one foot deep, which were supposed to be contrived for collecting rain, and preserving it for a longer time about the plant." A century later, Thomson (215, p. 456) states that "bananas are grown in holes a foot or more deep and with sloping sides, designed to catch and hold the rain water as long as possible about the roots of the plant." Whenever it was possible natural cavities were utilized, in which decayed branches and leaves made a thick layer of fertile humus. The richest banana plantations of today are located on the west coast near the leper house and the ancient village of Ana-o-hoka, between ahu Akapu and Ahu-te-peu. There, in some places the lava crust which covered enormous subterranean cavities has sunk, forming holes about 10 to 15 feet deep. Trees planted there in former days thrived on a rich, damp soil, protected from the sea winds.

At present the natives count ten varieties of bananas, some of which have
245 recently come from Tahiti: *maika-pukapuka*, *maika-koretea*, *maika-hihi*,
192 *maika-pia*, *maika-naho-a*, *maika-pahu* (today extinct), *maika-puru-ino*, *maika-rio*, *maika-perora*, *maika-hiva* (a foreign variety), and *maika-tamoa* (introduced from Samoa). The fruit is still an important staple food of the Easter Islanders. In the past it must have been even more important. The shoots of banana used for planting were called *huri*.

624 Dried banana leaves (*kaka*) were once used as house coverings and the

fibers served for tying purposes in the construction of houses. Today they are used in making baskets. 824

GOURDS

White gourds, *hue* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), were among the plants seen by the Spaniards in the fields of Easter Island (90, p. 123). They did not escape the attention of Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288), though Forster failed to notice them. 244

The gourds, which fifty years ago grew wild over the island, were once abundant, but they seem to have disappeared entirely. Some of the graves we opened contained fragments of gourds in rather bad condition.

I assume that there was only one variety of gourd on Easter Island. The names that Knoche (123, p. 118) gives as varieties of calabashes are actually names of something quite different. The word *hipu* means container and applies of course to the gourds which were the only containers used by the natives. *Pakahara* means the shell of anything, but especially of a gourd. *Mautini* are pumpkins which have been introduced, probably from Tahiti where they have the same name. [177]

Gourds were of two kinds. The round ones were used as containers for small things and the elongated ones were for water. Large calabashes in which the natives kept clothes, soaked mulberry bark, or boiled potatoes were called *kaha*. [415]

PAPER MULBERRY

Paper mulberry trees, *mahute* (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), were raised in the enclosures found near the ancient villages, according to informants. These enclosures, some of which may also have been used for banana trees (fig. 2), 248

[349]

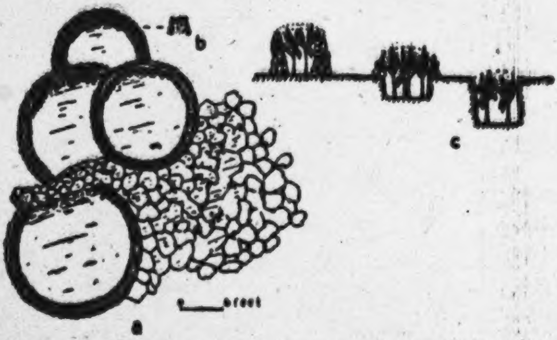


FIGURE 2.—Cultivation enclosures: *a*, enclosure near Vai-tarai-kai-ua; *b*, cross section of wall construction of enclosure shown in *a*; *c*, three types of enclosure in section, scale 1:200 (from Skottsberg, 208, vol. 1, fig. 2).

248 are generally not very extensive and their number and size seem to corroborate Cook's statement (53, vol. 1, p. 291) that the natives had difficulty in getting raw material for their clothes. La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 73) was impressed by the scarcity of the *mahute*: "These trees are very rare, having been destroyed by the droughts. Such as have survived are only three feet high, and these they have been obliged to encompass with walls to secure them from the winds: it is remarkable that the height of these trees never exceeded that of the walls by which they are sheltered."

G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 568) describes a mulberry tree plantation: "Being arrived at the shrubbery which we had in view, we found it was nothing but a small plantation of paper mulberry, of which here, as well as at Teheitee, they make their cloth. Its stems were from two to four feet high, and planted in rows, among very large rocks, where the rain had washed a little soil together."

The expedition sent by Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 285) to explore the south coast "saw in several places the Otaheitian cloth plant; but it was poor and weak, and not above two and a half feet high at most."

Today the *mahute* is found only in the interior of the crater of Rano-kao, where, at about the time of La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 81), "the marsh was surrounded by finest plantations of bananas and mulberry trees." They still grow well on the northern slope among big stones.

Turmeric

249 [302 386] Turmeric, *pua* (*Curcuma longa*), grows sparsely in the bottom of the crater of Rano-kao. The Spaniards who went round the island in 1770 saw in the plantations "a root which they chew and daub their body and limbs all over with; it is good for yielding a fine yellow dye" (90, p. 123). The natives esteemed both the dye and the perfume of the plant, for the native name means fragrance.

Arrowroot

244 [262] [386] Arrowroot, *pia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*), was described to me by the islanders. According to them, it resembled *pua*, with the sole exception that the *pia* root was white. The rhizomes of *pua* and *pia* are quite unlike. In ancient times it was eaten after it had been baked either upon or in the oven. Arrowroot yielded a dye which was made from the starch by the same method as that used for the *pua*. Knoche (123, p. 120) and Brown (27, p. 39) both identify the plant as the wild arrowroot.

The word *pia* appears in an old chant collected by Thomson (215, p. 520), in which are described genealogically the origins of plants and other elements of nature. If Thomson's text were entirely reliable, it would prove beyond any doubt that arrowroot was known to Easter Islanders before contact with

white men. However, no early visitor mentions the arrowroot and it is not 244
cultivated today. It may have been replaced by manioc.

COCONUT

In the second part of the nineteenth century, some coconut trees or simply 245
some coconuts (*niu, makoi*) were brought to the island either by Easter 177
Islanders returning from Tahiti or by missionaries. This explains why Palmer (171, p. 170) saw large coconut bowls, although he was unable to find any coconut trees. It is probably to that attempt at coconut cultivation that Tepano alluded when he told me that in his mother's time there were some coconut trees at Poike, near Maunga Teatea. They are purported to have been destroyed during the war between the Miru and the Tupa-hotu. Tepano [415]
affirms having seen ancient boxes made from coconuts. The two trees now growing on the island were planted by Salmon.

FOREIGN PLANTS

Plants of European or American origin, now cultivated on Easter Island, 241
are peas (*pipi*), beans (*ariko*), melons (*melone*), watermelons (*santia*), 177
onions (*onioni*), manioc (*manioko*), maize (*tarake*), pepper (*oporo*), and 262
pineapple (*anana*). Fig trees (*pika*) and mulberries (*monamona*) are abundant but the natives care little for their fruits.

The island soil is particularly favorable for beans and though the islanders complain that potatoes do not thrive, those of the English resident are the best I have tasted anywhere. The Williamson and Balfour Company is trying to develop the cultivation of maize by the natives, who have prospects of selling it at good prices, but few islanders have taken advantage of the opportunity.

COMPARISON WITH CULTIVATED PLANTS ON OTHER POLYNESIAN ISLANDS

The plants introduced and cultivated on Easter Island in early days are 241
all Polynesian species. Due to the cold climate there are no breadfruit trees 171
on the island and the two coconut trees do not bear fruit. In this respect Easter Island resembles Rapa where, because of the cold, there are no breadfruits, coconuts, and probably no pandanus.

Easter Island has no kava though kava was consumed on Mangareva and in the Marquesas whence the Easter Islanders probably came. Perhaps the Easter Island climate is unfavorable. The name kava is used on Easter Island in the composite form *kavakava atua*, designating a fern. Kava is also absent on Rapa though the climate there is suitable for its growth.

In the Marquesas as on Easter Island sugar cane and paper mulberry were cultivated in enclosures (104, p. 67).

WILD PLANTS OF ECONOMIC VALUE

MOKI-OONE

137 In Thomson's version (215, p. 527) of the Hotu-matua legend it is said
that after they landed, the king and his followers lived on nuts of a creeping
824 plant (*moki-oone*) found growing along the ground, while waiting for their
introduced plants to grow. I was unable to get information about the *moki-oone* which may have either disappeared or become known under another name.

BULRUSHES

Bulrushes, *ngaatu* (*Scirpus riparius* var. *paschalis*) are abundant in crater lakes (*rano*). They grow particularly high and large in Rano-kao. Formerly *ngaatu* were of great economic value to the natives who used them for covering their huts and for making sleeping mats, baskets, and fishing floats. They compensated to some extent for the lack of wood on the island.

NIGHTSHADE

Nightshade (*Solanum forsteri*) is called *poporo* by the islanders. On some native plantations Forster (82, p. 578) noticed "a species of nightshade [*Solanum nigrum*?], which is made use of at Taheitee and the neighbouring islands as a vulnerary remedy and may, for ought I know, be cultivated here for the same purpose." La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 76) mentions as a food "a small fruit which grows on the rocks at seaside, resembling the bunches of raisins found in the neighbourhood of the tropics in the Atlantic Ocean." He probably alludes to the *poporo*, which he correctly classifies as a *Solanum*. La Pérouse and his naturalist, De Langle, believed nightshade was a cultivated
[261] plant, but present islanders deny it; they told me that its berries were eaten
by children and adults only in time of famine. The *poporo* grows wild near the settlements, especially in cultivated fields.

PLANTS EATEN IN TIME OF FAMINE

261 Several other plants were used as food only in time of famine. The *hua-*
taru (*Chenopodium ambiguum*), of which the vegetative parts were occa-
137 sionally eaten, is a very common Easter Island plant. Like the old Hawaiians,
Easter Islanders were sometimes forced to eat the stems and roots of the
824 beach morning-glory, *tanoa* (*Ipomoea pes-caprae*). The *here-po* mentioned
278 by Cooke (54, p. 777) as edible and described as "ice-plant" was undoubtedly
Tetragonia expansa. *Kavakava-atua*, a fern, is mentioned among the plants which grew as products of a king's power. The natives used it as a medicine and only occasionally as food. The roots of another fern, *riku*, and those of the *hikikioe* (*Cyperus vegetus*) were eaten when no other food was available. Berries called *pua-nakonako* were also considered edible.

Ngaoho

137 278 824

Ngaoho (*Caesalpinia bonduc*) is almost extinct. According to Knoche (123, p. 123) it was used as a medicine. Its fibers were resorted to for tying together pieces of wood in canoes or fastening poles of hut frames. Fuentes (208, vol. 2, p. 72) says that the natives listed *ngaoho* as a plant introduced by their ancestors, but both Skottsberg and my informants consider it to be indigenous.

Moss

137 824

Para (*Campylopus turficola*) is a green moss which covers the lakes of the craters. It is mentioned by Routledge as a *Sphagnum*. Skottsberg (208, vol. 2, p. 501) says explicitly that he has not found *Sphagnum* in the lake, but in its place a species of *Campylopus* which forms a peat. The peat was gathered, washed and dried to be used in the preservation of water. The moss was also used to stop the chinks of canoes.

Seaweed

137 262

Rollin, one of the officers under La Pérouse (130, vol. 2, p. 240), noticed that some of the Easter Islanders were eating "a species of marine *fucus*, which they gather on the shore." The names of the edible seaweed are *miritonu, miritonu mama, auke,* and *ringaringa-pea*. Nowadays only children enjoy eating seaweed.

FIRE

372 [177]

Although the use of matches became general on the island after 1880, the ancient method of making fire by rubbing is still remembered. From what I could learn, *hau* wood (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) was the best for making fire, but a harder wood might have been used (215, p. 471). A rubbing stick preserved in the Anthropological Museum, Berkeley (1142), is made of a light material, probably *hau*. It is 185 mm. long and the tapering end is slightly curved upward. The operator, sitting on the floor, held the stick with both hands and, pressing hard, rubbed it along a longitudinal groove in another piece of *hau* or paper mulberry. The hearth was probably held in place with the foot or by an assistant. Friction ignited some fibers placed at the end of the groove as tinder. The whole operation took between five and ten minutes. *Hau* wood is soft and its particles smolder and glow easily. Therefore, it is very unlikely that the natives kept permanent fires, attended by special watchers, in order to spare themselves the trouble of producing fire by the usual method (56).

During our trip round the island the natives who accompanied us always found sufficient fuel for their fires. They gathered small twigs and dry branches or cut branches of the *miro-tahiti* which grows on several points of

372 the island. Sheep dung was also used. In ancient times, when the population was far more dense, the fuel problem must have been serious. Yet the natives did not seem to worry about it. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 292) saw twelve fires burning at the same place morning and evening. Natives burned the straps or tops of sugar cane, plantain heads, and probably branches from the numerous shrubs scattered about the island.

OVEN

354 Before the introduction of European cooking utensils, natives cooked (*ootu*) all their food in underground ovens (*umu*), similar to those in other parts of Polynesia. Wherever remains of settlements are found there are ancient ovens also.

801 The ovens are pentagonal in shape, formed of five slabs, generally curbs taken from some house. The slabs are buried in the ground to varying depths and project only 10 or 15 cm. above the surface enclosing a space 2 feet in diameter. My principal informant called my attention to the fact that the stones of the ovens always numbered five or seven and that an odd number of stones was imposed by superstition. I noticed only one oven with six slabs on the island. A screen or covered roof protected the oven from the wind (130, vol. 2, p. 256). This type of oven is no longer used.

Modern natives make earth ovens only when they are in camp or preparing a banquet.

354 252 A hole about 2 feet deep is dug, on the bottom of which are placed large stones covered with grass. On this first layer, stones the size of the fist are piled up in a heap with small branches, scraps of wood (*hukahuka*) and grass. Fire is set to the pile (*ka te umu* or *puhi te umu*). The glowing stones are evenly fitted (*uru*) and spread with two sticks handled like tongs. The food—meat, sweet potatoes, yams, taro—is placed (*tao*) in the oven on banana or ti leaves to prevent burning. More hot stones are spread against or above (*puapua*) the leaves protecting the food. Formerly bundles were covered (*pengopengo*) with grass (*tauere*), today with a sack. Soil is shoveled (*tanu hai oone*) over the pit. After 2 hours the food is generally considered sufficiently cooked and is removed (*maoa*). To cook food well is *kukokope a te umu*. The entrails of the animals are roasted (*hatui*) on the glowing stones of the *umu*.

PREPARATION OF FOOD

252 Cooked food is never pounded on Easter Island, and probably never was in the past, since no food pounders have ever been found there. Breadfruit and taro are the staples in other parts of Polynesia and are mashed. Breadfruit does not grow on Easter Island and taro is far less important in diet than sweet potatoes which are never pounded. Pounding food requires a great deal of water and water has always been scarce on Easter Island.

231 Formerly the natives were reluctant to shed the blood of any animal. This may have had a religious background but it is more probable that the natives simply did not want to waste any blood. Chickens were strangled by
252 twisting the neck; larger animals, such as goats and dogs, were suffocated by burying the head in a hole or in smoke. The hair was then singed and, with-

out further preparation, the animal was put into the oven (81, vol. 38, p. 131). 252
Chickens were cooked by putting hot stones inside the body; they were never plucked beforehand (90, p. 46).

According to a tradition noted by Knoche (123, p. 182), for which I found no evidence, fish were boiled in the natural holes so commonly found on rocks. Raw fish is not eaten by modern natives, but a tradition points out that they used to do so a few generations ago.

Water, for washing new-born babies or sick people, is heated by throwing 374
(*tunu maea vera*) glowing stones into a big calabash (*kaha*) full of water. 271

Sweet potatoes were generally baked in earth ovens. My informant told me that by means of hot stones they were sometimes boiled in big calabashes. 252
Today sweet potatoes are prepared in many ways, but they are still greatly appreciated when cooked underground.

Taro is cooked in the earth oven, fried, or boiled. Taro leaves (*raupa taro*), which are also cooked in the earth oven, constitute one of the most delicious foods of Easter Island.

Ti roots are no longer eaten but in former times they were cooked (86, [262]
p. 25):

> . . . The natives put them into a hole, wrapped with leaves and covered them with grass and hot stones. When the stones were getting cold, they were replaced by others, and so on during two or three days. The recompense of all that work is the facility to keep that fruit and its delicious flavor.

Tepano described the preparation of ti in almost the same terms, but he assured me that during the three to five days the food remained in the earth it was necessary to light a fire above the oven. Because of the present abundance of sugar, the ti is no longer a delicacy.

Bananas were ripened quickly for festivals by warming them in a long ditch. A fire was lighted in the ditch, similar to that kindled in ordinary oven cooking. A layer of fresh earth was spread to extinguish the flames, the walls of the ditch were lined with fresh banana leaves (*rito*) and the bananas deposited in the ditch were covered with earth. Three or four days later the fruits were ripe.

In former times arrowroot was eaten after it had been baked either upon or in the earth oven. It is no longer grown on the island.

Little salt, if any, was used to flavor the food, and even today the natives 263
do without it. It has been noted that they do not need salt, since they drink brackish water and absorb air impregnated with sea salt.

Seabirds' eggs were once consumed in great quantities and the natives 262
are still very fond of them. The few islanders that accompanied us on the expedition to Motu-nui ate more than a hundred eggs within half an hour.

Nowadays cooking is generally Chilean and maize is an important food in 252
the diet.
262
177

SERVING OF FOOD

264 415 The food was served on mats or in baskets. Roggeveen (186, p. 16) tells us that the natives brought him "a boiled fowl to eat very neatly wrapped round in a kind of rush, clean and hot." G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 571) also speaks of matted baskets "full of sweet potatoes."

482 492 493 To carry food, and, in general any burden, the Easter Islanders had carrying poles (*amo*) which they balanced on one shoulder. This means of transportation has entirely disappeared and is remembered only by the old people. Today carts or packhorses are used.

FOOD ETIQUETTE

264 Nowadays no particular custom or rite is observed at meals. The women do the cooking assisted occasionally by the men when they have time or feel like helping. No native begins to eat before he has muttered a prayer or crossed himself. [782] Formerly a food offering was made to Haua and Makemake before meals, pronouncing the formula "Ma Haua, ma Makemake."

574 Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, pp. 233-236) describes a banquet given for him by a powerful chief of Hotu-iti. The feast was the first sign of friendship shown toward the missionaries by the natives of that part of the island. Since other chiefs on the island had already honored the missionaries with feasts, this chief felt that to maintain his dignity he must give an especially fine one. Therefore he ordered his people to fish and to gather sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar cane, and fowls in abundance.

> 574 264 A big oven was dug out and kindled in the morning. When the missionaries arrived they were invited to sit on four stones around the oven and mats were stretched in front of them. The chief asked the missionaries if they were ready to eat, they said that they were, and at a given signal ten men rushed toward the oven and opened it. The best pieces of food were laid on small mats and deposited at the feet of the missionaries. After this, the chief and his friends were served.
>
> "You should have seen," writes Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 237), "the dexterity with which they cleaned the carcass of the chicken from its meat and the avidity with which they devoured the meat with the small bones . . . " To quench their thirst they chewed sugar cane.
>
> The common people stood waiting while the honored guests ate their meal. At a signal from one of the missionaries, they came forward and helped themselves to any food left in front of the guests and in the oven. The women and children were served last. From a delicacy like chicken or fish all they got was the bones to chew and "these bones were already chewed once or twice" (81, vol. 38, pp. 126-127).
>
> The general gaiety of the meal was spoiled by the complaint of a visiting chief that he had not been served according to the rule of etiquette. He was supported by his retainers and the quarrel almost developed into a battle.
>
> After the meal the guests rested in the shade and the day ended with "games and diversions."

MATERIAL CULTURE

WEAPONS

Easter Island weapons include spears with obsidian points, clubs, and stones to be hurled from the hand. 411

Stone Throwing

Stones were the weapons most commonly used in the beginning of a fight. To grasp a stone was an instinctive gesture with the Easter Islanders as soon as an argument started (230, vol. 6, p. 239). In all skirmishes with European seamen the natives attacked their enemies by pelting them with stones, which they threw with remarkable dexterity (15, vol. 1, p. 49). Hurling the stone with an underhand throw (*patu raro*) was a most difficult but effective method, as was casting the stone from the level of the ears. The blow was not so harmful when the stone was thrown from above the head (*patu runga*). Modern Easter Islanders insisted that slings (*maea-taea*) were known only after Easter Islanders contacted Tahitians and the early explorers who were attacked by the natives do not mention them. However, Roussel (191) translates the word *hura* as "sling". [17]

Spears

Two kinds of spears were used: a throwing spear or javelin (*kakau*), and a thrusting spear or pike(*vero*), both with heads of obsidian. According to Thomson the longer spears were used as missiles, the shorter as pikes or daggers for close fighting. I was told by natives that no such difference existed and that short-shafted spears were used as both daggers and javelins. The short javelins, which were hurled, were carried to the battlefield in baskets. Tales mention warriors who hid short spears under their cloaks to stab an enemy.

Tradition has it that stones and spears were dangerous only when the wind blew toward the enemy and that a rival group was attacked only when such favorable conditions existed.

Even at the time of Geiseler's visit, the natives were so skillful in throwing spears that they seldom missed aim. They were also remarkably swift in their movements and trained in the art of dodging missiles (230, vol. 6, p. 233). Spears were thrown "underhanded with the little finger foremost, without any vibratory motion" (215, p. 475). Wounds made by *mataa* were as serious as those made by pieces of glass; the scars were so conspicuous that they amazed the Spaniards under Gonzalez (90, p. 100). Geiseler (87, p. 36) saw a skull which had been split into two by a *mataa*. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 234) writes that wounds produced by *mataa* were always fatal if they were deep.

OBSIDIAN SPEAR POINTS

411
324

The points (*mataa*), made from obsidian of Mount Orito, are scattered all over the island and are the most common objects to be found, even after hundreds of specimens have been taken for various museums and private collections. The technique used in making these points can be deduced from the specimens themselves:

> With a stone hammer a massive flake was chipped away from one side of a thick obsidian plate. This was worked down to the desired shape by removing smaller flakes (143, p. 91). The tang was formed by careful flaking or chipping. One spearhead which I collected has the tang partly ground, suggesting that it was intended for something other than a spearhead.

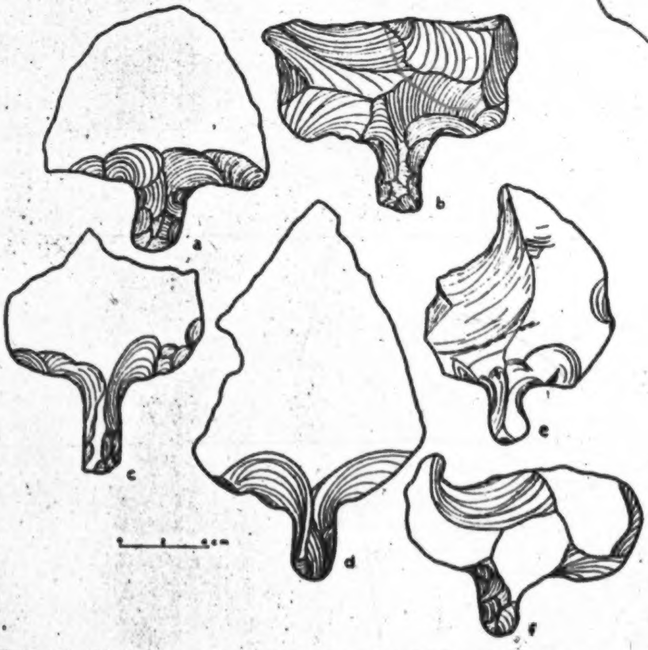
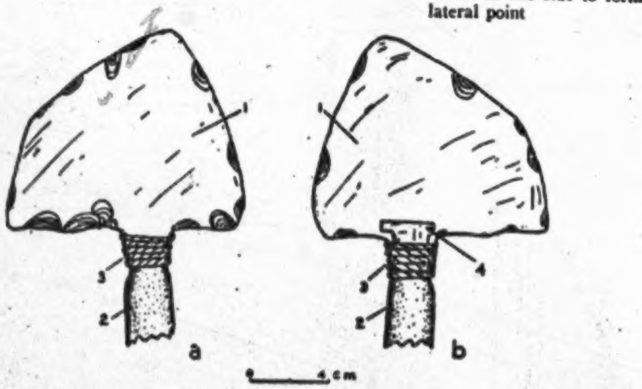


FIGURE 3.—Obsidian spear heads (*mataa*); *a-d*, *f*, B3481; e, 6715 (see ft. note 8 on page 167): *a*, type 1; *b*, type 2; *c*, type 3; *d*, type 4; *e*, type 5; *f*, type 6 (drawings made by H. D. Skinner).

Bishop Museum has a collection of 194 spear points which can be classified and 61 points either broken or too rough to be included in any series. Of a dozen average specimens which were weighed, the heaviest is 7 ounces and the lightest 2 ounces, the most usual being 4 ounces. In working over the Bishop Museum collection, Skinner (207) distinguished the following six types of points (fig. 3):

411
324

Type Number	Native Name	Number of specimens in Bishop Museum	Distinguishing characteristics
1	mataa rei-pure-rova, mataa arokiri	122	most easily made; cutting edge round in outline, blade resembles ace of spades without point
2	mataa hikuti-veva	11	straight cutting edge
3	not distinguished by name; similar to niho-mango (shark teeth)	4	central point emerging from tranverse cutting edge
4	mataa nutu-kutu (muta-kutu)	3	triangular, with no lateral wings
5	mataa-hae	30	roughly triangular with point to one side
6	mataa roa mataa haihaerue	24	most specialized type, cutting edge transverse, generally slanting and raised at one side to form lateral point



[284]

FIGURE 4.—Hafted spear (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22752): *a*, front view, obsidian point (1) of type 5, 120 mm. wide by 105 mm. long, tang wrapped with white tapa cloth and lashed to shaft (2) by transverse turns of cord (3) evidently of foreign make; shaft of ti wood (?), 1482 mm. long, 28 mm. in diameter, and nicked along right side; *b*, back view showing end (4) of shaft cut away on both sides to leave lateral projections to prevent slipping back through lashing.

---

[6] Unless otherwise specified catalog numbers given in figure legends are those of the Bishop Museum collection.

411 In the Bishop Museum collection there is a basalt point of the same morphological type as the obsidian spearheads of type 1. The specimen (fig. 5, *b*) is unique in Easter Island archaeology and apparently served no practical purpose. The ground edges are too blunt to inflict any wound or to be used for cutting. The short tang indicates that the instrument was hafted.

The points were fastened to shafts (*kohau*) 6 to 8 feet long, made of ti stalks, *hau* wood, or paper mulberry wood. These handles were generally thin and crooked (83, vol. 1, p. 563; 54, vol. 1, p. 291). The tang of the point, wrapped in tapa cloth, was tied against a notch cut at the end of the shaft (fig. 4). A short flange prevented the lashing from sliding and sometimes it was tightened by the insertion of two splinters of wood (Univ. California Mus. 1160).

In the British Museum there are two *mataa* with their original hafting. Their short shafts have led many scientists to think that they were knives, but close inspection shows that the shaft was cut by the collector to facilitate the transportation of the weapons. *Mataa* are frequently figured among the signs on the tablets.

411
532

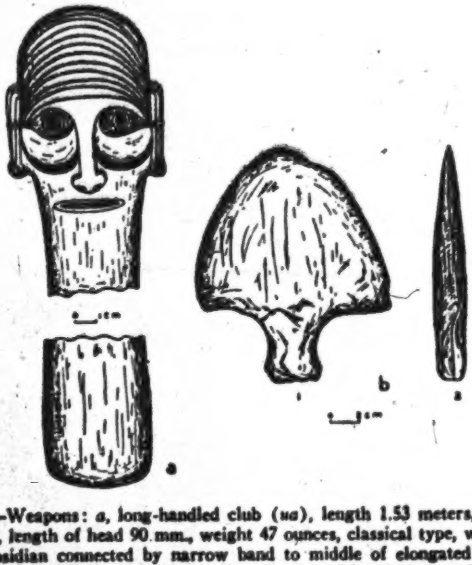


FIGURE 5.—Weapons: *a*, long-handled club (*ua*), length 1.53 meters, greatest width of face 73 mm., length of head 90 mm., weight 47 ounces, classical type, well carved, eyes of bone and obsidian connected by narrow band to middle of elongated ears (B3690); *b*, basalt spearhead (B3556a); 1, front view showing chipped tang and ground edges; 2, side view; length from poll to tip 163 mm., greatest width 135 mm.; greatest thickness 21 mm.

CLUBS

LONG-HANDLED CLUBS

The long club (*ua*), which is still carved on Easter Island as a curio, was 411
both a weapon and a parade staff for chiefs. Roussel (190, p. 426) includes
them among the usual weapons of the natives, but Thomson (215, p. 475) 532
asserts that the *ua* "was carried as a bâton of office before the chiefs and 554
used only for that purpose." Geiseler (87, p. 34) says that the *ua* were carried
during walks or to meetings. I was told that they were used as badges of
dignity.

The *ua* (fig. 5, *a*) is a long staff, the cross section of which is a flattened ellipse. 411
The upper end is decorated on both sides by bi-fronted human heads with eyes of bone
and obsidian. The forehead is high and crossed by curved ridges, representing hair. 532
The cheek bones protrude and have a crescentic form; the mouth, narrow and long, is
slightly in relief. In the lobes of the ears, plugs of wood or bone are carefully indicated.
The staff widens toward the distal end where it is somewhat flattened and has blunt
edges. The distal end is slightly curved.

In Bishop Museum there are two specimens of old *ua* (B3689, B3690) 411
and 16 more modern ones. The largest *ua* in the collection is almost two meters
long, but it is of recent date and shows the tendency of the islanders to ex- [178]
aggerate the size of their modern productions.

Suitable pieces of wood for making *ua* were exceedingly rare on the island. This is manifest in the crookedness of many specimens. Holes or knots in the wood were painstakingly filled with small plugs cut to fit. These precious ceremonial weapons were kept in sheaths of bulrushes and were preserved as carefully as the wooden images. Two specimens of these sheaths with *ua* in them are preserved in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge.

SHORT-HANDLED CLUBS

The chief weapon for hand-to-hand fighting was a short, heavy, wooden club called *paoa*, the handle of which was carved in the form of a human head or of a lizard. The principal varieties of these clubs are illustrated in figure 6.

Tepano believed that carved wooden images of lizards (*moko*) were clubs, 411
and to support his belief he quoted a tale in which a hero knocks down demons
with a *moko*. Geiseler (87, p. 37) found an analogous tradition and states 532
that the *moko* served principally to defend houses and to expel intruders from
the door. As figures of rats or lizards were stood on either side of the door,
it is possible that they were occasionally used as weapons.

WOODEN SWORDS

The modern natives manufacture wooden swords for trade with passing 439
ships. No mention is made by early travelers of the use of such weapons, and 322

439 they do not appear in extensive collections made in the last 20 years of the nineteenth century. The very form of these curios suggests a recent origin. 322 In the Young collection of Bishop Museum there is a piece of wood (B3625) terminating in the head of an eel which appears to me to be the prototype of modern wooden swords. This specimen, called *puhi* and classified as a wooden club, is also flattened, has blunt edges, and is curved like a boomerang. Its rough workmanship denotes recent origin.

Comparison with other Polynesian Weapons

411 An obsidian point found in the Yodda Valley in the northern division of
171 British New Guinea (200) resembles in shape the Easter Island *mataa*.

[532]

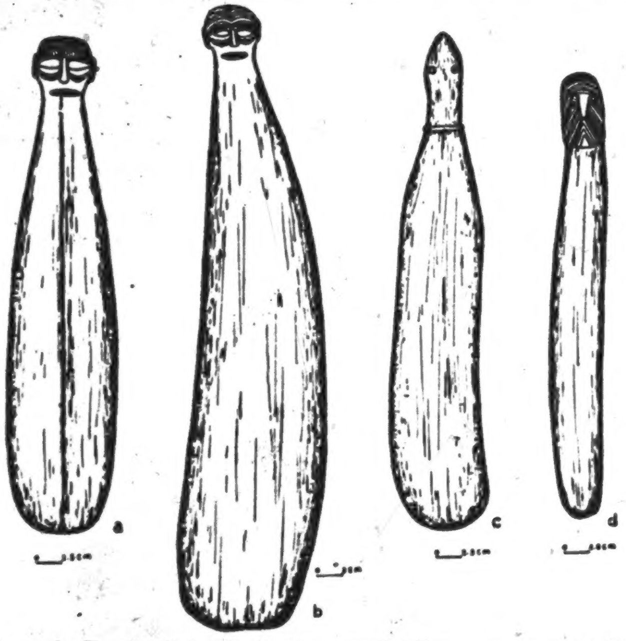


Figure 6.—Short-handled clubs (*paoa*): *a*, length 525 mm., greatest width 113 mm., head similar to that on *ua*, front surface of blade has median longitudinal ridge (B3619); *b*, length 623 mm., greatest width 114 mm. (B3618); *c*, length 530 mm., greatest width 103 mm., length of handle 110 mm., handle carved in lizard head, eyes made of ring of bone and obsidian inlaid in wood, one longitudinal edge and end blunt, one edge rounded (B3701); *d*, length 492 mm., greatest width 58 mm., length of handle 86 mm., probably modern curio, may have been used to beat fish to death, one side of handle carved in image, other side in rough human face and oblique lines, eyes protruding, nose indicated by long depression (B3702).

411
171

Another obsidian point, brought back from New Guinea by Finsch, is considered by Seligman to be a relic of the period when the ancestors of the Polynesians were passing through Melanesia to reach their homes in the eastern Pacific. Unless the Polynesians, or, as Balfour (9, p. 357) believes, the Melanesians traveled directly from New Guinea to Easter Island without stopping, the relationship between New Guinea and Easter Island spear points is purely fortuitous. In the intermediate area there is no obsidian and no record of spear points. Even if obsidian points were originally common to all Polynesian cultures it is not likely that the technique of making them would have been perpetuated by several generations living on islands where there is no obsidian. The Easter Islanders must have "instinctively" resorted to the original pattern developed in their home country. This is hard to believe.

The Moriori call both the flint and their stone knives by the name *mata*. Their knives are tanged (206, pl. 26) and vaguely resemble some of the Easter Island spear points, especially those of type 6. In New Zealand *mata* means flint as well as obsidian; the Maoris used obsidian flakes as knives.

The Easter Island *ua* or baton of office resembles the famous Maori *taiaha* (flat club). Both have a thin, flattened lower end with a sharp edge. The upper end of the *taiaha* terminates in a flat point which is in the shape of a tongue and protrudes from a grotesque head. The position of the carved head of the *taiaha* is the reverse of that of the Easter Island *ua*, and does not favor a parallel between the two. The blade of the Marquesan chief's staff is a little narrower than that of the Easter Island flat club, and the handle is not carved. It is enclosed in a sleeve of coconut fiber and terminates in a pompon of human hair (142, p. 393). As noted by Linton (142, p. 396), the distribution of the narrow-bladed staff in Polynesia is limited to the Marquesas, New Zealand, and Easter Island.

The close resemblance between Easter Island short clubs (*paoa*) and New Zealand *mere* or *patu* was noted by Captain Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 291), by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 536), and by later observers. Skinner (207) says that all the varieties of Easter Island clubs have corresponding varieties in New Zealand and the Chatham Islands. The Easter Island *paoa* certainly belongs to the same type as the Maori *patu*. However, the analogy is imperfect, as no stone clubs have been found on Easter Island and there is no tradition about their existence. The Maori *mere* of the *patu onewa* type were made of stone (20, vol. 2, p. 267). Maori wooden clubs were fiddle-shaped or curved at the top like an English bill hook (20, vol. 2, p. 265), two types entirely foreign to Easter Island. The stone *patu*, which are the closest to Easter Island specimens, lack the poll decorated with a head. This pecularity belongs to the wooden or bone *patu* which are the most different from the Easter Island types. The Easter Island *paoa* lack the suspension hole found

411
171
in most Maori specimens. The ridging at the poll on some Easter Island clubs is the usual conventionalized representation of hair, characteristic also of wooden images. Hence the similarity to the transverse grooves on the poll of the Maori *patu* is purely accidental.

FISHING

226
[262]
It is impossible to get even an approximate idea of the importance of fishing in pre-missionary times. Fishhooks are found in great abundance in caves, carved fish are common in petroglyphs, and fishing episodes are numerous in folklore. But Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 126) states that fish had an insignificant place in the native diet and was considered a great delicacy. At the present time fishermen are few and go out only occasionally. Charli Teao is the only native I know for whom fishing has a special attraction and who derives benefits from this activity. While the *Mercator* was anchored in Hanga-roa Bay he supplied us with tuna which he traded for bread. Deep-sea fishing cannot be maintained on a profitable basis for there are only two boats on the island. Probably the lack of wood for building boats prevented extensive fishing in ancient times.

[423]
Numerous causes have contributed to the decline of fishing. The natives have had an ample supply of meat since the introduction of cattle and sheep. Moreover they have free access to only a small part of the coast. If they wish to fish on the north or south coasts, where the coves and low shore are particularly favorable, they must obtain written permission from the Williamson and Balfour Company, and many natives are too shy to ask for it. Easter Island has no protecting coral reef, and in winter months the sea is too rough for the canoes to go far offshore. The fishing season begins at the end of October. The fishing near the island is not good. Ever since Captain Cook's time men have complained of the scarcity of fish.

136
226
[532]
Fish are said to be most abundant between the islets of Motu-kaokao and Motu-nui. A stone image called Pou-haka-nononga of the Ahu-anakoiroroa was a landmark used by fishermen to find an area in the sea called Haka-nononga where tuna were plentiful. Other places in the deep sea which were traditionally favorable for fishing (*kona-ika-nui*) had proper names. Tuna were caught at points off the coast called Hatehate and Mitiake; the best area for the *ature* fish was at Haka-kainga and for *mahore* fish at Tuaniu. Shore fishing was mostly a feminine occupation, and according to legends was once practiced on a wide scale.

226
Fishermen were called *rava-ika*; expert fishermen were *maori* or *rava-ika-maa* (fishermen-with-knowledge). Canoe fishing was indulged in even by the king (p. 132). Geiseler (87, p. 37) noticed that next to weapons, fishing implements were the most valued artifacts.

The following list gives the names of fish most commonly caught by the natives, under the methods used to capture them: 226 192

Hook fishing: Pei, big fish like tuna.
Kahi, tuna fish.
Miro, red fish with white tail.
Tarakuere.
Matahuira.
Kopuku haharoa.
Remoremo, very like the tuna.
Poopoo (Caranx cheilio).
Toremo.
Kanakana.
Kopuku (Acánthistus fuscus).
Papara-uri.
Mahaki (Girellops nebulosus), fished along shore by women.
Nanue, yellow stripes, fished along shore by women.
Ruhi.
Mango, shark, palatable fish in old days; said also to have been speared.
Aku (dorado).
Ivi-heheu, swordfish.
Koiro, conger eel.

Net fishing: Kotea-hiva (Labrichthys fuentesi).
Áture.
Koreva (Pseudomonocanthus paschalis).
Naumata-hauru.
Nohu.
Matuku.
Varevare-pua-toro.

Torch fishing: Marau.
Nohu.
Ihu.
Aku.
Mahaki.

During winter months—July, August, September—fishing was prohibited by a tapu and fish caught at that time were considered poisonous. This was true especially of the tuna (*kahi*) which was forbidden all the year round except in summer (230, vol. 6, p. 130). According to Roussel (190, p. 428) *kahi* were brought to the king or principal warriors (*mata-toa*). In more recent times tuna were allotted to the owner of the canoe and *pei* fish to his helpers. Several other kinds of fish were reserved for the *ariki*. 226 784

During the tapu months only the royal canoe (*vaka vaero*) could be used for fishing, with a crew composed of important men (*tangata-honui*). *Kahi* fished at this time were given to the king and to the oldest *tangata-honui*. Those who ate fish during the winter were under tapu and were obliged to live in separate huts. Even their excrement was considered dangerous and apt to kill people.

Fishermen had charms which were given to them by the king or the *ariki-paka* (probably priests) and which they kept in small baskets. The amulets were stones shaped like fish or decorated with fish; some of them had bird 226 789

226
789
forms. Near ahu Mahatua is a stone covered with engraved vulvas (*komari*), called Pu-o-Hiro (Trumpet-of-Hiro) because of a natural hole which can be blown through like a trumpet. Legend says that it stood formerly in Hangaroa and was brought to its present place by a raiding party of Tupa-hotu warriors. The shaking of this stone brought shoals of fish to the shore.

ANGLING

FISHHOOKS

227 Modern natives catch most of their fish by hook. Angling (*hi ite ika*) must always have been important, judging from the abundance of fishhooks which may still be discovered in the caves by the shore. The ancient fishhooks were of stone or bone, the latter being either simple or complex.

Legend says that the natives of ancient times used the thorns of the *ngaoho* (*Caesalpinia bonduc*) for making hooks, but the thorns are too small to have been put to any practical purpose. Composite wooden hooks were made for trade by some natives who asserted that they were authentic reproductions of old specimens.

One-piece Hooks

227
324
[773]
Stone Hooks. Stone hooks were always of the one-piece type, although the stone point of a fishhook (fig. 11, *a*) in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection seems to indicate that at least one element of composite fishhooks might have been of stone. According to an ancient myth, long ago the natives had only stone hooks, but the fish would never bite (*pakoo*) at them. Hook fishing proved successful only after the fishermen learned from Ure-a-vai-a-nuhe how to make fishhooks from the bones of the dead. (See p. 363). Had stone fishhooks been the valueless implements the myth indicates, the ancient fishermen would not have put so much work and time into their manufacture. The numerous unfinished stone fishhooks and fragments of finished specimens found on the island deny that they were exceptional and intended only for ceremonial purposes. The myth mentions the *kahi* (tuna) as the fish that could not be captured with stone hooks, but we may infer from the name of the stone hook, *mangai kahi* (215, p. 537), that it was made especially for catching the tuna. Either the name of the *kahi* has been introduced in the myth instead of that of some other fish that required a smaller bone hook, or the legend has arisen after the use of stone fishhooks was abandoned.

At the time of Palmer's visit in 1868, Easter Islanders no longer employed stone fishhooks, and perhaps had given up the use of bone hooks too, after becoming familiar with iron fishhooks. Palmer (171, p. 173) says: "They did not offer any fishing lines for sale, and the only hooks we saw

227
324

were the large ones called *rou*, made of stone, and which were of some age, and scarce, about three inches across the head. They are not in use now."

Stone fishhooks[9] (*rou, mangai maea, mangai kahi*) are well represented in the collection of Bishop Museum by five whole specimens (fig. 7) and thirteen fragments. The pieces which illustrate the method of manufacture are particularly fine (fig. 8). During my stay on Easter Island I obtained only one stone hook with a broken point, and a number of fragments.

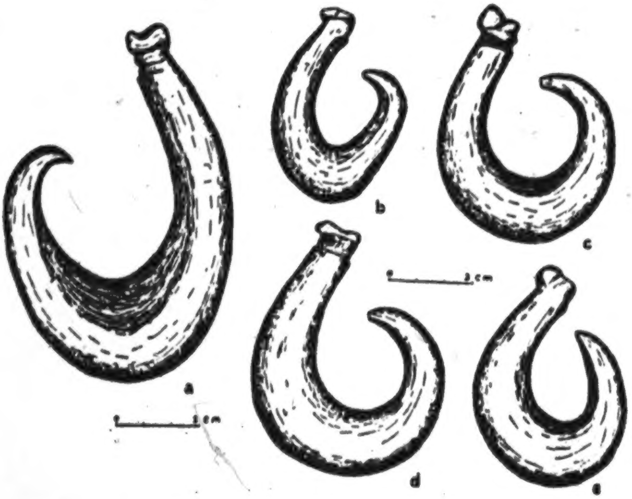


FIGURE 7.—One-piece stone fishhooks (B3540, measurements given in table 4): *a*, recess under knob 8 mm. wide with two notches on inner side to retain snood; *b*, knob projecting backward, oblique grooves on both sides to hold snood, recess under knob lined by small flange; *c*, knob divided by deep groove, posterior part projecting backward, anterior part with three distinct grooves; *d*, knob slightly concave on top (partly broken), well-marked recess under knob separated from shank by clear-cut flange; *e*, top of knob flat, posterior part polygonal, notching on back and front, no recess on sides.

---

[9] Easter Island stone fishhooks have been figured by Thomson (215, pl. 58, fig. 3), Beasley (14, pls. 89-91), Brown (27, pl. opposite p. 188, fig. 3), Shapiro (202), Chauvet (45, figs. 70-72), and Skottsberg (208, vol. 1, pl. 14, fig. 4).

Specimens of complete stone fishhooks are in the following museums and private collections: one in U. S. National Museum; one in the American Museum of Natural History; one in the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadero; one complete specimen and many fragments in the Fuller collection, London; one in the collection of Dr. Stephen Chauvet, Paris; one in possession of J. Brown.

TABLE 4. MEASUREMENTS OF STONE FISHHOOKS

227
324

Hook illustrated	Material	Total length	Width[illegible]	Thickness	Width of bend	Clearance between point and shank
7, *a*	gray, close-grained basalt	130 mm.	84 mm.	16 mm.	39 mm.	33 mm.
7, *b*	gray, close-grained basalt	71 mm.	50 mm.	12 mm.	21 mm.	12 mm.
7, *c*	gray, close-grained basalt	86 mm.	70 mm.	13 mm.		14 mm.
7, *d*	soft, fine-grained, disintegrated basalt of reddish color	90 mm.	75 mm.	13 mm.	27 mm.	16 mm.
7, *e*	soft, fine-grained basalt, gray with reddish tinges	80 mm.	66 mm.	14 mm.	23 mm.	9 mm.

[illegible] Width measured from outer edge of shank to outer edge of point limb.

The first stage in the manufacture of a stone hook is the choice of suitable material. The piece of basalt must be not only close-grained and free from flaws but, as far as possible, of convenient form and thickness to obviate the labor of reducing an unwieldy mass. The second stage consists in giving the stone the general outline of a hook, by coarse chipping followed by grinding. When the bulk of the material has been reduced, sometimes even before, the stone within the inner curve is removed by drilling a large hole through the stone and then enlarging it by drilling other holes on the border of the first (fig. 8, *d*). The holes are generally drilled from one side and then broken through from the other side when the hole is near completion. Thus the perforation is larger than it would be if the hole had been pierced from one side only. Judging from the shallow, wide depressions left on specimens in the first stage of drilling, the tool used has a broad working end. It is probably a drill of the general Polynesian type: a spindle with some sort of flywheel turned with a cord. Sand mixed with water is undoubtedly the grinding agent. In the specimens at hand, the upper diameter of the hole is between 19 mm. and 25 mm., but these figures do not give the exact size of the drill bit, since the unsteady movements of the drill tend to enlarge the hole. An unfinished fishhook that I procured on Easter Island was fashioned by drilling a cluster of small holes in the center (fig. 8, *g*). Simultaneous drilling and grinding of the stone explain why some unfinished hooks have the outside edges so perfectly shaped and worked.

[401]

The pattern of the stone hooks is uniform throughout, the principal variations being in thickness at the bend and in the distance between the point and the shank. Most of the fishhooks have a continuous curve, but in one specimen (fig. 7, *b*) the limb from the bend to the point is almost straight. The shank is topped by a knob or projecting ridge with transverse grooves. A depression in the knob divides it into two unequal parts—one rounded, and the other small and sharp (fig. 7, *a*) which is generally toward the point. Below the ridge there is a recess, the inner margin of which is sometimes serrated. The knob so divided strongly resembles the outlines of birds' heads as represented on the tablets. 227 324

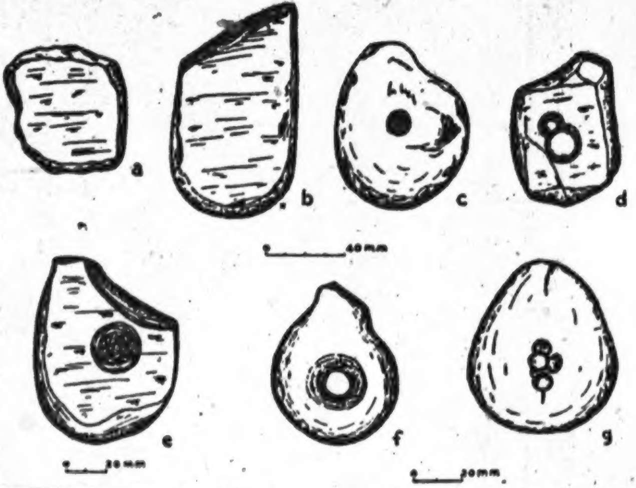


FIGURE 8.—One-piece stone fishhooks in process of manufacture (*a-e*, B3490): *a*, flat piece of stone coarsely chipped at edges into form of hook (72 mm. long, 63 mm. wide, 16 mm. maximum thickness); *b*, stone ground on both faces, sides superficially ground, bottom rim ground to sharp edge on each side (107 mm. long, 67 mm. wide, 17 mm. thick); *c*, slightly polished on both surfaces and edges, hole started on one side (82 mm. long, 70 mm. wide, 17 mm. thick); *d*, edges chipped, central hole drilled through, second hole started (76 mm. long, 54 mm. wide, 14 mm. thick); *e*, well ground on both surfaces and edges, upper slanting edge shows traces of chipping, central hole started (diameter of hole 25 mm., 91 mm. long, 71 mm. wide, 24 mm. thick); *f*, well ground, outline well defined, central hole drilled through (70 mm. long, 60 mm. wide, Trocadero Mus., Paris); *g*, carefully ground, several small holes drilled at center, upper end grooved (70 mm. long, 60 mm. wide, Trocadero Mus.).

Modern stone hooks. The present natives manifest an extraordinary skill in making stone hooks to be sold as curios, but instead of using, as in former days, a fine-grained stone they choose a soft basalt (phonolite or clinker stone) which they carve with metal instruments. In order to give the faked specimens the external appearance of old hooks, the texture of the stone is concealed under a thick layer of black paint. Such precaution is quite recent; the first faked specimens were unvarnished. The workmanship of these curios is remarkable and they might be mistaken for the genuine hooks if they were not thicker and sometimes of an inconvenient form for fishing. 324 439

In the Young collection there are three double hooks made of the same 227 324

227 324 material as the modern forgeries. One of them has been figured by Beasley (14, pl. 129)[11] as a ceremonial hook. There is no doubt that all these clumsy specimens are faked, but it is a matter of conjecture as to where the natives got the idea for making double hooks. No authentic double hooks are recorded and they were never mentioned as ornaments by the early voyagers. I am inclined to consider them modern products with no ethnological significance.

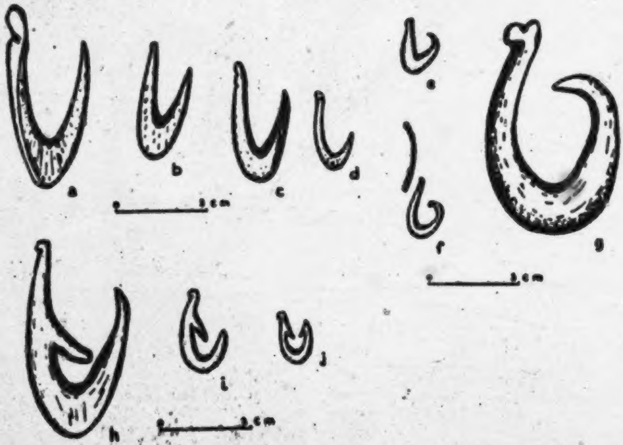


FIGURE 9.—One-piece bone fishhooks. *a-d*, V-shaped hooks with straight points (Trocadero Mus.): *a*, downward-slanting groove under knob, point slightly curved, 60 mm. long; *b*, shank tapering toward small knob, inside edge of bend sharp, 38 mm. long; *c*, knob lacking, snood held by two notches on back of shank, inside of bend shows traces of filing, 40 mm. long; *d*, short point widely diverging from shank, 25 mm. long. *e-g*, hooks with curved points: *e*, 18 mm. long (Trocadero Mus.); *f*, two notches on back of shank held snood of 3-ply cord wrapped in tapa, 21 mm. long (B3525); *g*, modern hook of beef bone, knob divided like stone hook, point slightly twisted to side, 73 mm. long (B3525). *h-j*, barbed hooks (Trocadero Mus.): *h*, barb on shank almost touching point limb, possibly unfinished, 65 mm. long; *i*, 27 mm. long; *j*, double barb, 16 mm. long.

227 321 **Bone Hooks.** One-piece bone fishhooks (*mangai ivi*; very small ones, *piko*)[12] are found in most of the shore caves used by fishermen as shelters in the old days. These caves were also workshops, as signified by the number of bones and unfinished or broken hooks that may be gathered in them. Formerly the fishhooks were made of human bones, man being the only

---

[11] Other faked fishhooks have been reproduced by Beasley (14, pls. 91, 179, 181) and Chauvet (45, fig. 69).

[12] Bone hooks from Easter Island are reproduced by Thomson (313, pl. 60, figs. 1, 2); Beasley (14, pls. 88, 92, 95, fig. 21, a); and Brown (27, pl. opposite p. 156, fig. 14).

Bone fishhooks are in the U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C.; the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro, Paris; the Museum du Cinquantenaire, Bruxelles; the private collections of Beasley and Fuller, London; and in the collection of Stephen Chauvet, Paris.

available mammal. According to tradition, the most suitable material was the bone of deceased fishermen (215, p. 537). This preference was of course based on belief in magic. Most specimens in Bishop Museum are of cattle bone, but they are recent and it is uncertain whether they were used or manufactured for trade. Whale bones may have supplied material for some fishhooks, for I know that modern natives have forged "ancient" hooks from the skeleton of a whale which had drifted ashore. 227 321

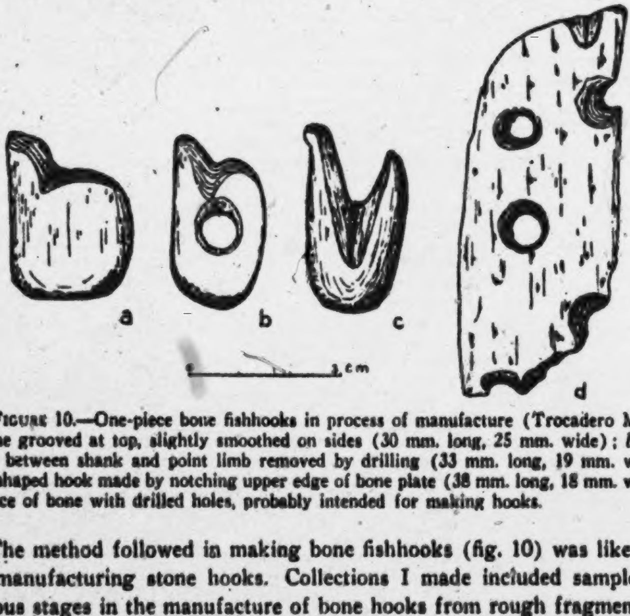


FIGURE 10.—One-piece bone fishhooks in process of manufacture (Trocadero Mus.): *a*, bone grooved at top, slightly smoothed on sides (30 mm. long, 25 mm. wide); *b*, material between shank and point limb removed by drilling (33 mm. long, 19 mm. wide); *c*, V-shaped hook made by notching upper edge of bone plate (38 mm. long, 18 mm. wide); *d*, piece of bone with drilled holes, probably intended for making hooks.

The method followed in making bone fishhooks (fig. 10) was like that for manufacturing stone hooks. Collections I made included samples of various stages in the manufacture of bone hooks from rough fragments of tibia with traces of cutting to the semi-ground specimens.

The general outline of the fishhook is cut in a piece of bone and then the interior is drilled out or notched. The final touch is given by grinding and by filing the edges. Short obsidian points (p. 166) may have been used on the drills. These points could not be handled without some sort of shaft, and their shape and size resemble the quartz or flint pieces attached to the spindle of Maori drills (100, p. 25).

The one-piece bone fishhooks present little variation in form, most of them being more or less V-shaped. The only features on which a classification can be established are the presence or absence of a barb and the form of the point which is straight or curved backward. A few one-piece bone hooks are circular.

The V-shaped hooks with straight point might have been formed by notching a piece of bone or by both drilling and notching. Hooks with a curved point were evidently drilled and then shaped.

Several fishhooks collected by me on Easter Island are barbed. The barb projects downward from the inner side of the shank. In one specimen (fig. 9, *j*) both shank and point are barbed.

227 321 The shank ends in a backward-projecting knob which prevents the snood from sliding off. In a few specimens the end of the shank is sharp, the knob small and inconspicuous. Small notches on the back of the shank, under the knob, help secure the snood, especially when the knob is small or missing.

The one-piece fishhooks are usually small; I obtained some specimens only 17 mm. long. The largest one-piece fishhooks picked up in caves are rarely more than 80 mm. long; most of them are about 60 mm. long (fig. 9, *a*). Modern specimens, which are numerous in Bishop Museum collections, are longer and thicker (fig. 9, *g*).

Composite Hooks

227 Parts of composite hooks (*mangai verevere*) are frequently found by the natives in old caves (fig. 11, *d-e*). After a few days on Easter Island I had made a fairly good collection of shanks (*reke*) and points (*kainga*), but it was less easy to obtain a complete composite hook.

In the Bishop Museum there are two complete composite hooks. The larger (fig. 11, *a*) has an ancient, finely made, stone point attached to a modern wooden shank by stout cotton thread. The shape and proportions of shank are probably correct, as well as the method of binding. The proximal end of the shank is shaped like the corresponding part in the one-piece stone hook. The distal end has a groove at the back corresponding to the groove on the front of the stone point. Composite hooks of stone must have been rare; I know of only one and have been able to discover no fragment of stone which could be considered an element of a composite hook. Nevertheless there is no doubt as to the genuineness of the specimen. The smaller composite hook (fig. 11, *b*) has both shank and point of bone. The point is made of the human tibia, the shank suggests the human femur. The fine cord binding point to shank is of local manufacture. [284] The lashing is too tight to be genuine, but it must have been somewhat similar in the old specimens. The string was wound first transversely, then vertically, again transversely, and once more vertically. The lashing conceals entirely the juncture of shank and point. The point base is wider than the limb; its inner edge is slanting and fits into a groove in the base of the shank. The distal end of the point base protrudes in a knob which facilitates the lashing. The distal end of the shank has a recess or a groove and sometimes a knob corresponding to the knob at the proximal end. The broken shank of a composite hook I found in a cave has a projecting barb similar to those of barbed single-piece hooks (fig. 9, *h-j*).

The composite fishhooks of the Fuller collection, reconstructed by the natives (14, pl. 93), bear hackles of horsehair. On other Polynesian islands, tufts of hair, representing the tail or fin of a fish, are added to the hooks to give more efficiency to the lure. If the device was not traditional in Easter Island, it may have resulted from contact with Tahitians. Charli Teao, the best fisherman on the island, told me that formerly the shank and the point were lashed with women's hair. His statement may be based on a vague reminiscence of the presence of a hackle of hair.

The lashing on a composite fishhook in the British Museum is covered with a piece of tapa. The lashing at the base of the hook in a specimen owned by Beasley (14, pl. 95) is made of strips of the outer bark of some plant.

Comparisons with other Polynesian Fishhooks

227 171 Bone and stone were apparently the only materials used for fishhooks on Easter Island. A wooden fishhook of *toro-miro* wood was made for me, but

it is so like the ordinary bone hooks that I consider it simply an imitation without ethnological significance. There is no indication of wooden hooks though they may have been known. Simple, one-piece, curved hooks are universal in eastern and central Polynesia and are so similar that significant differences can be noticed only in secondary features. With a few exceptions, Easter Island simple hooks are barbless. When the barb is present, it projects from the inner side of the shank. Only one hook in my collection has a barb on the point (fig. 9, *j*). A New Zealand hook of similar type is figured by Beasley (14, pl. 13). In other New Zealand bone hooks, the head of the shank has a projection cut almost as sharply as the ordinary barb of the point. The jade hooks (*hei matau*) of New Zealand are mere ornaments and cannot be compared to hooks that were actually used.

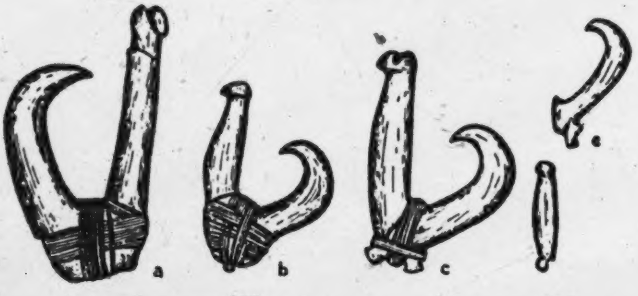


FIGURE 11.—Composite fishhooks (*a-b*, B3531; *c-e*, Trocadero Mus.): *a*, modern wood shank, stone point, point 65 mm. long, 12 mm. thick, recess on lower part of point 10 mm. wide; *b*, bone hook, longitudinal groove on top of knob, modern lashing of 2-ply *hau* bark thread, shank at bulge 11 mm. thick, total length of hook 50 mm., point markedly curved backward, point 7 mm. thick; *c*, bone hook, projecting knobs on distal end of shank and on point base give concave base to hook which must have allowed tighter lashing, modern lashing, total length of hook 56 mm., maximum width of point 10 mm.; *d*, bone shank limb of fusiform shape, 33 mm. long, 11 mm. thick at bulge; *e*, bone point, base flat with sharp edge, 40 mm. long.

Easter Island stone fishhooks have no parallel in other parts of Polynesia, with the possible exception of Pitcairn Island. A stone hook, in the Otago Museum (D.34.1006), New Zealand, is said to have been found on Pitcairn, though no other stone fishhook or fragment has been reported there. This hook is so like modern stone hooks from Easter Island that some doubt exists as to its origin.

The shape of the upper part of the shank of Easter Island hooks is determined by the lashing of the snood and is found on many broad hooks, especially those from Hawaii. The same feature appears in Moriori (206, 227 171 p. 82) and Maori fishhooks. The Mangarevan shanks have the same outline though the back projection is more accentuated than those from Easter Island.

Though Polynesian bonito hooks, like Easter Island composite hooks, are made of two pieces lashed together, they have no other character in common. The Easter Island composite hooks fulfilled the need for larger hooks better than the one-piece bone hooks, and their manufacture was no doubt easier than the painstaking drilling of bone plates.

The composite hooks of Easter Island may be divided into two classes: those with straight, cylindrical shanks and those with shanks slightly convex on the outer side. The straight shank has some similarity to two New Zealand composite hooks of moa bone figured by Beasley (14, pl. 11), but the New Zealand hooks have a projection near the top which is lacking in the Easter Island hooks. The slightly convex shank is like a Hawaiian type (14, p. 50). The broken shank of an Easter Island composite hook has a projecting barb on the inner side, a feature of the Hawaiian composite hook.

The point bases in Easter Island and Hawaiian hooks have exactly the same peculiar downward projection and are fitted in the same way (fig. 11, *c*). The methods of lashing are strikingly similar. The New Zealand composite hooks were provided with hackles like the Easter Island ones.

LASHING OF SNOOD

227 Many of the old hooks in public or private collections are provided with a snood (*kavei*). It is difficult to tell whether these snoods are really of old native make, but they probably represent an ancient method.

Small fishhooks examined by Dr. P. H. Buck in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22821-22824), have a lashing of simple transverse turns with a couple of half hitches. Chauvet (45, fig. 73) figures a very old composite bone fishhook from Easter Island, the snood of which seems to be wrapped by a strip of bark of the same kind as that on the hook described by Beasley (14, pl. 95, p. 57). The snoods of the two small fishhooks (*pike*) in the Bishop Museum collection are wrapped with a very fine strip of what seems to be tapa cloth or paper mulberry bark.

LINE AND ROD

226 227 283 Fishline (*hau*) was made of *hau* (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) bark. Poles are used now for fishing on shore and were known in olden times, to judge from the term in Roussel's vocabulary, *ika kohau* (to fish with a line: *kohau*, stick or pole).

BAIT

226 To catch tuna (*kahi*), small *ature* fish were used as bait (*mounu*). The *ature*, which is the size of a sardine, was probably split and fixed to the hook

226 (*hakaanagaou*) lest the tuna tear it off. *Ature* were sometimes crushed between two stones and the flesh (*mamama*) wrapped (*viri*) with the line on the stone sinker. The hook was cast into the water with the stone and the line was fastened in such a way that a jerk was sufficient to release the stone. The crushed meat, wrapped with the stone, floated near the hook.

Sometimes two hooks were thrown at one time—a big one baited with crushed *ature* meat and a small one with a whole *ature*. The line with the small hook (*hau-maroki*) was fastened to the belt of the fisherman, and the one with the big hook (*hau mamama*) to a transverse stick in the canoe. The loose knot untied at the first bite (*pakoo*) of the fish. The fisherman allowed the line to go out before he pulled (*paipai*) in the fish.

To catch *pei* or *poopoo*, big fish living in deeper water than the *kahi*, the natives used long lines which they sank with a heavy stone. *Ature* was the usual bait. For some fish the natives attached several hooks to one line, spaced about one meter apart. Geiseler (87, p. 37) mentions the use of fragments of mother-of-pearl to attract the fish, but I obtained no information on this point. As bonito hooks were not used on Easter Island, mother-of-pearl could well have been used for a lure. Even today when metal hooks have taken the place of lighter bone ones, the islanders still use stone to sink their hooks.

Crushed crayfish is considered a good bait for *tuamingo* and some other fish.

CONGER FISHING

[481] Conger eels (*koiro*) are caught with a hook baited with *kotea* or *paoho* fish. Near Anakena is a rock which is said to have been put there by Hotumatua for the fishing of conger eels. I was told that some fishermen caught congers by diving and seizing them with the hands.

NETS

227 I saw no net in the modern village of Hanga-roa. However, one was used in a fishing party in which one of our group participated. Fifty years ago nets were abundant and Geiseler (87, p. 37) admired their beautiful workmanship. Even the large nets had fine, regular meshes. To catch fish with a net is *tangu*. The expression *tono ki roto ki te kupenga* means to drive fish into a net. *Tuku* is to scoop with a hand net, to walk with open net. The corners of a net are termed *pingei*; the bottom, *taki*; the meshes, *piniku*.

227
286 The 2-ply cords for nets were made of *hau* bark (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) or of paper mulberry bark twisted by women on their thighs. Nets in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, are made of clear yellow rope very like the *olona* string of Hawaii.

The making of nets (*taa*) was a male industry in which even the king took part. The netting shuttles (*kiko*) were made of *toro-miro*. A modern shuttle was made for

227 286 me from a stick about 30 cm. long. Both ends are slightly thicker than the middle, and the extremities have narrow, longitudinal slots. Two shuttles collected by Thomson (fig. 12, *a*) do not have expanded ends. The cord was wound longitudinally between the two split ends. Nets with very small meshes, for catching small *ature* fish or small crustaceans (*koura*), were made with bone needles similar to those used in sewing tapa. Figure 12, *c* shows the knot technique of a net.

[412]

[284]

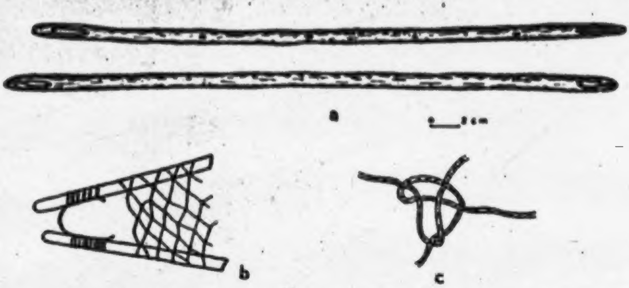


FIGURE 12.—Fishnets: *a*, wooden netting needles (*hika*) 450 mm. long (U. S. Nat. Mus., 129738); *b*, method of lashing together ends of two poles of dip net (pl. 2, *A*); *c*, knot used in making fishnets (after a drawing by Dr. H. Nevermann, Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4963).

The first netmaker was the ariki Tuu-ko-ihu, the great inventor and expert. Names of some of the experts succeeding Tuu-ko-ihu have been preserved, most famous of whom were Poie, Te Ngaru, and Aru-manu-vie, who died not long ago. I was told that there are no good netmakers now.

DIP NETS

227 A handled dip net (*kupenga puhi*) had a frame consisting of a rod bent like a bow and fixed to the end of a handle about 1.5 meters long. The net was attached to the bent rod and to the handle. The *kupenga puhi* was a scoop for shore fish.

The *kupenga hakatoro* was made like the *kupenga puhi* but was much smaller. It was used to catch small fish along the coast, especially after a storm when fish were driven to shore, and to catch fish among the rocks, principally at a place called Puhinga. Eels and lobsters were captured in *kupenga hakatoro*. I suppose that Palmer (171, p. 174) has this kind of net in mind when he speaks of Easter Island nets " . . . which were made with small (half inch) meshes, and from their sizes used for the small fry."

A complete double-handled dip net was collected by Geiseler (pl. 2, *A*). There is some confusion among the natives about the name of this net. It was mentioned to Brown (27, p. 188) and to me as *kupenga tuku* or *tukutuku*, but the same term was applied to a set net with two lateral poles. Evidently the word *tuku* (pole) has come to designate any kind of net attached to poles.

227 The double-handled dip net is a rectangular bag whose mouth is attached along two poles tied together loosely at one end by a thick string which is fixed round one pole and its free end caught under a tight lashing on the other pole (fig. 12, *b*). Geiseler (87, p. 49) says that these nets were used along the shore. This type is similar to the Samoan hand net called *'upenga saosao'o* (34, p. 476) which was set across a channel or pool with one pole resting on the bottom and the other held up to open the net. The fisherman stood near the hinge while another man drove the fish into the net with a stick. The form of the Easter Island net suggests the same method.

Another net purchased by Geiseler consists only of a rectangular bag without a frame (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI 4963). The mouth of this net is 130 cm. long, the bottom 150 cm. long, and the depth 80 cm. The proportions and form of the bag correspond to those of the nets described above.

BAG NETS

No bag nets are in present use on the island. However, they were minutely described by my informants, and one specimen was collected by Geiseler. The net consisted of a bag with or without pouches on both sides, a wooden hoop, suspension lines, and sinkers. The different kinds of bag nets varied only in size and were named after the fish for which they were intended.

The *kupenga ature* were the largest nets. My informant estimated their depth at 3 meters, the diameter of the opening at 5 meters. The bottom was straight, and no reference was made to pouches. The mouth was attached to a wide, circular hoop made of twelve (?) rods of *marikuru* (*Sapindus saponaria*) wood bent over fire. Stone sinkers (*maea rengorengo*) enclosed in small nets were fastened to the bottom. This type of net is undoubtedly the same as the one referred to by Knoche (123, p. 186) as " . . . net two meters long, in the form of a bag tapering at the end, with a stone sinker. It is handled by two men. At the lower end of the net a crushed crab is put as bait and the net is immersed at depths over 150 feet." Geiseler (87, p. 37) mentions some bag nets which were 30 feet long.

226 The *ature* caught in the *kupenga ature* net are small fish which were the usual bait for big tuna. The *kupenga ature* were baited with small crustaceans which the islanders call sea fleas (*koura*). The following method was used to catch *koura*. Bunches of seaweed (*rimu*) were left in "pot holes", which are numerous in rocks along shore, for a day or more to attract sea fleas, then strained through a net (*kupenga ruru rimu*) with very small meshes. The crustaceans passed through the meshes and were gathered into a small basket (*kete rauhiri rimu*). The basket was wrapped around with a long rope and was attached to bait lines above the hoop of the *kupenga ature*. When it was submerged, the basket was unwrapped with a jerk of the rope, and the crustaceans scattered about the net. The fishermen drove the *ature* into the net.

227 The *kupenga korewa* was made on the same principle as the *kupenga ature* but was smaller. This is evidenced by the fact that only three suspension lines were tied to the hoop. The *korewa* were described to me as small fish that can be eaten raw and which were caught at the same time as the tuna.

The *kupenga ura* was used to catch crayfish in shallow water near shore. A crayfish net of Easter Island is preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (VI.4960). The circular hoop is made of wire and is 16 cm. in diameter. The net is a round bag with meshes 1¼ cm. wide. It is 29 cm. deep and widens considerably toward the bottom, which is 50 cm. wide. It is made of 2-ply cord (probably *hau* fiber) of brownish gray color. There is a lead sinker lying unattached on the bottom.

Curiously enough, *kupenga ura* was the name given to me for a variety of bag net for catching *korea*, a fish said to have been reserved for the king. These fish swarm near the coast and are easily netted from the shore. The net, as described by the natives, was like the ordinary bag nets already described. The bottom was provided with two extended corners or pouches, and the sinker was attached between the corners at the

227 end of a rope. The average dimensions of the net were 1½ feet deep and about 1 foot wide.

A net without frame in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (VI.4965) seems to be a bag net. It is 160 cm. deep, 146 cm. wide at the mouth, and 196 cm. wide at the bottom. The meshes are unusually wide (4 cm.). The catalog states that this net was used on the open sea, which is contrary to the customary use of the dip net.

227
286

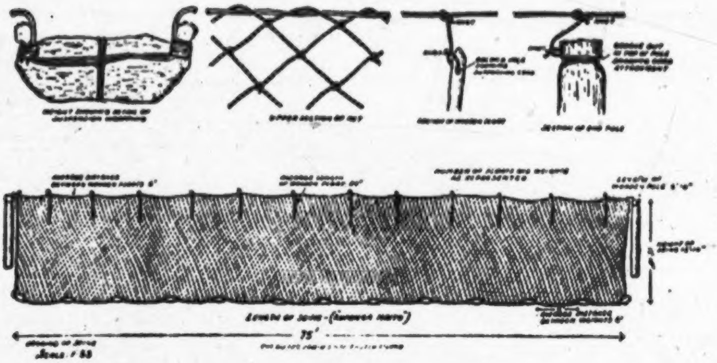


FIGURE 12A.—Seine net (*kupenga maito*) collected by Thomson in 1886 (Nat. Mus. Washington, 129748).

SET NETS AND SEINES

227 The *kupenga tuku* or *tukurua* net was used at night in coves. It is said to have been 10 meters long. It was attached to two poles and was carried to the water by six men, three on each side. The poles were set up in the sand, and the shoal of fish was driven into the net, which had considerable bag.

[171] From this description it appears that the ancient *kupenga tuku* of Easter Island was identical with the present *tuturua* net of the Cook Islands (33, p. 294), where the name means "net with two poles (*tutu*)." This is probably the real significance of the term *tuturua*, though today the word designates a net without poles.

The modern *kupenga tukurua* of Easter Island has no poles, measures 4 to 5 meters long, and has meshes about 2 or 3 cm. wide. A string runs along the upper and the lower edges. Natives use this net to fish in coves along the shore. Two men carry the net, one on each side, and walk in the water slowly and quietly until they are near a shoal of fish—usually *kotote*, a fish about 15 cm. long. As they near the fish, one of the men throws a stone beyond the fish to drive them toward the net. Then one man lifts the lower edge of the net to meet the upper, thus imprisoning the fish. This type of net might have been named after the ancient *kupenga tukurua* with two poles.

In the Cook Islands *maito* fish are caught with the *kupenga tuturua*; on Easter Island they were caught with a special net called *kupenga maito*, which was similar to the *kupenga tuku* or *tukurua*, but was provided with floats and sinkers. A specimen of *kupenga maito* was procured by Thomson in 1886 and is preserved in the U. S. National Museum in Washington, where I examined it (fig. 12A). The netting is made of paper mulberry fibers twisted into a thin string. The knots forming the meshes (3 to 4 inches wide) belong to the type known as "weaver knot", common in Polynesia (fig. 12, *c*). The net is 75 feet long and 12 feet 10 inches broad. It is tied at each end to the top of a pole, 227 probably of *hau* wood (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) 6 feet 10 inches long. A strong cord of hemp, probably of European manufacture, extends along the edges of the net. To this cord at the upper edge of the net are fastened 12 floats (*uto*) of *hau* wood 24 inches long. These are attached approximately every 6 feet to the suspension rope by strings tied through holes in the upper ends of the floats. The middle float was called *pito-o-te-kupenga* (the-navel-of-the-net). The lower edge of the net is weighted by 13 stones wrapped in banana tree bark and tied to the edging cord. These sinkers (*kaka*) weigh 196 grams and have an average length of 5 feet. When a shoal of fish was sighted, the two poles were stuck in the sand and the fish were driven toward the net.

Geiseler (87, p. 37) mentions a net 200 feet long but this is probably exaggerated.

The *kupenga viri* (*viri*, to roll) was identical to the *kupenga maito* and was generally used at night.

The *kupenga matiro* had smaller meshes than those of the *kupenga maito* but the principle of the net was the same. It was used to catch *matiro*, a leaping fish.

The *kupenga ihe* was used to catch *ihe* (needle fish). It was the same type as the *kupenga maito* but was larger and had smaller meshes. It was carried to its place by several swimmers.

CASTING NETS

Though casting nets were not enumerated by my informants, they were seen by Thomson (215, p. 460): "Their light casting nets were used with great dexterity as they waded along the beach, and when a shoal of small fish appeared, the net was thrown with the right hand." 226

TURTLE NETS

825 136 For a great many years no turtles (*honu, kepukepu*) have been seen off the shores of Easter Island. The natives explain their disappearance by the passing of the kings (p. 133). Island folklore has many stories about turtles, and numerous petroglyphs represent them. Turtle shells which were worn as ornaments have been found in caves and graves.

225 My informant says that when turtles were seen, natives jumped into their canoes and went to meet them. They dived near the turtles and drove them into a special net (*kupenga honu*), similar to the *kupenga matiro* but with wider meshes and stronger ropes.

SINKERS

227 324 Twelve net sinkers are preserved in the Bishop Museum collection. Four have an artificial perforation, and the others are basalt rocks with a natural hole (fig. 13, *a*).

Of the four stones intentionally perforated, two are nearly flat with holes near one edge like the net weights of Tahiti (fig. 13, *c*). The remaining two belong to a widespread Polynesian type which, in its most characteristic form, is a sphere with a perforated projection at the top. In the same collection, a stone disc with a central hole (B2614) may well have been a sinker.

Three small oval stones weighing about ½ ounce each (fig. 13, *c-d*) are grooved for attachment of a cord. They are labeled in Young's catalog as "*atua mangaro*, fetish stones used by *tulunga* (sorcerers)." The natives identified them as ear pendants to increase their commercial value; they emphatically denied my suggestion that the

227 324 stones might have been line sinkers. However, the frequency with which such pieces are discovered in fishermen's caves along the shore suggests that they had something to do with fishing, either as line sinkers or net sinkers. The lightness of these stone sinkers cannot be regarded as a serious argument against their practical use.

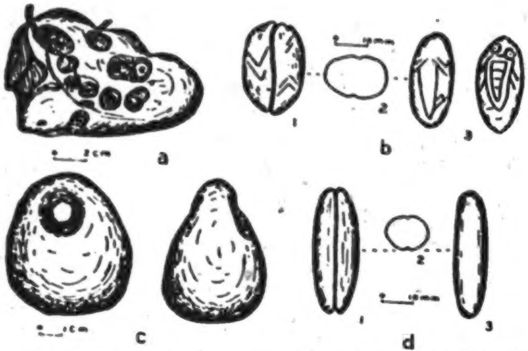


FIGURE 13.—Stone fishnet sinkers: *a*, stone with natural hole used as sinker, 141 mm. long, weight 33 oz. (B3513); *b*, small stone sinker for net or line: 1, lateral view; 2, cross section, 3, front and back views showing incised animal figure, probably a fish or a lizard, 28 mm. long, 20 mm. wide, weight 2/3 oz. (B3557); *c*, biconical hole perforated near top, coarse-grained basalt, 70 mm. high, greatest width 61 mm., 51 mm. thick, weight 10 oz. (B3564); *d*, small stone sinker for net or line: 1, lateral view; 2, cross section; 3, front view, 38 mm. long, 14 mm. wide, weight 1/2 oz. (B3557).

COMPARISON WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN FISHNETS

227 171 A comparative analysis of Easter Island nets is almost impossible. With few exceptions they are known only through second-hand descriptions. Also the types of nets have been studied in only a few Polynesian islands, and many of the descriptions are too general to be utilized for comparative purposes.

Scoop nets are general in Polynesia, but nowhere did I find reference to the bow-shaped frame of Easter Island.

Bag nets were used in New Zealand for catching crayfish, and, as on Easter Island, the bait was attached above the hoop. Grooved stones were used as sinkers on these Maori nets. The sinkers were sometimes enclosed in a small net to prevent their being lost. The large bag nets of Easter Island (*kupenga ature* or *koreva*) probably resembled the Maori bag nets for catching *maomao* (32, pp. 626-634). Bag nets have been described for the Marquesas (142, p. 400), the Society Islands (103, p. 88), Manihiki and Rakahanga (29, p. 163), and Tongareva (30, p. 201). In the Bishop Museum collection there is a large bag net from Hawaii which suggests Easter Island *kupenga ature* nets.

To catch needle fish (*ihe*) the Marquesans had a special net of the same type as that used for flying fish. It was a small bag fixed to the arms of a fork lashed to a pole (142, p. 400). It is possible that the description of the *kupenga ihe* given by my informant is inaccurate and that the Easter Island *kupenga ihe* was like the Marquesan. However, in the Tuamotus the needle fish are caught in traps, hence we may assume that set nets could be used for the same purpose. 227 171

FISH SPEARS

Spears used by modern natives are of European manufacture. It is impossible to determine whether a spear is old or has been introduced by Tahitian settlers. When Roussel (190, p. 355) landed on Easter Island in 1866, some of the natives were armed with European harpoons. Modern spears are from 3 to 5 meters long and belong to two types, one a simple spear with an iron point, the other with a compound point working on the principle of a fish gorge. The fisherman dives, his eyes protected by glasses, and pierces fish that swim within his reach. 411 227 177 [226 [487] 293]

TURTLE WATCHTOWERS

Turtles were watched for from turtle watchtowers (*tupa*) along the shore near ancient settlements. 225 349

One tower at La Pérouse Bay (pl. 2, *B*) is 3 meters high and the diameter of its base is about 7 meters. The entrance is 80 cm. high and 1.10 meters broad. The interior of the building consists of big, unhewn stones, well laid. Inside they project gradually until they are spanned by slabs forming a crude corbeled vault. The largest tower is situated between La Pérouse and ahu Mahatua, near ahu Vai-mangeo. The tower has a kind of wing containing an inner chamber.

The *tupa* of ahu Akapu, seen by Cook and his party (83, vol. 1, p. 570) and accurately described by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 254), is still in fairly good condition. Its construction is similar to that of the tower at La Pérouse. The interior chamber is 24 feet long by 6 feet wide and 7 feet high in the center. The walls are 4 feet thick and the door is 2 feet high by 2 feet wide.

Thomson (215, p. 484) and Routledge (194, p. 218) were told that these towers were lookout stations whence the movements of turtles and fish could be watched, and I was given the same explanation. Skottsberg (208, vol. 1, p. 12) was puzzled by the importance of the towers with their lower apartments, which are in no reasonable proportion to the purpose for which they were built. Though they are along the shore, these towers do not give the watchers any better view of the sea than any near-by hill. There are no such towers on the south coast; on the north they are few—I know of only five. [171] In the Tuamotus and Hawaii, watchers sat at certain points along the coast to signal the arrival of turtles or fish. Heaps of stones served as elevations. The *tupa* of Easter Island were probably most similar to the Hawaiian fishermen's shrines (*ko'a*), which were terraces of stone. On some of them stood

225 a house where the priest slept in order to learn the issue of a projected fishing party or to have revealed by a god the presence of a shoal of fish.

349 There is nothing in the *tupa* to facilitate access to the top of the tower, which is not a very comfortable place. The vaulted chamber inside suggests no practical purpose, since a cave or shelter would have been quite sufficient for the watchers, whose homes stood near the tower. Turtles were not, even then, common on Easter Island, where the climate is too cold for them and where there are only a few sandy beaches.

EEL SNARING

226 227 To catch eels (*koreha-puhi, koreha-tapatea, koreha-haoko, koreha-toko-ari, koreha-mingo, koreha-ruma*), the natives use a snare (*here-koreha*) made of two sticks, generally 50 or 60 cm. long.

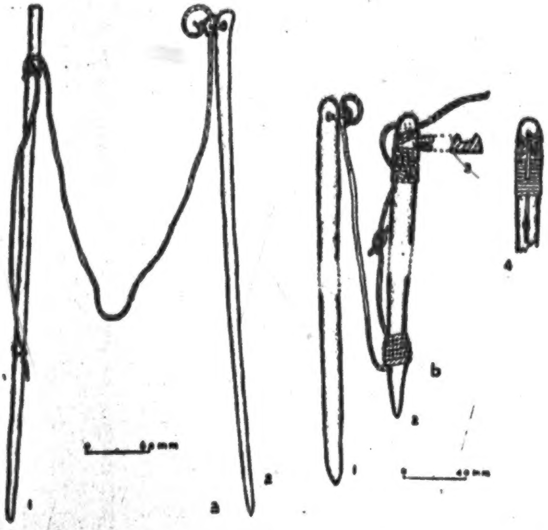


FIGURE 14.—Eel snares. *a*, snare collected by Geiseler in 1884 (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4922); 1, bait stick 622 mm. long; 2, stick with noose 640 mm. long; *b*, ancient snare (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4880): 1, stick with noose 245 mm. long; 2, bait stick 310 mm. long; 3, black stone; 4, lateral view of bait stick.

The thicker end of one of the sticks is perforated and a cord passes through the hole and is tied to the stick with a knot. The cord then passes between the knot and the stick to form a noose and the end of the cord is tied to the other stick (fig. 14). Bait is attached to the second stick while the one with the loop remains in the water perfectly still. The eels are caught along the shore. When an eel is attracted by the bait, the fisherman pushes the stick with the noose toward it so that to reach the bait the eel has to pass its head through the noose. The noose is closed by pulling the string which 226 the fisherman holds in the same hand as the baited stick.

One such snare (fig. 14, *b*) in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, (VI 4880) 227 is much more elaborate than the present-day specimen. The bait stick is provided at its thicker end with a notched stone, the function of which is not clear; the rope is first tied around the thinner end, then runs along the stick, and is caught in the lashing and passes through a hole. The free end of the rope is used to tie the bait to the stick.

Eel snares of the same type as those of Easter Island were used in Rapa 227 (212). In the Marquesas the snare consisted of one stick, which was held in 171 one hand while the string was held in the other (104, p. 177). The eel snare is widespread in the Tuamotus and probably in the Society Islands, though it is not mentioned by Handy (103). In Samoa the eel snare is practically identical to that of Easter Island (34, p. 421).

FISHING BY HAND

OCTOPUS

Octopuses (*heke-puka*, octopus with short legs; *heke-korotea*, octopus 226 with long legs) are caught with bare hands (*hakapari*) along the shore by moonlight. The fisherman bites the head of the octopus to kill it. Tradition states that formerly the natives built *hare heke*, houses where the octopuses sought shelter. They were driven into these shelters by magic.

CRAYFISH

Crayfish (*ura, ura raperape*) were formerly caught in a bag net, but that method has been discarded; now they are captured by hand either by day or by night. The fisherman dives (*ruku*) where he knows there are recesses or small caves. He seizes the crayfish by the body (*ipu*). At night crayfish are caught by the light of torches (*tuu ahi*) made with a rag soaked in sheep fat and fixed to the end of a stick. Formerly the natives used torches made of banana bark impregnated with fish fat. Fishing with torches is called *ika puhi*. Crayfish hunters always go by twos. The man holding the torch puts his foot on the crayfish, attracted by the light, and his companion picks it up and puts it into a bag. The most favorable time for catching crayfish is when the wind is new (*tokerau hoou*), that is, when the wind turns and pushes the crayfish toward the shore. At Puhinga on the south coast crayfish are especially abundant.

REEF FISHING

Reef fishing (*hahari*) and the gathering of shellfish were important activi- [227] ties of women in olden days. The women used small spears called *ruruki* for some kinds of fish or to remove shells from the rocks. Fish caught thus by women were *paroko, patuki, tuamingo, rae-mea*, and *mahaki*. Crabs were not [262] despised then as they are today. The natives distinguished between the kinds

226 of crabs: *pikea-uri, pikea-nahenahe, pikea-tutu-au, pikea-tura-moa, pikea-paki-maroa,* and *pikea-toetoe.*

Sea urchins (*hatuke*) are plentiful along the coast. Natives crush them between two stones and boil them. In olden days trepangs or bêche-de-mer (*pipiri*) were eaten after their skins had been rubbed off. A big Coelenterata (*otaki*) is said to have been eaten. I saw the natives eat another mollusk known as *takatore-pare.*

[172] Islanders are still fond of small shellfish, *pipipipi-uriuri, pipi-vaka, pipi-ekaeka, pipi-nehenehe, pipi-momoko, ningoningo.* Shells of sea snails are found in great quantities near ancient settlements and in caves.

HOUSES

342 362 Easter Islanders lived in thatched houses, in semi-underground houses, or in caves. All their dwellings were uncomfortable; the low houses were overcrowded, the caves dark and wet. Such indifference to comfort is not astonishing when one remembers that the natives lived mostly out-of-doors and that the houses were shelters for the night or for rainy days only. Scarcity of wood is partly responsible for the crudeness of the huts, but nothing prevented the building of more stone houses of the Orongo type. Though today all the islanders have frame houses, they are small and crowded. A few modern houses are built of stone, but this type is becoming obsolete.

CAVES

COASTAL CAVES

133 342 The coasts of Easter Island, especially along the west and north, are perforated with caves (*ana*), which have been used by the islanders either as permanent dwellings or as shelters for the night during fishing expeditions. When they are overtaken by darkness far from their homes, the natives go to sleep in the nearest cave.

342 172 Thomson, Routledge, and I have excavated the ground of several coastal caves and found hooks, bone needles, and wrought bone fragments, indicating that those caves were once occupied by day and that fishermen used them as workshops. Some caves, especially that of Ovahe, seem to have been arranged for longer occupancy. The entrances are protected by stone walls, and [352] inside are stone platforms on which to sleep. Some of these platforms are covered with a layer of straw—testimony that the natives still sleep there. The largest of these caves is Ana-havea on the south coast.

INLAND CAVES

[727] The name *hare-kionga* designates inland caves or subterranean lava tubes, where defeated people are said to have taken refuge during wars. That this was the essential purpose of these strange dwellings we do not know, but the

artificial widening of the entrance, lined with smooth slabs, indicates the former use of these natural galleries by men. 342 172

The first of these subterranean dwellings I visited lies behind ahu Ohau. The opening, just wide enough to let a man pass, is lined with stones. A passage leads to a room which is too low to stand in. The first room continues into a long tunnel, which I partially explored without finding anything of interest.

A cave of exactly the same type is found on the north coast at Vai-tara-kai-ua, where caves are numerous. The access is through a narrow pit faced with stone. At the end of the pit there is a large, damp chamber, from which opens a very long gallery. This I followed for some distance without reaching its end. A few yards from here is a big cave with a carved stone near the opening. The walls of the cave are covered with petroglyphs which have been copied by Lavachery.

There are two important *hare-kionga* near the ancient village of Paravovo, between Hanga-o-honu Bay and Tonga-riki. The entrance to one is through a shaft 2.5 meters deep, whose walls are formed of hewn stones, tightly fitted. This shaft leads to a room nearly 7 meters long, 5 meters wide, and about 1 meter high. The shaft to the other cave is a little deeper. It forms the entrance to a small, narrow, and low room. On one side, a little passage opens into a sort of hall, 12 meters long. One side of the entrance has been faced with stone.

The most remarkable of the subterranean houses is that of ahu Vai-mata. Its existence is revealed by a low mound paved with boulders. A shaft 2 meters deep and lined with stones joins a horizontal passage, also flagged with carefully dressed stone, which is so low that one must crawl through it. The chamber to which it leads is oval and about 2.5 meters high. One side is natural rock and the other is faced with carefully laid stones. A platform at the back probably served as a bed. In this cave, as in many others, we found skeletons. The top of the cave has been roofed over with slabs where otherwise it would be open to the sky.

Between Vai-mata and Anakena, I visited several semi-natural houses. The roof of one was an enormous rock which had fallen in such a way that between it and the ground was a space hardly sufficient to shelter a squatting man. Despite its size, this shelter had been transformed into a permanent dwelling, as testified by the stone walls which close it on every side.

Frequently statues, which have fallen down the slopes of an ahu, are used as roofs for shelters, with stones heaped up on the sides forming walls. At Vai-mata and at Ahu-te-pito-te-kura the earth beneath fallen statues has been excavated. At ahu Vinapu a similar dwelling is reached by two narrow passages leading into a long and waterproof room. Such dwellings are undoubtedly very old and may perhaps have been built before the arrival of Europeans.

At Hanga-roa Bay, behind what is now ahu Okahu and close to a watchtower (*tupa*), Cook (83, vol. 1, p. 570) saw a subterranean room; but natives barred his entrance. Frenchmen of the La Pérouse expedition were allowed to visit this cave and Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 255) made a plan of it to which he adjoined a technical description:

> This subterranean chamber was entered by a sloping passage lined with stones (2 feet 10 inches long, 2 feet broad, and 10 inches thick) which terminated at a staircase formed by hewn stones. The door leading to the inner chamber consisted of uprights, a cornice and a sill made of stones "very well squared and fitted together without cement." The inner room had an oval form comparable to that of the ordinary thatched huts. Its dimensions were as follows: length, 30 feet; width at the middle, 11 feet; height in the center, 5 feet 6 inches; width of the door, 2 feet; height of the door, 3 feet.

Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 255), the only ancient traveler who entered one of the underground dwellings, says that "in these subterraneous caverns the 342

342 inhabitants store their provisions, utensils, wood, and in general all their possessions." The fear lest foreigners should rob them of their goods explains, no doubt, why the natives prohibited Captain Cook and his companions from entering the underground house described by Bernizet.

It seems unlikely that defeated people hid in caves whose entrances were visible and whose locations were known by everyone in near-by villages. Possibly the caves were occupied by the inhabitants of a village in time of war, either in an effort to escape being burned alive in their grass houses, or after their homes had been burned.

To judge by the readiness with which the inhabitants of Easter Island, and for that matter all Polynesians, accepted almost any kind of shelter, it seems fairly certain that the caves served as dwellings. The interior arrangement and the care taken in construction of passages further strengthens this opinion. On that point we have the formal testimony of Gonzalez (90, p. 102):

> Most of the natives of the islands dwell in underground caves, or in the hollow of some rocks, the entrances to which are so narrow and inconvenient that I have seen some of them introduce themselves in the opposite manner to what is natural, beginning by projecting their feet first, their heads last . . .
>
> . . . Others (whom I believe to be their ministers), occupy dwellings close to the statues; these are built of earth below, but with an entrance way or porch of very roughly hewn and clumsily set up stones, after the fashion of a wall, with a certain number of steps for passing from one platform or surface ground to another, at different levels.

THATCHED HOUSES

DWELLING HOUSES

The shape of the Easter Island house has been repeatedly compared to an overturned boat with upward pointing keel. It consisted of a roof resting directly on the ground and supported by a framework composed of the following elements: a ridgepole (*hahanga* or *hakarava*), ridgeposts (*pou* or *tuu*), rafters (*oka*), purlins (*kaukau*), and the central post (*tonga*). The curved rafters were either stuck into the ground or fixed in holes along rows of curbstones.

Stone Foundations

342 172 Stone foundations of some of the ancient huts may still be seen behind Ahu-te-peu, at Puna-marengo, near Hangoteo, at Anakena, Hanga-o-honu, on the outer slopes of the Rano-raraku, and on several spots along the south coast. They are formed by wrought basalt curbs (*paenga*, pl. 3, *A*).

These stone curbs were made of the porphoritic olivine basalt of Rano-aroi. This rock was easily worked by primitive methods owing to its vesicular and coarse texture. The same rock was utilized for the cut and fitted blocks in the structure of the ahus (11, p. 1598).

The size of the stone curbs varies considerably; some are only 0.5 meter long, others are 2.5 meters or more; the average breadth is between 20 and 30 cm. As most of these curbs are firmly embedded in the ground, it is difficult to estimate their total height; generally they rise 1 foot above the ground. Their depth underground must be between 30 cm. and 1 meter. The unseen part is generally roughly carved and thicker than the upper part, which has sharp angles and smooth surfaces. The upper face of each slab has 2 or 3 (rarely 4 or 5) cup-shaped depressions. These cavities, in which rafters were inserted, are 5 to 8 cm. deep with a diameter of 2.5 to 5 cm. The distance between them is variable. 342 172

The curbstones are embedded to form a complete oval (pl. 3, *A*). In a few houses the end curbs (*pini hare paenga*) are curved (fig. 15, *b*), so that the foundation may be continuous. However, most houses are sharply pointed at the ends with a small space left between the two end curbs.

The number of curbstones composing the foundation depends on the size of the house and the length of the curbs. The large hut seen by La Pérouse had, according to his plan, 70 curbs. Other houses of more modest size had from 15 to 18 curbs.

In the middle of the seaward side is an opening corresponding to a door.

[352 415]

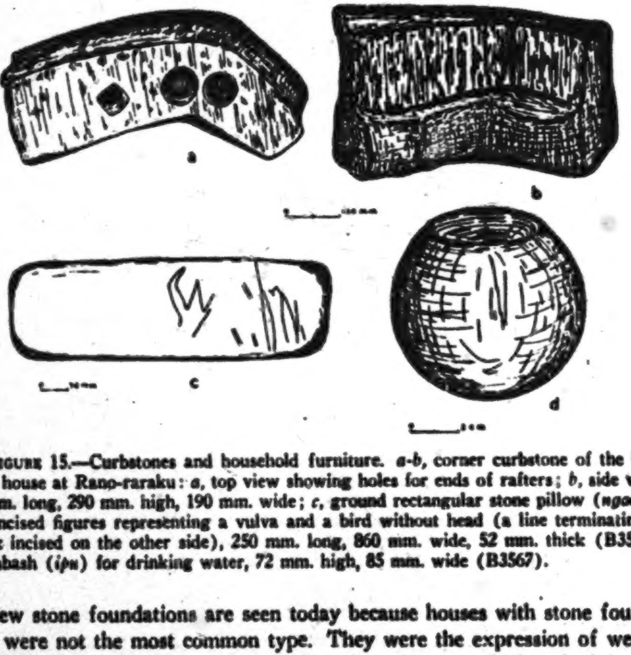


FIGURE 15.—Curbstones and household furniture. *a-b*, corner curbstone of the birdman's house at Rano-raraku: *a*, top view showing holes for ends of rafters; *b*, side view; 580 mm. long, 290 mm. high, 190 mm. wide; *c*, ground rectangular stone pillow (*ngorua*), with incised figures representing a vulva and a bird without head (a line terminating in a fork incised on the other side), 250 mm. long, 860 mm. wide, 52 mm. thick (B3598); *d*, calabash (*ipu*) for drinking water, 72 mm. high, 85 mm. wide (B3567).

Few stone foundations are seen today because houses with stone foundations were not the most common type. They were the expression of wealth. It was easier and cheaper to stick rafters into the ground, though there was always the danger that rain, running down the slopes of the volcanoes, might penetrate into the house. Also, many foundations have been destroyed both before and after the occupation of the island by Europeans. In time of war a triumphant party would take as booty the curbs of the houses of the de-

342 172 feated people. Thus tradition states that a heavy stone, measuring 15 feet, which is near an ahu on the south coast, had been brought all the way from the north side of the island (194, p. 216).

Curbstones have frequently been included in the fabric of later buildings. 342 The front of Ahu-te-peu has many curbs embedded in its structure; some have been used to prop up the enormous slabs on which the statues stood. That fact, by the way, indicates very clearly that the carvers of the big statues lived in houses identical to those of their descendants.

The masonry of some wells (those of La Pérouse especially) is composed of curbstones torn from ancient houses. Of late, a great number of the slabs has been used in the construction of sheep corrals or for foundations for the frame houses in which the natives now live.

Among the early visitors to the island, only Forster and La Pérouse describe curbstones. G. Forster's evidence (83, vol. 1, p. 570) is accurate, except in the length (1 foot) assigned to slabs. Apparently by the middle of the nineteenth century the custom of resting ridge posts on stones had fallen into oblivion. Not one of the travelers or missionaries who described the island at that time alludes to it. Nevertheless Routledge (194, p. 216) knew old men "who were born and brought up in these houses."

Framework

According to tradition, the frame of the house was made of *toro-miro* wood, but *hau* (*Triumfetta semitriloba*), *marikuru* (*Sapindus saponaria*), or *makoi* (*Thespesia populnea*) woods were also used. In small huts, the purlins were frequently ti stalks. Scarcity of wood on the island did not allow the natives to specialize in any one kind of material. However we must not exaggerate the flimsiness of these structures. The Spaniards under Gonzalez (90, p. 123) visited a house whose doorway was framed "on some six poles of 4 varas [yards] long and a span in thickness." The structure of the ancient houses is known through the short but precise description by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 256), engineer of the La Pérouse expedition. He had an opportunity to study a long house, probably an assembly house, which was in process of construction near the present village of Hanga-roa:

> The rafters were slender poles fixed at their lower ends in the holes of the stone curbs. They were bent over and crossed at their upper ends with the opposite rafters, being lashed to the ridgepole structure. This disposition, well remembered by the natives, accounts for the narrowness of the houses. The middlemost rafters were the highest and sometimes reached 10 feet, though 6 feet was the average height. The other rafters gradually diminished in length, those at the ends of the house being hardly 2 feet high. Thus the roof of the house formed a long arch. This semi-elliptical shape was not invariable, for some huts made "towards the middle, either in the ground plan or the elevation, a sharper curvature than that of the ellipsis." The stakes which formed the ridgepole were supported by ridgeposts fixed in the ground at intervals of 10 feet. The need for ridgeposts is explainable only if we remember that, owing to the scarcity of wood, the rafters must have been of poor quality.

> Judging from the holes in the curbs, rafters were numerous; if they all joined a main post the interior of the house must have been rather obstructed by them. The rafters were connected by purlins "reaching along the whole length at two feet distance from each other." They gave strength to the whole structure and supported the thatching. 342

To build a house is *hato,* the term used in other parts of Polynesia for thatching. The Easter Island vocabularies give *hakamanga* for roof. The end of the house was called *pini.* The central ridgepost is said to have had magic in it, though present natives are unable to tell how it was manifest. The different elements of the frame were lashed together with ropes of *hau* bark (*hahau*) and great care was taken that the number of knots used in lashing should be odd, for fear of the bad luck connected with even figures. [801 777]

On Easter Island, wood was a precious and rare material, so when a house had to be abandoned because of fleas, "it was lifted by a dozen men who carried it to another spot, fastening it with poles stuck into the ground" (230, vol. 6, p. 122). 342 483

Thatching

Roggeveen (186, p. 118) describes the thatching of houses in the following terms: 342

> . . . Then the interstices, which are all of oblong shape, are closed up and covered over with a sort of rush or long grass, which they put on very thickly, layer upon layer, and fasten on the inner side with lashing . . . so that they are always as well shut in against wind and rain as those who live beneath thatched roofs in Holland.

According to Tepano, who saw houses of ancient type in his youth, the thatch (*hatunga*) was made of three superimposed layers:

> The first was a covering of mats (*moenga*); the second, a layer of sugar-cane leaves (*rau toa*); the third, a layer of grass (*mauku-ato*). The mats extended on the frame were similar to sleeping mats and were made of rushes (*Scirpus riparius*) sewn together with *hau* cords. The accuracy of this statement is borne out by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 256): "The whole [structure] is covered with rushes of nine or ten lines diameter at the lower end, united together like mats, by threads twisted with the hand." The use of sugar cane is mentioned by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 570), who describes the thatching as composed of "small sticks [purlins], and covered with a neat mat-work of sugar cane leaves, leaned on each row of stakes, forming a very sharp ridge or angle at the top and resting firmly on the ground at the bottom." The word "mat-work" may suggest that the Easter Islanders employed for thatching a method widely known in the rest of Polynesia (Cook Islands, Tahiti, Samoa, etc.) which consisted in covering the house with sheets made by doubling pandanus or sugar-cane leaves over a length of cane and sewing them together with a slender rod or coconut midrib. The threading of the midribs through the leaves is termed *tui* on Mangareva; and the verb *tuitui* means, on Easter Island, to "tie together, bind together." The number of purlins used in the framework is more appropriate for lashing of bundles of leaves and of grass than for the simple covering of sugar-cane sheets. Geiseler (87, p. 39), who did not see houses of the old type but describes them from information received, says that the frame was of *toro-miro* wood and that the intervals between the elements "were interwoven" with dry banana leaves (which he erroneously calls *hau*), then covered with sugar-cane stalks and leaves, and finally with long grass. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 122) likewise states that the huts were thickly covered with reed, sugar-cane stalks, or other grass so that the rain could not percolate into the interior. Neither description refers to sheets or mats, nor do they stress any differences in the way these layers were put on. My informant asserted that [171]

342 the bunches of grass (*mauku*) were laid against the purlins and lashed to the framework by means of banana bark strips. In the few houses that are still thatched, the grass or rushes are extended on the purlins in bundles and tied with string ("horizontal method"). Poles, parallel to the purlins and nailed to the rafters, hold the grass on the roof.

Small and cheaply built huts, retaining some features of the old ones, were made of reeds until quite recently.

Door

Formerly the door, *papare* (*haha, pu*; door opening), was always in the middle of one side of the house. It was a "hole about eighteen inches or two feet high, over which the people had built a round projecting funnel to keep off the wet" (83, vol. 1, p. 570). The porch was low and narrow "just to admit a man to enter upon all fours." (See 53, vol. 1, p. 292 and 186, p. 18.)

The house figured by La Pérouse (fig. 16), with a door located in the middle of each side but not directly opposite each other, was quite exceptional. Two parallel curbs in front of the door formed the basis of the porch mentioned by early voyagers. One of the old informants of Routledge (194, p. 216) told her that in addition to the main door there was an opening near each end by which the food was introduced, and then passed from hand to hand. Legends tell of characters escaping through this opening.

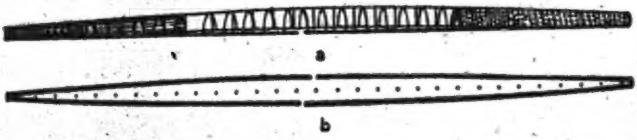


FIGURE 16.—*a*, large house in course of construction: length 310 ft. greatest width 10 ft., height at center 10 ft., height at ends 4 ft., width at ends 3 ft. (after La Pérouse, Atlas, pl. 12, figs. 5, 6); *b*, curbstones of house (*a*).

Loti (146, p. 265) says that he entered the house of a chief "whose door was guarded by two idols of granite." Probably this chief carved statuettes of soft stone for sale to travelers, and simply wanted to decorate the entrance of his house with the products of his art. However, two small stone pillars stood on each side of the entrance of a house with stone foundation at Ahu-te-peu (fig. 17). It seems very likely that the tops of these pillars were carved into human forms. Some stone houses at Orongo, which reproduce exactly the shape of the thatched huts, have entrances ornamented with carved stone pillars. According to Tepano, the ancient islanders placed wooden figures representing lizards on each side of the porches leading to their huts. The door was closed by a net with meshes small enough to prevent chickens from entering. After European contact, the door was located, by preference, at one end of the hut.

Pavement

In front of the house a semicircular space from 2 to 3 meters wide at the broadest part was paved with big rounded pebbles (*poreva*). There people spent their days working, chatting, or eating. The paved space (*paepae*) was sometimes decorated with small coral rocks. Roggeveen (186, p. 18) says that he saw "round about their dwellings certain big blocks of hewn stones, three or four feet in breadth, and fitted together in a singularly neat and even manner; and according to our judgement, these serve them for a stoop on which to sit and chat during the cool of the evening." 342

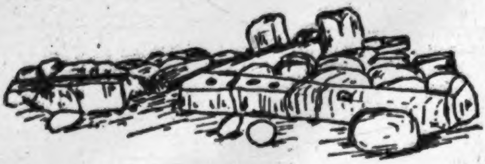


FIGURE 17.—Entrance to a house at Ahu-te-peu, showing two small pillars at each side of entrance, and curbstones with holes for rafters.

Interior of House

The inside of the house was dark and bare says Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 570): 342 362

> We crept on all fours into this opening and found the inside of the hut perfectly naked and empty, there being not so much as a wisp of straw to lie down upon. We could not stand upright in any part except just in the middle, and the whole place appeared dark and dismal. The natives told us they passed the night in these huts, and we easily conceived their situation to be uncomfortable, especially as we saw so very few of them that they must be crammed full, unless the generality of the people lie in open air, and leave these wretched dwellings to their chiefs, or make use of them only in bad weather.

The most vivid description of hut interiors is given by Eyraud (81, p. 60), who slept in them several nights: 342 362 513

> Imagine a half open mussel, resting on the edge of its valves and you will have an idea of the form of that cabin. Some sticks covered with straw form its frame and roof. An oven-like opening allows its inhabitants to go inside as well as the visitors who have to creep not only on all fours but on their stomachs. This indicates the center of the building and lets enter enough light to see when you have been inside for a while. You have no idea how many Kanacs may find shelter under that thatch roof. It is rather hot inside, if you make abstraction of the little disagreements caused by the deficient cleanliness of the natives and the community of goods which inevitably introduces itself. . . . But by night time, when you do not find other refuge, you are forced to do as others do. Then everyone takes his place, the position being indicated to each by the nature of the spot. The door, being in the center, determines an axis which divides the hut into two equal parts. The heads, facing each other on each side of that axis, allow enough room between them to let pass those who enter or go out. So they lie breadthwise, as commodiously as possible, and try to sleep.

362
513
An old man showed Routledge (194, p. 216) how they slept in the huts: "This was parallel to the long axis of the house, the head being towards the door; the old people were in the center in couples and the younger ones in the ends."

Size of Houses

342
The houses must have varied considerably in size. Bernizet (130, vol. 2, pp. 256-257), after describing one of 300 feet, says: "The small cabins are of the ordinary form; the most of them so very small as not without difficulty to afford room enough for six persons."

The largest house on Easter Island of which dimensions have been recorded is that figured in La Pérouse's atlas (130, vol. 2, p. 256) and reproduced here (fig. 16). This enormous hut, which could easily shelter 200 individuals, was probably a community house (*hare-nui*). Judging by their remains, ancient houses were generally 10 to 15 meters long and 1.5 to 2 meters broad, giving shelter to about 30 persons. The largest house foundation measured is 40 meters long and 4 meters wide. These figures correspond roughly to estimates made by early visitors to the island (186, p. 17; 5, p. 356; 15, vol. 1, p. 55; 146, p. 274).

Disappearance of Ancient Houses

342
177
In 1877 Pinart (178, p. 238) noticed that most of the huts were made of wood from wrecked ships and in the fashion of European cabins. At that time, few reed houses were to be seen in Hanga-roa. This change in the type of house was caused by the wrecking of a ship loaded with timber from Oregon. Under the guidance of a Danish carpenter, the natives built plank houses 25 feet long and 15 feet wide. Most of the buildings received light through very small doors, but some had windows and windowpanes. The roofs were made of planks or covered with banana leaves or long grass. The floors were of earth or covered with straw. In 1886 "several rough bedsteads and chests" were already in use (215, p. 454).

The small grass huts, which survived until 1917 (208, vol. 1, pl. 10), have now disappeared. The Easter Islanders who were deported to Tahiti early in the twentieth century erected huts in the old native style. However, many details of the structure show pronounced Tahitian influences (7, pl. 9). Modern houses on Easter Island are made of planks imported from Chile, and built on short piles to escape the humidity and the annoyance of rats. They are divided into rooms and provided with heterogeneous furniture from Chile. The old thatch roofs have been replaced by corrugated iron. Near the house is generally a little shed where cooking is done, mostly on small metal stoves imported from Chile. Tepano was the only islander to use stones in the construction of his hut, and was one of the few who slept on the floor. [352]

Household Furniture

The furniture in the ancient huts was extremely scanty, consisting of 352 mats spread on the floor, stone pillows (*ngarua*), calabashes for water (fig. 15, *d*), baskets for food, and wooden images or tablets hanging from the thatching. Mats (*moenga*) were made of reed (pl. 2, *C*) and the fine specimens were highly valued. In modern houses, people who have no matress sleep on layers of grass, called *heriki* when used for this purpose. Their ancestors are said to have covered themselves with grass. The square stone [532 pillows (fig. 15, *c*) were often decorated with straight lines or with the 831] stylized representation of the vulva. Such pillows were not used elsewhere in Polynesia where wood was abundant. A single specimen of a carved stone [171] pillow has been found in Hawaii (25, p. 125, fig. 102).

COMMUNITY HOUSES

Wealthy people built special large houses called *hare-nui* to shelter their 342 guests during a feast (*koro*). There must have existed a sort of competition between the feast givers as to who could erect the largest *koro* house. As on Mangareva, they were decorated with images (see p. 262).

KITCHEN SHELTERS

Tepano assured me, though I could not verify his statement, that the ancient inhabitants of the island sometimes erected simple shelters to protect them from wind and rain. They placed in the ground seven rafters (*oka matua*) whose lower ends were curbed and upper ends tied to a horizontal pole (*hahaga*) supported by two vertical posts (*oka pou*). Horizontal sticks were tied to the rafters; then the whole structure was covered with reeds (*ngaatu*), sugar-cane leaves (*rau toa*), and grass (*mauku*). These easily constructed huts were readily abandoned and were probably analogous to the 343 light structures built around the oven to form a kitchen. The oven was "palisadoed to the windward" (130, vol. 2, p. 256). People enjoyed sitting in front of or around the cooking place, where the men took their meals (87, p. 39).

BOAT HOUSES

Near the pier of Hanga-roa are some sheds where the islanders keep their boats. With the exception of the thatched roof, nothing in the structure of such sheds is old. The roof, which is supported by stakes set at wide intervals, is composed of transverse sticks between which meager bunches of straw are stuck. The walls are made of piled stones.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN THATCHED HOUSES

The general shape of the Easter Island thatched house resembles the small, 342 low huts with elliptical floor plan of the Tuamotus (in former days) and 171 Rapa. The curving walls formed by bent rafters of Easter Island houses are

342 also typical of Tuamotuan, Rapan, and Mangarevan houses. In the Tuamotuan house the ridgepole rests on or is suspended from curved rafters, but
171 there are no ridgeposts and the horizontal ridgepole is of one piece. Rapan houses have only one curved wall, formed by curved rafters sunk into the ground at one end and lashed to the ridgepole at the other; the other side of the roof rests on a wall plate. Mangarevan houses have a curved rear wall, somewhat different from the Marquesan which is slanting. The curved walls are also similar to those of canoe houses of the widespread Polynesian type (Samoa, Society Islands, Rapa, etc.). However, the structure of the canoe house resulted from the necessity of having a roof with no ridgeposts to interfere when the outrigger canoe was hauled into the shed. Consequently this type of house can hardly be used for comparative purposes.

The funnel-like door of Easter Island houses is unparalleled in Polynesia and must be considered as a local development. The position of the door in the middle of the side links the Easter Island house more closely with the Mangarevan or the Rapan type than with the Tuamotuan which had the door at one or both ends.

The thatching technique of Easter Island in which bundles of grass are lashed to horizontal battens is called by Buck (ms. in B. P. Bishop Museum) the "horizontal method." This technique was used in Hawaii, New Zealand, and the eastern Tuamotus. Buck holds that the horizontal method was more ancient than the "vertical oblique" method used in central Polynesia, and that it was brought by the early groups of people into Polynesia, where it survived in the marginal areas.

Easter Island is the only place in Polynesia where rafters were sunk in the upper surface of stone curbs, but stone curbs outlining the house occur commonly in Mangareva and occasionally in the Society (77, p. 105) and Hawaiian islands.

Since houses with stone curbs were not the most common, pavement cannot be considered a fundamental feature of the Easter Island houses. Pavements in front of the houses existed on Mangareva, in the Cook Islands (33, p. 2), occasionally in Rapa, and in the Society Islands (77, p. 12). The Marquesan and Hawaiian houses which rested on stone platforms had in front of them an open terrace evenly paved. In dry and level places certain Marquesan houses were built on a simple pavement (141, p. 272).

These comparisons show that the Easter Island house does not stand as an isolated type in Polynesia. Unique features are the result of local conditions and the dearth of suitable material for house building. The most characteristic of these aberrant features is the curving of the ridgepole. Such form was imposed by the lack of rafters of equal length which could have maintained the ridgepole horizontal.

STONE HOUSES

CHICKEN HOUSES

Ancient Easter Island hen houses (*hare moa*) were rectangular heaps of 235
stones with a long, narrow, chamber reached by two long, narrow passages. 343
Anyone intending to steal had to remove the stones and consequently make a 172
noise which would attract the owners. Near the ancient village of Vai-tarakai-ua is a hen house still in good condition.

The lower part is made of basalt blocks heaped and adjusted with great care. The size of the stones decreases toward the top, and the upper part is composed of small stones, piled at random. The whole building is rectangular with both ends slightly curved. Two small passages lead to the central chamber. One of the entrances is surmounted by an arched stone. Under the opening two superimposed stones make a kind of staircase. The structure is 7.3 meters long, 3.3 meters wide, and 1.8 meters high.

STONE HOUSES AT ORONGO

A detailed survey of the village of Orongo was made by the Routledge 361
expedition (195). It is briefly summarized here. The houses composing the village of Orongo stretch in two rows along the narrow ridge between the crater and the sea cliff on the southern rim of Rano-kao. At one point, the two rows overlap one another.

The houses are made of slabs which come from a natural quarry below the village 342
on the crater side (pl. 3, *B*). The rock "is a fine grained volcanic sandstone bedded in large laminae." Despite numerous variations, these houses are all built according to the same general pattern. They have an oval or elliptical ground plan and their structure, like that of the thatched houses, suggests the form of an upturned canoe. The back walls rest against rocks or the slope of the volcano rim. In some places the ground has been excavated to obtain a level space. The foundations are made of rough cubes of stone, laid in the form of an oval. The inner side of the foundation course is lined with large vertical slabs which are set on edge and diminish in height from the center to the ends. The walls which have an average thickness of 1.5 to 1.8 meters, are remarkably solid. They are made of small or shattered fragments, "laid in horizontal course with broken joints." The spaces between the courses are filled flush with small stones. The back wall is lined on the outside with rough, wedge-shaped slabs, held in place by earth filled against them. The front wall has no external vertical slabs. The masonry has niches and shelves. There is sometimes a hatch between two adjoining houses and certain of them have inner annexes. The slabs or laminae set above the walls are "imbricated or 'tumble-home' till the opening is reduced to such a size that it can be spanned by a series of single slabs, thus completing the arch or roof. For these roofing slabs the curved laminae are chosen, and they are often of such dimensions that ten men would be required to move a single slab into place."

Like the thatched huts, these stone houses have the door in the middle of one side. This doorway is a sort of tunnel, lined on all sides by slabs, with two uprights and a lintel at the entrance. Some houses have a sill, formed by a slab sunk vertically into the ground, so that its upper edge is flush with the surface of the door. Some houses have two apertures, and in a few the aperture is double, the two passages being side by side.

When finished, these houses are covered with a thick layer of soil (at places 70 cm. deep). The slabs opposite the door are painted with representations of birds, European boats, dancing paddles, or the figure of the god with big eyes. Lintels or slabs in the houses are frequently covered with engraved vulvas. Outside a house there may be pits lined with stones, which serve as ovens or storage places.

The size of these houses varies greatly. The largest measures about 10 meters by

342 6 meters and the smallest, 2.56 by 1.2 meters. The height is between 1.3 and 2 meters. There are 49 such houses.

The last houses of the lower row overlap the carved rocks of Orongo and were built after the sculptures were made.

Among the stones used in building the village of Orongo are some curbs from the thatched huts. Like Routledge, I think that the natives first tried to build thatched huts at Orongo. When they realized that such houses could not withstand the winds, they utilized the laminae of the quarry near by, applying a technique which they had learned in building ahus. It is nevertheless quite surprising that they retained the general plan derived from wooden and grass huts. The village of Orongo is a local development and an improvement on previously known methods.

CANOES

501 Early visitors to Easter Island were surprised to find canoes there, as the barrenness of the country seemed little fitted to provide wood for construction. All those who describe Easter Island canoes manifest the same admiration for the ingenious and patient way small pieces of wood had been assembled to make the hull. "Their canoes," writes Roggeveen (186, p. 19), "are fitted together of small boards and light frames, which they skilfully lace together with very fine laid twine made from the above mentioned vegetable product, piet." One of Gonzalez's officers estimated that these "narrow boards" were "about a cuarta [roughly a span] in width" and were fastened together with wooden pegs. This statement probably refers to small patches inserted with pegs to mend imperfections in the wood. Cook (53, vol. 1, pp. 292-293) noticed in the structure of one canoe "a board 6 or 7 feet long, 14 inches broad at one end, and 8 at the other; whereas we did not see a stick on the island that would have made a board half that size; nor indeed was there another piece in the whole canoe, half so big." This big plank was either left by Gonzalez or was a piece of driftwood. La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 76) describes the planks of the canoes as very narrow and 4 or 5 feet long. In 1886, Thomson (215, p. 474) saw in a cave two very old canoes which were used as coffins. They were made of several kinds of wood which do not grow on Easter Island and therefore must have been driftwood. In general, sources agree as to the form of the hull.

The canoes were very narrow and had raised and curved stem and stern pieces and a comparatively low middle (186, p. 19; 53, vol. 1, p. 292; 83, vol. 1, p. 558). The boat depicted by La Pérouse (fig. 18, *a*) complies with this description. It has upturned ends but the projections are broad, flat, and rounded instead of being pointed as indicated by Roggeveen. Choris' sketches (fig. 18, *b*, *c*) indicate that both ends of the canoe were extended, resembling a narrow bowsprit. In Hornell's estimation (109, p. 98) this projection is about 15 inches long.

The outrigger (*ama*) is mentioned in the report of Gonzalez's expedition and is described by Forster as made of three slender poles (two booms and a float). In the original drawing by La Pérouse's artist, Blondela, the distal ends of the two slender booms are forked and fit over the float to which they are lashed. The proximal ends of the booms are attached to the gunwales. One of the canoes sketched by Choris (fig. 18, *b*) has a double outrigger formed of short, thin booms resting horizontally on the gunwales and supporting two slender floats. Another (fig. 18, *c*) shows no float but it has outrigger booms near the ends of the canoe. To the extremities of these booms are lashed the ends of a curved rod, bent almost double, and lashed at the center to the bow and stern projections. This horseshoe frame suggests a contrivance used on the sterns of Tuamotuan canoes of Tatakoto (109, p. 62). My informant on Easter Island remembered having heard of hoof-shaped frames at the ends of canoes and tried to explain certain obscure designs which accompany the representation of boats on petroglyphs as attempts made by native artists to figure the hoof-shaped parts of their craft. My informant was positive that the bowed frames were supports for nets or lines.

The drawings in which the outrigger floats cannot touch the water (fig. 18, *b-c*) are very likely inaccurate; the original sketch, from which the La Pérouse drawing was made (fig. 18, *a*), shows an attempt to represent a curved boom. Although the outriggers of Easter Island canoes were composed of slender poles, I doubt whether they were merely the "vestigial attachments" that Hornell supposes. Their flimsiness was probably imposed by lack of suitable wood. Surely a people with a scarcity of wood would not take the trouble to fix useless floats on their canoes purely for decoration. Floats of Tuamotuan canoes were likewise very slender, but nevertheless served their purpose.

It is doubtful whether the boat drawn by Choris (fig. 18, *b*) really had a double outrigger. The square frame formed by the outrigger booms may be analogous to the bowed withy. On the other hand, it would not be surprising for a native to think of attaching a second outrigger to compensate for the inefficiency of a single float too slender to insure the balance of the boat. The existence of the double outrigger on Easter Island rests on too weak ground to be considered a feature peculiar to the culture.

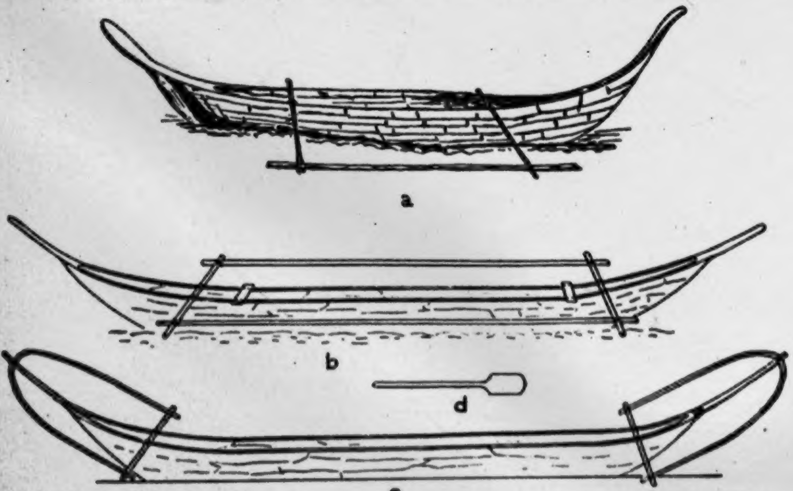


FIGURE 18.—Canoes: *a*, canoe (after original sketch by Blondela, 1780, in Archives du Ministère de la Marine, Paris); *b,c,d*, canoes and paddle after Choris (1822-26).

The length of the canoes has been variously estimated. Roggeveen (186, p. 19) says that they were 10 feet long "not counting the high and pointed stem and stern pieces. Their width is such that, with their legs packed close

501 together, they can just sit in them so as to paddle ahead." Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 292) gives the length of canoes as 18 or 20 feet; this is clearly an overstatement, corrected by Forster who estimates the size of the canoes at 10 or 12 feet. Kotzebue (127, vol. 7, p. 137) speaks of canoes 5 to 6 feet long and 1 foot wide. Four persons were the limit of their capacity. Generally they were manned by two persons, frequently women.

The Easter Island canoes leaked a great deal, forcing the natives to
[824 spend much time bailing. A moss called *para* (*Campylopus hydrophilus*) was
used for caulking the seams. This *para* grows in great abundance on the
823] surface of the crater lake of Rano-kao. Black earth (*varekahi*) which dried
in the air was also used for the same purpose.

177 501 When the firm of Brander was exploiting the island, several Tahitians who accompanied Salmon to Easter Island introduced Tahitian canoes, which were still used in 1911. Knoche (123, p. 189) mentions four of them, each provided with an outrigger. The tradition of canoes, given by my informants, referred partially to these boats of Tahitian type; however, several details are probably genuine.

I was told that the best wood for canoe making was the *hau* (*Triumfetta semitriloba*). Planks from this tree were sometimes about 20 cm. broad and fairly long. Their edges were beveled or rabbetted for close fitting. The pieces of wood or "patches" were sewed together by cords passing through holes pierced through the margins, and the holes were caulked with moss. The hull was painted like a checkerboard, white and dark. Canoes decorated thus were called *papa hakatara*. The outrigger described by my informant is the typically Tahitian one with indirect attachment.

The general Easter Island name for any craft is *vaka*. *Vaka poepoe* is either a canoe or a whaleboat. The keel is *tino*. The bow, *oho o te vaka*; the stern, *tua o te vaka*; the gunwale, *vaivai*. The booms are the *kiato*; the float, *ama* (*hamae*, Roussel; *amatiatia*, Brown, 27, p. 285); the thwarts, *pepe*. The projecting stern and bow pieces are *vaero*, which on the king's craft were decorated with wreaths of feathers.

501 Though Roggeveen says that the natives had many canoes, all the travelers who visited the island after him stressed the small number of canoes seen. In 1770 the Spaniards (90, p. 121) found only two, and they believed that these were all that the islanders had. Cook reports only three or four canoes. La Pérouse observed no more than three canoes at the same place and foresaw that in the near future, through want of wood, there would be no canoes left on the island. Kotzebue reports only two canoes in 1816. Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 40) says that "three canoes were noticed hauled up on the shore" in 1825. In 1838, Admiral du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 227) passed along La Pérouse Bay and received the visits of natives who came in five canoes. In each canoe were two men and a woman who "was crouching or lying on her breast so as not to be an obstacle to the movement of the craft or perhaps to give it more stability." He estimates at 12 the total number of canoes which he saw along the north and the west coasts.

James Hamilton, master of the *Prudence* who fought with the Easter

Islanders in 1856, saw several European boats in possession of natives. He thinks that few canoes were made on the island. 501 One of my informants, a woman of good judgment, told me that while fishing her grandfather was carried by a storm to Salas y Gomez reef, 200 miles from Easter Island. On his return he had a boat tattooed on his cheek to commemorate his adventure. 504 211 If this voyage was actually made, it was certainly on a whaleboat.

When Eyraud went to the island for the first time the natives insisted that he build a boat for them. The missionary was reluctant, for he doubted that the wood supply was sufficient for that. The natives, who were not disheartened, shouted, "We have more wood than we need," and they collected every available scrap. With their help, Eyraud built a boat, which proved wholly inadequate when launched. When an Easter Islander, who had been absent for a few years, returned, chiefs with their retainers seized the boat on which he was coming ashore and fought for its possession until the boat was destroyed (230, vol. 6, p. 121).

These incidents express strikingly a deep-rooted love of navigation, despite the handicaps of nature.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN CANOES

The Polynesians who colonized Easter Island must have traveled in double canoes. 501 173 This is substantiated by the tradition that Hotu-matua and his followers arrived in two boats lashed together. The expression "a piece of wood," that Hornell (109, p. 103) interprets as referring to a raft, is an erroneous translation of the word *oraora,* the name of the craft on which traveled the six scouts sent by Hotu-matua (p. 56).

Easter Island canoes, though poor, retained traits which connect them 501 171 with boats of other more favored parts of Polynesia. The typical raised ends of Easter Island canoes are characteristic of those in the Tuamotus (old model of a canoe), the Marquesas, New Zealand, Hawaii, and Mangareva. The upturned ends of Easter Island canoes (fig. 18, *a*) had a spatulate form which might be compared with the curved terminal of Hawaiian canoes, though these are much lower.

Evidence that double-outrigger canoes existed on Easter Island is exceedingly weak, resting solely on Choris' drawing. However, it has been accepted by Dixon (60, p. 76) who considers the supposed Easter Island double outrigger to be a sign of former, wider distribution of this type in Polynesia. As other proofs of the presence of double outriggers in Polynesia, Dixon refers to New Zealand, the Marquesas, and Samoa about which he is dubious. Hornell (109, pp. 31, 198) discards, with convincing arguments, the former existence of the double outrigger in New Zealand and in the Marquesas. A loose use of words is responsible for the statement that double outriggers exist in Samoa (109, p. 239). If the double-outrigger canoe was

501 really known on Easter Island, this would be exceptional not only for Easter
171 Island but also for Polynesia in general.

The booms of Easter Island canoes were connected directly to the float. This so-called direct attachment has the following distribution in Polynesia: Hawaii, the outer Tuamotus, Rimatara and probably other Austral Islands, the Cook Islands (except Aitutaki), Tutuila (Samoa), and formerly the Marquesas. In the direct attachment type, the booms may be lashed to the float or inserted in it. The exact Easter Island method is not known, but, if the original sketch for the plate in La Pérouse's atlas (fig. 18, *a*) is correct, the booms of the outrigger terminated in forks holding the float, a method which is known nowhere else in Polynesia. Supplementary lashing must have existed, though it is not shown in the sketch. Possibly one point of the fork was inserted into the float as in the Cook Islands floats (109, pp. 163, 166).

RAFTS

481 The natives made up for the shortage of canoes by developing a remarkable skill in swimming. When a ship came in sight they all jumped into the
609 water and tried to reach it, even if it was far away. Captain Rugg of the bark *Prudence* told Dumont d'Urville (63, vol. 3, p. 387) that when he passed Easter Island, natives did not hesitate to swim 2 miles in a rough sea to board his ship. Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 228) says that women moved the legs and arms alternately in swimming while the men moved them at the same time.

501 The Easter Islanders used rafts (*pora*) made of bulrush mats, rolled into big, conical bundles. The swimmer reclined on the thicker part of the bundle which he grasped firmly with his hand while he paddled with his feet. According to my informant some of these bundles were 7 feet long and could be used simultaneously by two persons. Lisiansky (143, p. 58) is the first voyager to mention the *pora*. He describes it as a "rush mat which he [a native] used as support in swimming." Two of the islanders who boarded Du Petit-Thouars ship came on *pora*. "We were very much surprised,"
[609] writes Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 231), "to notice that each of these natives was riding on a reed roller, of the form of a wheat sheaf. They brought us in order to be welcomed, bananas, sweet-potatoes and yams, enclosed in their reeds." The carrying of food in *pora* was often described to me by islanders and said to be the usual method for taking food to the *manu-tara* egg hunters on Motu-nui (p. 335). A *pora* illustrated in the atlas of Du Petit-Thouars is conical and slightly curved (fig. 33, *a*). It is approximately 5 feet high; the reeds are tied together at four different places. Palmer (171, p. 172) compares the float to "a very large elephant tusk, made of sedge, rushes, etc."

Before planks were introduced, natives used *pora* for surf riding. The natives seen about 1838 by the captain of the *Prudence* had substituted planks.

PADDLES

Wood shortage is again reflected in Easter Island paddles (*mata-kao*; *hoe-hoe*, to paddle), which were made of two pieces: a separate blade (*pararaha*), lashed to a long handle (*kukuru*). Two complete paddles were collected by Thomson (215, p. 538, pl. 59), who describes them as "very old and highly

prized by the islanders as the only specimen of the scull-oar used by their 501
ancestors." Bishop Museum has three blades, of which one, half rotten, is very old and a good specimen (B3631). (See fig. 19.)

The front part of one paddle blade has a very light depression in the middle which is more accentuated, almost a groove, in the modern pieces. The upward projection to which the handle was lashed, has been hollowed out so that the butt of the stick lies between two raised borders and is fixed against a raised shoulder. At the lower end of the longitudinal depression, on either side, are two large holes through which the lashing was passed. On the back the upward projection has a flange, almost a knob, near the poll to prevent the tie from sliding out. The blade itself has a high median flange (93 mm. high in one specimen and 72 mm. in the others). This crest terminates in a round and flattened knob somewhat compressed in front. This knob (*ponga kekepu*), probably intended to give a pendulum swing to the paddle, rejoins in a continuous curved line the surface of the front side. The terminal knob has a piece of bone or tooth incrusted in the wood. Hooks were sometimes incised on the flanges. The handle lashed to the blade was a long piece of wood with a flange at the distal end.

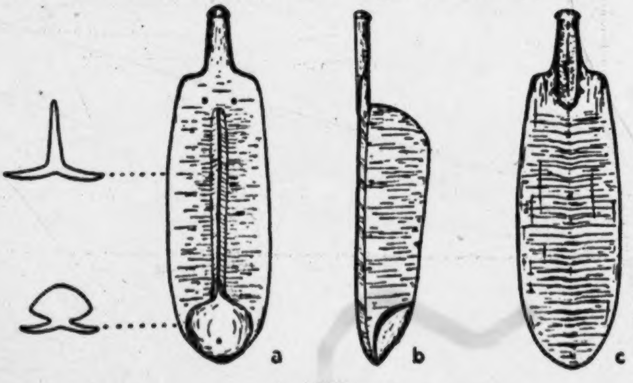


FIGURE 19.—Canoe paddle (*mata-kao*, B3631), blade 552 mm. long, and 133 mm. wide, handle fastened against upward projection 106 mm. long and 52 mm. wide; blade rounded and slightly curved backward: *a*, front with raised flange; *b*, lateral showing knob; *c*, back of paddle.

Hornell (109, p. 100) is misled by Thomson in regarding dance paddles (*ao*) as representative of the ancient type of paddle used on Easter Island 293
and the actual paddles as scull oars. Dance paddles had nothing to do with navigation and are not derived from any known implement. The composite paddle with high median flange is very accurately reproduced in Lavis de Dubois de Vancy's original drawing (see also 83, vol. 1, p. 558). This and the unanimous testimony of the natives prove that these paddles were actually used.

The Easter Island composite paddle is unique, yet it has in common with 501
the Marquesan and Mangarevan paddles a stout knob at the distal end. This 171

501 171 knob is bulkier than those of other islands and lacks the beaked shape which characterizes both the Marquesan and Mangarevan paddles. On one face of Tuamotuan paddles is a median flange which prolongs the handle and stops near the distal end, also provided with a knob. The other surface has a ridge continuous to the tip. Some Hawaiian paddles (109, p. 17) have a small rib at the tip. Cook Islands paddles are characterized by a raised flange.

CORDAGE

283 [824] Cords (*hau*) were made of *hau* (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) or paper mulberry bast. The bark was stripped off the tree, the outer surface scraped away, and the bast allowed to dry. The fibers were rolled on the bare thigh into strands which were twisted together. The number of plies in ropes varied according to the size and strength required. Now only fine cords are made, principally for trade. Geiseler (87, p. 49) says that bulrush bast was used for making ropes, but he is certainly mistaken, for bulrush fibers are not strong enough for cords and natives never mentioned the bulrush among the cordage material. A microscopic analysis by Dr. Roland W. Brown of the seine net (*kupenga maito*) in the National Museum in Washington showed that the twine was made of paper mulberry fibers. Thomson (215, p. 460) speaks of the *hau* bark and of a native hemp. No hemp grows on the island and it is impossible to know to what plant Thomson alludes. [826] Braided human hair (*hiri*) was very popular on Easter Island for cords. Even in Tahiti the Easter Islanders made such braids (56, p. 321).

MATS

285 [764] Mats were termed *moenga* (thing-to-sleep-on); thus the name defines the principal use. Mats were also worn by women instead of tapa cloaks. Dead people were wrapped in mats, and many mat fragments were found in the tombs. Rolled into big bundles, mats formed swimming floats (*pora*). Not a single mat is to be had nowadays, but natives remember the general principle of technique, which is illustrated in two reed mats collected by Geiseler and stored in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (pl. 2, *C*).

The reeds (*Scirpus riparius*) come from the lakes of Rano-aroi and Rano-kao. They were split open with the thumb nail and allowed to dry for a few days before the soft substance was scraped out with the nails. The strips were then sewn together with doubled lengths of *hau* string spaced at intervals along the length of the strips. For technique see figure 20.

The mat shown in plate 2, *C*, is 159 cm. long by 107 cm. wide. It has 16 weft lines which are spaced about 10 cm. apart or nearly 4 inches. Another mat in the Berlin Museum (VI.4971) is 195 cm. by 187 cm. An informant writes that the ends of the strips were fastened by two strings that were knotted around each strip, but this technique does not appear in the mat figured in plate 2, *C*.

BASKETS

Food that natives traded to the Cook expedition was presented in large mat bags of very neat workmanship (83, vol. 1, p. 590). A woman depicted by Du Petit-Thouars' artist (65, atlas, pl. 44) has such a basket hanging at her side. It is large and has a rounded lower edge. Baskets procured by various expeditions are well represented in collections. 285

Baskets were made of bulrushes or of material stripped from the outer side of banana trunks. The rushes were split and dried, divided into strips with the thumb nail, and then plaited. Rush baskets are no longer made and all the specimens obtained by the Franco-Belgian Expedition, as well as those seen in museums, are of banana material. Such baskets are still made for trade. 439

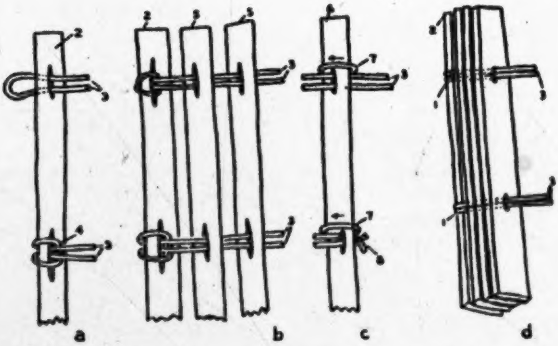


FIGURE 20.—Technique of rush mats: *a*, doubled end (1) of *hau* string was pushed through a slit made in first strip (2) forming the commencement edge, and the free ends (3) were drawn through the loop as in 4 to fix the string; *b*, double string (3) was passed through slits made in each succeeding strip (5, 5) until the required width of the mat was attained; *c*, one of the two strips (3), after passing through the slit on the last strip (6), made a complete turn (7) around the strip and the two ends were knotted together (8); *d*, in the completed mat, the strips were drawn close together so that the surface was formed of the edges of the opened out rushes and the connecting weft strings (3) were concealed except for the loops (1) on the first strip (2), and the knotted ends on the last strip.

The banana material consists of the dry parts of the leaf sheaths which enclose the trunk. It is torn off in wide strips which are cut to the required length of the wefts. The wide strips are split into narrower strips and these again are split into wefts of the required width but left unsplit at one end of the strip to make the plaiting commencement easier. The unsplit butt ends are crossed diagonally to provide sinistral and dextral wefts. This technique is widely spread and has been termed the double butt commencement by Buck who has described it in detail in the pandanus plaiting of the Cook Islands (33, p. 110) and Samoa (34, p. 217). The body of the basket is plaited in twilled twos and the bottom closed with a 2-course braid described in detail by Buck (30, pp. 134, 135) for Tongareva. Briefly, the basket which forms a cuff is pressed together so that the plaited edge of one rim comes together in a line. Commencing at the far end, the worker plaits the free ends of the wefts inclined toward her into a continuous braid and, when she reaches the near end, she continues the braid as a free 3-ply braid which she finishes off by making a half hitch with one ply around the other two plies. She reverses the

285 basket, and the wefts that were turned away from her in the first course are now inclined toward her. Commencing again at the far end, she braids the second course above the first and finishes off as before with a free tail fixed by a half hitch. The basket thus has a short free braid at each end of the bottom braid and the technique is identical with the 2-tail finish of Tongareva (30, p. 135, fig. 18, *f*).

The other edge formed by the unsplit ends of the wider strip is converted into a rim by running out the weft splits to form individual free weft ends. The Easter Island basket rim, according to Buck (personal communication), is peculiar in that it is made by two processes. The first is the forming of an edge by doubling over both sinistral and dextral wefts so that their free ends project on the outer side of the work and the second is the plaiting of the free ends into a 3-ply braid which is slightly below the rim edge. (See figure 21.)

The basket is plaited with its inner side out. On completion, the basket is turned inside out and the two tails at the bottom and the rim braid are inside the basket in their proper place.

531 Simple color patterns in crossed diagonal lines are introduced by using black wefts from the natural dark-colored parts of the banana material.

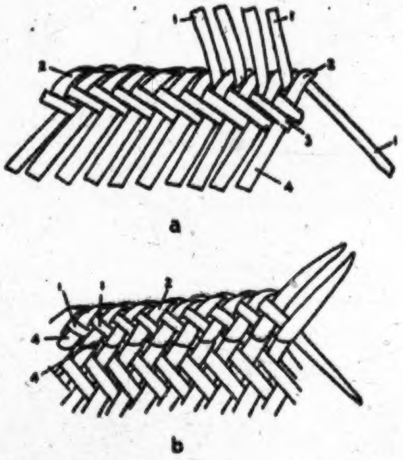


FIGURE 21.—Basket rim. *a*, first course: dextrals (1, 1) bent over rim at right angles to previous direction and caught under sinistrals (2), turned upward out of way of plaiting; the sinistrals (2) have also been turned at right angles over the rim and caught under two sinistrals (3) of the twill technique and the ends (4) left free; on the left, the dextral free ends are not shown and on the right, one (1) is shown in position before being turned upward: *b*, second course; the upper row of dextral free ends (1) engage the lower sinistral free ends (4) which are turned upward, to form a braid.

285
415 Baskets were named according to size, the smallest were called *kete-rau-hiri*; the carrying baskets were the *kete-turua* and were about 1 meter long and of the same width. The food taken from the earth oven was put into *taropa*. A basket was a *tukunga* when used as a tray for food.

TAPA

Paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), called *mahute*, was cultivated near the houses in stone enclosures (*manavai*, fig. 2). Today some paper mulberry trees grow wild on the inner slopes of Rano-raraku, but the steep sides of the crater can be reached only with great difficulty. 248

The best stalks for tapa making are the tender saplings which have neither side shoots nor buds. In ancient days they were collected by the men, who also peeled them. The bark must be peeled the same day or the day after the saplings are gathered. 287

A longitudinal slit is made with a knife (formerly an obsidian splinter) along the stalk, and the bark is pulled off with the hands (*ka iki te kiri*) to obtain the greatest possible length. The outer bark is separated from the inner bast (*ka huhure*) with a knife. The strips (*kohiti*) are rolled into coils to make them flat and smooth with the inner surface outside. The coils are soaked in fresh water for three or four days to loosen the fibers before final beating. Formerly they were first put in salt water, then in fresh water for several days. Women carried the strips of bast to the seashore and, squatting on the shore, beat the material for hours while their assistants carried water to sprinkle the bast. When they performed this work they were naked in order not to damage their clothing.

Tapa beaters (*ika*) were carved from *toro-miro* wood and were "about a foot long and 3 inches on each face. Some of the faces were smooth and others carved into grooves or ribs, to suit the different stages on the process of manufacture" (215, p. 467). Only two Easter Island tapa beaters have been preserved (fig. 22, *a*, *b*). Modern women use the first suitable branch to be found. 287 413

Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 664) says that polished stones were used for beating tapa, and this statement is borne out by present-day natives. In Bishop Museum (B3496) there is a stone labeled "pounder" which may possibly have served as a tapa beater. So far as we know, the Easter Islanders never pounded taro or any other kind of food as do many Polynesians. No instruments which could be identified as pounders have been found on the island. The so-called pounder in Bishop Museum has a natural conical shape that fits the hand. The base of the cone shows traces of use as if the specimen had been employed to pound or mash some soft substance.

The anvil was usually a smooth boulder of more or less square shape. Near old settlements the Franco-Belgian Expedition found big boulders with one surface showing traces of use. The natives pointed them out as ancient tapa anvils. In more recent times the Easter Island women beat their tapa on big logs.

The woman knelt in front of the anvil and gently beat the *mahute* (*tutu te mahute*) strips, sprinkling them repeatedly with water. Nowadays the beating process is short, and the tapa is rather coarse. Thomson (215, p. 467) mentions two kinds of tapa—one fine, the other coarse and heavy. After beating, the tapa sheets were carefully stretched with the hand to prevent wrinkling or bulging. They were extended (*hakatere*) between banana leaves and put in the air to dry. The strips were sewn together with needles and fine strings of *hau*. The needles (*ivi tia nua*) were generally of bird bones but perhaps some were of human bones. A great many are found in caves. Their length ranges from 3 to 21 cm., the most common length being 8 to 12 cm. Some needles are strongly curved; these are generally wide (0.5 cm.), and the side corresponding to the interior of the bone has a longitudinal depression. Single or double eyes are drilled near the rounded end of the needle.

287 413 Tapa strips were sewn together over the edge of a piece of wood carved into the form of a club (*paoa tia nua*) or a wooden or bone plate. A whalebone plate serving this purpose was collected by Geiseler (fig. 22, *c*) which is identical to a breast ornament (pp. 230, 231); its function as a support may be a later specialization.

294 287 Geiseler collected a robe made of four distinct layers of tapa. It is composed of basted strips 35 cm. wide which run across the longer side. The threads are 2-ply twisted cords forming rows of stitches at right angles to the length of the strips. The stitches are 1 cm. long, and at intervals of 4 to 5 cm. At the edges, the threads are brought back and fastened on the back surface with a running stitch 2 cm. long. Stitches were sometimes used for decorative purposes.

287 Two coarser tapa sheets were purchased by the Franco-Belgian Expedition. On both sheets, the strips are sewn together with irregular hemming stitches. The edges of the strips are sewn only where they tend to bulge. The sheets are sewn across with rows of basting stitches to hold the strips together. On one sheet these stitches are 7 or 8 cm. apart and on the other 2 cm. apart. The threads are fastened at the edges with a back stitch and the ends of the threads are lost in the material. No tapa from Easter Island shows any trace of the use of a glutinous substance to stick the strips together.

287
413

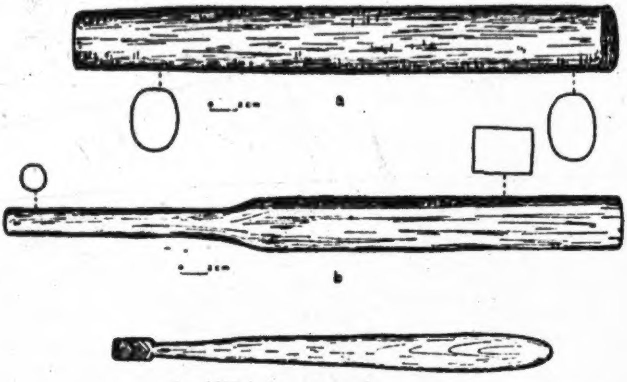


FIGURE 22.—Tapa beaters and support for sewing (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin): *a*, simple oval stick, probably a piece of wood picked up for temporary use and then discarded, 44.5 cm. long, diameter at center 5 cm. (VI.4876); *b*, flat beater with upper and lower surfaces slightly slanting toward proximal end, rounded, slightly pentagonal handle separated from beater by distinct shoulders on two sides, all surfaces smooth, shows signs of use; total length 46 cm., beater 4.5 cm. wide and 3.5 cm. thick, handle 2 cm. wide and 2 cm. thick at butt end (VI.4916, collected by Geiseler in 1884); *c*, wooden club used as support for sewing tapa, 102 cm. long (Geiseler coll. no. 61).

COMPARISON WITH TAPA ON OTHER POLYNESIAN ISLANDS

287 171 The paper mulberry did not thrive in the cold climate of Easter Island and the supply of bark cloth was always meager. The Easter Island tapa-making technique is, in general, identical with that of the rest of Polynesia.

The soaking of the bast in water for a few days—generally after a preliminary beating—is called "retting" by Burrows, who studied the distribution of this process. He considers it typical of central and marginal Polynesia (Rapa, Austral Islands, Cook Islands, Marquesas, Society Islands, and Hawaii). In western Polynesia retting occurs only in Tonga. Preliminary beating before soaking is not mentioned for Easter Island, Tonga, and Hawaii. 287 171

The square shape of the Easter Island tapa beater (fig. 22, *b*) resembles slightly the Mangarevan specimens. The relative thinness of the Mangarevan tapa beaters is due to the use of pandanus which affords only a thin slab of hard wood. The scarcity of wood on Easter Island may have brought about the same form. Tapa beaters were reconstructed for me by an intelligent native. Little ethnological value may be set on specimens patterned after dim recollections; but though not grooved, their general shape was fairly near the ordinary square tapa beater with rounded grip, usual in marginal and central Polynesia. 413 171

The anvil on which the bark was beaten was a square stone, because no logs were available. Stone anvils are described for the Marquesas (142, p. 473), but they do not seem to have been used in any other part of Oceania.

Easter Island is the only place in Polynesia where strips were fastened together by sewing. Elsewhere in eastern Polynesia the strips were felted together; in western Polynesia they were pasted. Tapa sewing was practiced in Hawaii to join together several sheets in order to make a blanket of many layers and sewing has been reported in the Society Islands (26, pp. 104-109). The basting stitch, used exclusively on Easter Island, is found on some old Hawaiian tapa. 287 171

Needles identical to those used on Easter Island for sewing tapa have been found in New Zealand and the Chatham Islands. They are probably pre-European, but no satisfactory suggestion has been made as to their use. The similarities between Easter Island and New Zealand needles are so great that details such as the occasional presence of two eyes on one needle, are present in both regions. The Easter Island needles like those of New Zealand have very small eyes which were bored by a technique which is puzzling. Steele (211, p. 187) supposes that in New Zealand these eyes were drilled either with a mature-bone drill on a green-bone subject, or by sawing on both sides of the needle with obsidian splinters until a hole appeared; the latter technique was apparently employed on Easter Island. Among the needles I collected on Easter Island some are curved, a form which also occurs in New Zealand. Needles with eyeholes were employed for sewing tapa in Hawaii, as on Easter Island. The specimens mentioned by Brigham are especially long and thick and more like the needles of Tonga, Fiji, and Wallis Island for sewing mat sails than the delicate bone needles of Easter Island. 412 287

CLOTHING

177 291 511 Winter months are decidedly cold on Easter Island, and heavy clothing is welcome. Present natives suffer from the cold, and one wonders how they withstood the rainy season with the scanty clothing they wore before European garments were introduced. Since their first contact with Europeans, Easter Islanders have shown a great eagerness for clothes. A shirt or a pair of pants is more valuable to them than any other European article. Fifty years ago both Geiseler and Thomson remarked that for clothes the natives would part with anything. Though present natives rationalize this desire by the necessity for protection against cold, the source of this passion for clothes is vanity (81, vol. 38, pp. 68):

> 291 They do not care to cover themselves in order to get protection from heat or cold, but they want to show off. Therefore they dress themselves, they adorn themselves, they load themselves with anything which may be hung on one way or another. The man who can secure a gown wears it, two if he has two. The woman who obtains a pair of trousers, a jacket or coat combines them all as elegantly as possible.

Today most of the men wear navy uniforms and the women, who have great difficulty in obtaining clothes, wear parts of uniforms. In olden days, however, women were always more fully dressed than men. The supply of paper mulberry was small and the native garments, though fundamentally like those of eastern Polynesia, were neither as various nor as plentiful as on other islands. Cook found a good market on Easter Island for his Tahitian tapa.

[855] Only children, the boys until twelve and the girls until nine years old, went naked. Though most of the early visitors state that the natives were naked, they generally add that the sexual organs were covered. Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 53) infers that some islanders were entirely naked, but he remarks that the "larger portion however wear a maro, made either of fine Indian cloth of a reddish colour, of a wild kind of parsley, or of a species of sea weed." Easter Island men who boarded the ship of Admiral du Petit-Thouars wore only a string around the waist, but they swam to the ship and may have left their *maro* ashore.

CLOTHING FOR MEN

[826 283] The most usual garment, especially for young men, was a bunch of grass (*mauku uta* or *mauku tai*), suspended from a string of women's hair which was the thickness of the little finger, and tied around the waist. This rudimentary garment is still remembered by the natives and was described by La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 63). Many natives wore hanging from their belts, instead of the bunch of grass, a "kind of net work . . . too thin to conceal anything from sight" or a "small bit of cloth six or eight inches long" (83,

vol. 1, pp. 561-563). The net was perhaps identical with the "tassels" that Palmer (171, p. 171) mentions as hanging at each end of the hair belt. 291

Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 291) describes the perineal band as "a slip of cloth betwixt their legs, each end of which is fastened to a cord or belt they wear round the waist." His statement is corroborated by Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 56) who refers to the perineal band as "a band of paper mulberry or other plant fastened to a string of human hair wrapped round the waist." According to Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 664) the belt formed the common clothing of men and women.

The ordinary *maro,* made of one piece of bark cloth, is recorded only for recent time. A young man sketched by Loti in 1872 has a one-piece *maro* around the waist (fig. 33, *b*). Geiseler (87, p. 29), who visited the island when the use of European clothes was general, defines the Easter Island *maro* as a narrow band of tapa wrapped round the waist "exactly as on the Marquesas." In its simplest form it was sufficient to cover the genitals. Some [386] *maro* were stained with turmeric (15, vol. 1, p. 53). My informant termed *maro* which were tightly bound *hami huki,* and those which were loosely tied and did not compress the penis, *hami toe.* He insisted that the end hung down in front. The piece of cloth passing between the legs is represented on several wooden images by a raised flange extending downward from the belt.

Both the typical Polynesian *maro* and the perineal band were probably in use, though the combination belt and band was apparently the most common for it is the only one described for the period when the old culture was unimpaired. The ordinary *maro* requiring a long strip of tapa was perhaps reserved for the wealthy or for festive occasions.

CLOTHING FOR WOMEN

Women are said to have worn some sort of covering (*hami*) over the genitals, the simplest one consisting of a belt and a bunch of grass. Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 42) describes the clothing of one of the "naiades" swimming around the boats as a "small triangular maro, made of grass and rushes." The women who went aboard the *Venus* in 1838 were naked but for a belt and a bunch of grass hanging from a second string under the belt. Both times this rudimentary garment was recorded it was imposed by circumstances, for the women could not have swum in tapa clothes. *Hami* are worn during the performance of tasks which might damage the waist cloth—for instance the beating of tapa or fishing. If the *hami* was worn constantly, it was covered at times by a short skirt or waist cloth.

The waist cloth (*maro; pareu,* Tahitian ?) was essentially a feminine garment. Roggeveen (186, p. 17) observes that three women wore a garment "reaching from the waist down below their knees," and this statement is confirmed by later visitors. Delano (5, p. 356), looking at the people from his

291 ship, recognized the women by their skirts. Women's waist cloths are represented as long in the drawings of La Pérouse and Choris. The waist cloth may sometimes have passed between the legs and become a *maro*. Poor women substituted mats for tapa, for Palmer (168, p. 280) mentions as a woman's garment "a petticoat of grass matting, which reached to the ankles."

A tale alludes to a *taura-renga*, "a belt stained with turmeric" that is removed before a woman beats and soaks tapa cloth. The stone image in the British Museum is said to have been adorned by such a belt; supposedly a rite in which this belt played a part was performed in the presence of the statue. Brown's statement to this effect (27, p. 112) was denied by the very informant who was alleged to have told it to him.

CLOAKS

The most conspicuous native garments, worn by both men and women, were the large painted robes (*kahu, nua*) that were thrown over the shoulders and covered the back. These cloaks, made of small sheets of tapa sewn together, were tied in front of the neck or over the right shoulder with a knot or a string (145, p. 66; 130, pl. 11). Sometimes wearers joined "the edges of the cloak by holding them together in their hands and thus draped themselves according to their taste and the length of the cloth" (230, vol. 5, p. 664; see also 49, pl. 11, fig. 2).

291
386 Robes were stained yellow or orange with turmeric. The ones on which the dye was spread by spitting the turmeric were called *kahu roroi*. Roggeveen (186, p. 13), who erroneously supposed these colors to be mineral, remarks that the dye was not fast "for when felt about and handled one finds the colour comes off on one's fingers, not only after touching new articles but also from old and worn ones." The painted border of a *nua* was called *pakipaki*. Some cloaks were particularly famous for their quality and the beauty of their stain. Tradition has it that when Tuu-ko-ihu coveted such a robe, which was worn by a warrior, he succeeded in getting it through magic.

291
554
556 Cloaks varied in length according to the status of the individual; those of chiefs fell down to the knees. However, cloaks were more commonly worn by women than by men, for whom they generally expressed wealth. Ancient clothing had already been discarded when Geiseler (87, p. 29) was told that the making of these robes required so much work that they were extremely valuable and that only the chiefs and kings could afford to wear them. Though this tradition is exaggerated and probably refers only to the large and beautiful cloaks, it explains why the use of this garment was not general. The best
291 tapa robe in existence is kept in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge (64850). This specimen, 1.69 by 1.21 cm., is formed of three layers of tapa sheets sewn

together with fine cords of native fiber (probably *hau*). One surface is stained with turmeric, the other is white. 291

There are still two or three women who are able to make large sheets of tapa in the style of the ancient *kahu*. The specimens I purchased from them are thick and soft. As the paper mulberry is scarce, these clothes are generally very expensive. [435]

Some women covered the upper part of their bodies with mats, but apparently cloaks of this material were not used by men (53, vol. 1, p. 291; 171, p. 171; 81, p. 56).

PERSONAL ADORNMENT AND DECORATION

Hairdresses

The men usually wore their hair moderately short, but some had long hair tied over the crown in a big topknot (*pukao*). This form of hairdress is mentioned by Roggeveen (186, p. 15) but inaccurately described as a tress coiled on the top of the head. An Easter Islander with a topknot is shown in figure 33, *a*. The first native whom Loti (146, p. 258) saw had his hair tied over the head with a "scabious" stem. The women usually wore their hair long and hanging down the back, but like the men they often wore it in a topknot or chignon. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 57) says that the "hair standing vertically in a bundle" is more widespread among women than among men. A ribbon-like strip of tapa (*hu*) tied the hair. 302

Hair was cut with an obsidian knife. The bird men shaved their heads entirely (*veru te puoko*) and mourning women perhaps did the same.

There is no tradition concerning bleaching of the hair, but a member of the Gonzalez Expedition (90, p. 96) writes: "The hair chestnut coloured and limp, some have it black, and others tending to red or a cinnamon tint." Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 52) noticed a man whose hair over the forehead was of a reddish ash-gray color. Loti (146, p. 258) saw a young man with red hair. As this color sometimes occurs naturally among the Polynesians it is impossible to decide whether or not hair was formerly bleached. Lacking traditional evidence, we may suppose that artificial bleaching was unknown. Now many women of the island smear their hair with sheep fat; fish oil is said to have been used formerly for this purpose.

In pre-European times most of the men wore beards, which early travelers describe as short—half an inch according to Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 558). Wooden images with goatees are evidence that this shape of beard was once fashionable.

Headdresses

Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 68) tells of the fondness of the Easter Island 301

301 natives for ornaments and especially for headdresses consisting of the most extraordinary things:

> Sometimes it was a hat decorated with buttons, a calabash, a half squash, or a sea bird whose carcass had been opened more or less carefully. One day I saw one of those fellows who had the funny idea of putting one bucket into another and covering his head with them. Another had found shoes left by the Peruvians. He had split them, joined them together and "shod" his head.

291 The immoderate fondness of the natives for headgear is well illustrated by the narratives of the first navigators who all complain about the loss of hats, which the natives coveted more than anything else. After a few hours ashore La Pérouse and his crew were hatless.

Today the Easter Islanders are still fond of headgear. Those who do not own European hats or caps of the Chilean navy, wear straw hats plaited by [285 177] the women in a technique which was introduced from Tahiti about 1875. These straw hats, of European origin but adapted by the Tahitians, are made on Easter Island from narrow bands of plaited straw wound spirally and sewn together with needle and thread. They are often decorated with artificial flowers or chicken feathers. The style is the same for men and for women.

Formerly, men wore feather headdresses and women wore rush hats of a type entirely different from the modern ones. Some natives have been 301 seen with wreaths of leaves or of dried seaweed on their heads. Even now one frequently sees a young girl with a wreath of leaves on her head worn more in fun than to adorn herself. Fifty years ago such decorations [178] seem to have been more common. Geiseler (87, p. 35) mentions in his notes that "the young girls, besides other ornaments, wear daily green wreaths of leaves on their heads and flowers behind the ears, as in the Society Islands." A middle-aged native told me that women used to wear wreaths of sweet-smelling flowers from the *ngaoho* (*Caesalpinia bonduc*). I have seen young women plait the flowers of the *miro-tahiti* (*Melia azedarach*) and walk [137 177] around proudly with heavy wreaths on their heads. The *miro-tahiti* is the only tree on the island which bears flowers that can be plucked for that purpose, and it has been introduced recently.

FEATHER HEADDRESSES

291 The feather headdresses of Easter Island preserved in European and American museums are of four types—circlets, diadems, crescents, and conical caps.

Circlets

Most of the early navigators who mention or describe feather headdresses refer to them as circlets, crowns, or diadems (186, p. 22; 90, p. 97; 53, vol. 1, p. 291; 15, p. 47). G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 565-566) noticed that they were not all alike and he distinguished two kinds:

> Many of the men wore a ring about two inches thick, strongly and curiously plaited of grass and sitting close round the head. This was covered with great quantities of the long black feathers which decorated the neck of the man of war bird . . . and still others wore a simple hoop of wood, round which a number of the long white feathers of a gannet hung nodding and waved in the wind. 291

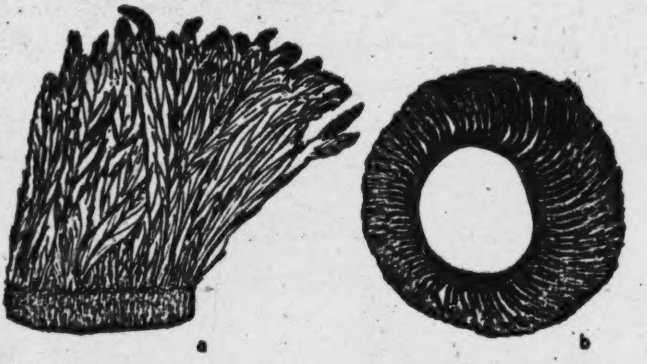


FIGURE 23.—Feather headdresses: *a*, diadem, band 45 mm. wide, feathers 390 mm. long (Univ. Pennsylvania Mus. 18053); *b*, circlet, four coils of frame wound with paper-mulberry bast string, coils superimposed and fastened together by seven strings at intervals of 80 or 90 mm., each feather bundle composed of seven or eight dark cock feathers split lengthwise and trimmed even at outer ends, wrapping of feathers 10 mm. long, feathers 110 mm. long, diameter of frame 180 mm., width of frame 40 mm. (5448).

No traveler except G. Forster alludes to circlets made of feathers of birds other than hens or cocks. Circlets are no longer used on Easter Island. At the time of Routledge (1914) there were some people who were still able to make them, but in the last 20 years cone-shaped caps have taken their place. The three circlets in Bishop Museum (fig. 23, *b*) and the other specimens I have examined in various museums are all made according to the same technique which is at once simple and very ingenious: 291 287

> The circlets consist of several superimposed coils of bast material to which are attached continuous lines of horizontally projecting feathers. The core of the coils is made of strips of paper mulberry bark, sometimes of rush, wound spirally with a strip of paper mulberry bast. (The technique is shown in figure 24.) Several of these coils are placed one above the other and lashed together at spaced intervals by string. Because each coil is independent of those above or below, this technique cannot be classed with coil work proper. It will be referred to as "false coil" work. The number of coils varies in different specimens: the three headdresses in Bishop Museum have respectively four, five, and six coils with a total depth of about 40 mm. A circlet in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22879), has a foundation coiled 10 times and a depth of 110 mm. Bundles of feathers, wrapped together with a strip of paper mulberry bark (fig. 24, *b*) are laid on the coils so that they project horizontally and are fastened by a string of *hau* or paper mulberry bark which runs transversely around the coil covering it entirely (fig. 24, *c*).

291 287 The headdresses I have seen are all made of chicken feathers. Most of them are black, but some are made of yellow, red, brown, speckled, and white feathers, used alone or in combination. In many headdresses the feathers are assembled without any modification, chosen so as to be of equal length. Sometimes the feathers are split lengthwise (Bishop Mus., 5448, Vienna 22784 and 22785) or trimmed even at their outer ends. The feathers project 200 mm. from the frame in two of the Vienna specimens (22877, 22879) and 120 mm. in the largest of the Bishop Museum circlets (5969). The usual width of the feather brim is 120 mm.; 40 mm. may be considered a minimum (Vienna 22874).

One feather circlet (Vienna 22872) has a frame made of six coils reaching a depth of 57 mm. Five of these coils carry short, split, black feathers with the seized ends set obliquely against the foundation so that feathers are closer to them than usual. The feathers of the upper coil are set radially, the seized part being at right angles to the coil. Each of these feathers is prolonged by a supplementary feather tied at three places near its end, so that the total length of these projecting feathers is 310 mm. A similar headdress is preserved in the Museum of Munich (diameter of circlet 148 by 190 mm.).

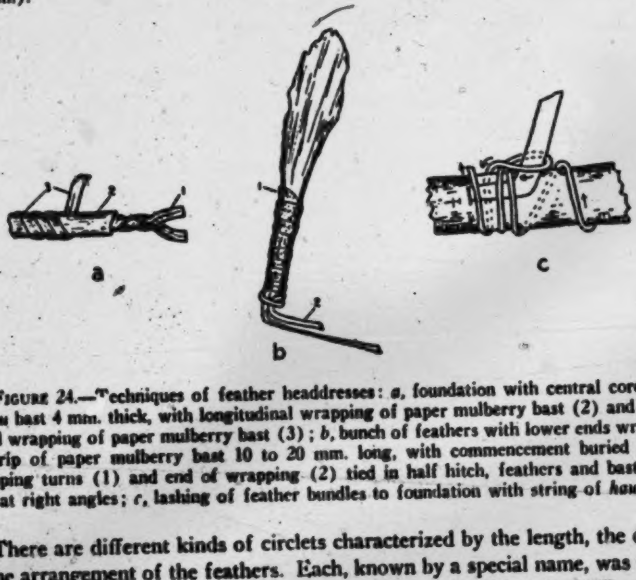


FIGURE 24.—Techniques of feather headdresses: *a*, foundation with central cord (1) of *hau* bast 4 mm. thick, with longitudinal wrapping of paper mulberry bast (2) and outer spiral wrapping of paper mulberry bast (3); *b*, bunch of feathers with lower ends wrapped in strip of paper mulberry bast 10 to 20 mm. long, with commencement buried under wrapping turns (1) and end of wrapping (2) tied in half hitch, feathers and bast strip bent at right angles; *c*, lashing of feather bundles to foundation with string of *hau* cord.

291 There are different kinds of circlets characterized by the length, the color, or the arrangement of the feathers. Each, known by a special name, was worn on specific occasions and often had a symbolic meaning. Geiseler (87, p. 52) and Thomson (215, pp. 535-536) have recorded the names of many of the old circlets in addition to some information concerning their special uses:

291 554 *Hau hiehie* were circlets made of five or six superimposed coils to which feathers from the wings and tails of black hens were fastened. The feather ends were trimmed, with the exception of a row of long black feathers which were fixed on a coil at wide intervals. These large and heavy headdresses were worn by chiefs at feasts and were insignia of high office. Often they were kept in place by a strap of tapa cloth under the chin.

Hau kurakura were small crowns of variegated feathers from the cock's neck, principally the red (*kura*) feathers. These were worn by warriors in time of war. Such feathers fluttered and gave "a very warlike appearance to the warriors when they ran or danced." Similar circlets, of a smaller size, were worn by boys and girls as adornment for the dance (87, p. 35). 291 314

Hau peu-teu-ki were headdresses "of long, black, green, and variegated feathers worn by dancing people" (215, p. 535). 291

The *hau tara* was a "small headdress of trimmed feathers ornamented by long tail feathers behind; used by chiefs on occasion of ceremony" (215, p. 535).

The *hau vaero*[18] was made of long cock feathers and was "used in dancing and formerly at marriage feasts."

The *hau pinei* had short black feathers.

The *hau koiro* had long, straight, projecting feathers, and was the insignia of the leading dancers.

The *hau teatea* (white headdress) was made from the feathers of white cocks which are said to have appeared on the island in the time of King Rokoroko-hetau.

The *hau veri* is supposed to have been the headdress of the king.

Teketeke was the name given to the short, trimmed feathers of a circlet, as opposed to the long, projecting feathers in front. When a man was enraged against another or wanted to avenge himself for some grave injury he turned his headdress and wore the short trimmed feathers in front. The circlets of short black feathers were also called *hau teketeke*. [578]

Diadem

An Easter Island diadem (fig. 23, *a*) acquired by the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (18053) in 1891, is constructed on the same fundamental principle as the circlets described above, though it presents several new features: 291 287

> This diadem consists of two parallel rows of feathers extending vertically from a circular band made of the leaf sheath of the banana. The feathers are said to be those of the frigate bird, but they are probably cock hackles. The inside row is composed of pairs of feathers tied in bundles and inserted into the wrapping of a coil made like that shown in figure 24. This coil with feathers is attached to the upper rim of the banana leaf-sheath band. The outer row is composed of pairs of feathers tied together with a tapa strip and fastened to the upper part of the leaf-sheath band by a continuous thread which makes half hitches around each bunch of feathers and transversely wraps the entire band.

Crescents

In the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna there is a crescentic, feather eyeshade (fig. 25, *a*) similar to one in Thomson's collection (215, p. 535, pl. 54, fig. 1; see also Cook, 53, vol. 1, p. 290).

> This type of headdress (fig. 25, *a*) consists of three superimposed coils, identical to those in the feather circlets. The upper and the lower of these coils bear feathers, attached as in the circlets but at the front and sides only. These feathers extend beyond the frame for 96 mm. in front and for 43 mm. at the sides. The back of the frame is without feathers and is wrapped by a narrow strip of paper mulberry bast. The two layers of feathers are held together by six rows of black, 2-ply thread, evenly spaced and running parallel to the curve of the foundation coils. In each row three threads

---

[18] Brown (27, p. 169) describes the *hau vaero* as "a hat for the dances, made of the tail feathers of the white *tavake* . . . though the king never fought he generally wore a feather-hat called veri just before a battle." Tepano, who was Brown's informant, never mentioned such a headdress to me.

291 are used, one above the upper layer, one below the lower layer, and a third which is wrapped with a loose spiral around the upper and lower threads by passing between the
287 feather tufts. Each of the nine long black feathers which project in the front is actually two feathers placed end to end and tied together in three places. They extend 80 mm. beyond the feather tufts.

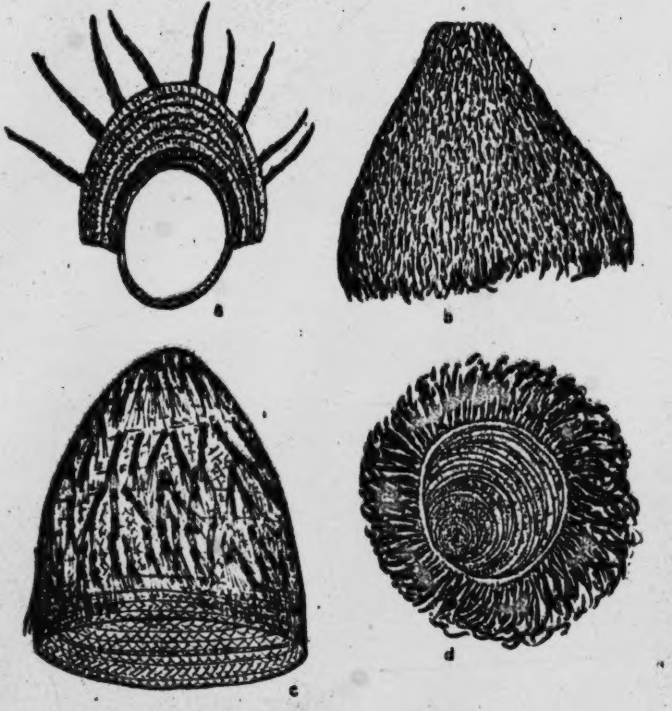


FIGURE 25.—Feather headdresses. *a*, feather crescent (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22880): short black feathers, with some white ones, caught by continuous 2-ply cord between two coils separated by another coil and held together by six rows of threads; long feathers 133 mm. long, maximum width of feather layer 80 mm., diameter of circlet from front to back 203 mm., and from side to side 168 mm. *b* and *d*, outer and inner views of conical feather cap (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22871): feathers attached to coils as in figure 23; outside height of cap 315 mm., inside height 235 mm., diameter of rim 190 mm., width of coil 9 mm., length of feather bundles 120 mm. *c*, conical feather cap (*hau moroki*, 5972): foundation formed of plaited strips of bulrush 25 mm. wide, bunches of feathers wrapped with narrow strips of bulrush and tied to cap with 2-ply cords of bulrush or *hau* bark; top of cap closed with coarse net; height 236 mm., diameter of rim 165 mm., width of band 31 mm.

Conical Caps

The modern conical caps (*hau moroke*) are modeled after a very old type, 291 though the ancient technique has been forgotten. The modern headdresses 287 are curios without practical use and are made in the same way as the modern hats adopted from Tahiti. Of the early visitors to Easter Island, Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 565) is the only one who mentions the caps: "Others had huge bushy caps of brown gulls feathers, which were almost as large as the full bottomed wigs of European lawyers." One such cap, made according to ancient pattern, has been preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, in the Westenholz collection (fig. 25, *b, d*).

This type of headdress is derived directly from the ordinary circlet. Like the circlet it has a cord to which feathers are attached on one side, but this foundation, instead of forming a cylindrical ring, is wound spirally beginning at the top, each coil being a little larger than the preceding one, thus giving the headdress a conical shape. The coils are tied together with a string as are the coils in ordinary circlets.

Modern feather caps have a frame of plaited rush wound spirally from the top down, upon which bunches of feathers are sewn for decoration (fig. 25, *c*).

The plaited band is made of rush strips 6 to 10 mm. wide and plaited in twilled twos. At the edges of the band the strips are turned back to present in alternation their smooth outer and rough inner surfaces. At the top the plaited band is twisted and folded back to cover the opening. The lower edge of the conical cap is inserted in a separate plaited band folded lengthwise and sewn along the rim. In one specimen (B. Mus. 5970) the lower rim is reinforced by a wide piece of tapa sewn along the border and extended to line the interior.

The ends of the feather clusters are wrapped with strips of paper mulberry bark. The bunches are tied perpendicularly, forming parallel rows, with the tops of the feathers extending downward. In the best specimens each row overlaps the next one, and the entire cap is covered on the outer surface by feathers. On the top the feathers are sewn tightly and conceal entirely the beginning of the work. The top of one cap (B. Mus. 5972) is covered by a little net work made with the same kind of *hau* string as that used in fastening the feathers.

Another cap (B. Mus. 5990) is particularly interesting as a link between the ancient and modern types. It consists of a plaited band 22 mm. wide wound spirally. The feather bundles, instead of being sewn perpendicularly to the band, are fixed lengthwise to strips of rush forming a long cord coiled round the cap and loosely tied to it. The principle of the technique is the same as that of the old caps, but the coil foundation is supported by the plaited frame. This cap is 192 mm. high, with a rim 165 mm. wide, and the plaited band is 25 mm. wide.

Feather Containers

Cherished feathers, particularly those of white cocks, were kept in gourds 237 or banana-leaf containers and taken out when a headdress was to be made 415 (194, p. 218). The feathers were hackle cock feathers, many of them tied in pairs with fiber. The tufts were frequently wrapped with tapa.

One container in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22881), is made of four 415 pieces of sheaths stripped from the banana trunk and cut in broad bands 655 mm. long and 100 mm. wide. These are placed side by side to form three compartments. At the bottom they are doubled up and sewn together with a continuous thread of paper mul-

415 berry fiber running over the edge and through the doubled up border. The short ends are sewn together with continuous horizontal stitches across a band of paper mulberry bast 8 mm. wide which completely encircles the container. Some containers have two compartments and a small container has only one.

Other Headdresses

291 I was told that formerly the women occasionally wore on their heads pieces of tapa cloth, stained with turmeric; these were called *pouo roiroi*.

A special circlet (*vanavana*) was worn by men "in delivering a challenge [578 to combat for revenge" (215, p. 535). Geiseler (87, p. 28) mentions that the 765] revengeful mourner (*timo-ika*) covered his head with "a rough crown made of horsehair" (Mus. für Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4977) about which his catalog gives the following information: "Headdress of horsehair to look like a woman. Name: *ivive*. This wig is used when a man calls secretly on a woman in order not to be noticed. These objects are rare and these were the only specimens."

301 114 According to Tepano, men and women of the past often wore a sort of "comb" (*harihari*) in their hair. In this ornament, feathers were tied to small sticks with strips of paper mulberry, banana, or *hau* bark. Since no specimen of this kind of comb has been preserved and since none of the early or recent voyagers to Easter Island mention it, the truth of Tepano's statement may be doubted.

Women's Hats

291 Until the middle of the nineteenth century the women wore a special kind of hat (*hau pouo*), which is described by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 566): [285] "The women wore a great wide cap, made of very neat mat-work; it was pointed forwards, formed a ridge along the top, and two large lobes behind on each side, which we found extremely cooling for the head." No specimen of these hats for women has been preserved. However, they have been figured by Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 290) and La Pérouse (130, pl. 11). Such hats are [532] carved on the heads of two images of women in Bishop Museum. These images are not very ancient, but were certainly made when these headdresses were still in use. The two lobes are larger on the back than on the front and are raised on both ends. The general form of the hat is elliptical and was worn lengthwise. From Cook's plate we may infer that these hats were made of small plaited strips sewn together like modern straw hats of European type.

Headdresses of Unusual Type

The Peabody Museum at Cambridge has two Easter Island headdresses which represent types that are neither mentioned in the literature nor remem-

291 bered by modern natives. The origin of these hats cannot be doubted for the technique, the material, and the decoration are typical for Easter Island.

[285] One of these headdresses (fig. 26, *b*) is a hat with a rounded crown and a narrow brim made of bulrush bands plaited in check. These bands are wound spirally and held together with strips of bulrush. The outside of the hat is covered with a piece of painted tapa.

291 On each side of the crown there is a human face modeled in relief and painted on
the tapa. The outline of the face is formed by two superimposed rolls of bulrush wound
532 with a strip of paper mulberry bast sewn onto the crown. The nose is a rounded prominence of the same material and fixed in the same way in the middle of the face. These crude features are covered with painted tapa. The eyes and the mouth are painted black, the nose and the cheeks are red. The tapa covering the brim is decorated with a red band and a series of black dots. On the top of the crown a red band alternates with a white one. Some dots and lines are still visible.

The hat was held in position by a 2-ply fiber string passing under the chin.

The other headdress (fig. 26, *a*) is a circlet with a human face in front. It is
291 completely covered with tapa, which prevents any close study of the technique of the
532 frame. The ring forming the circlet is made of two bulrush rolls tied together with *hau*
strings. The front part of the headdress is modeled into a grotesque human face by
285 means of bulrush rolls sewn to the foundation ring. The eyebrows are two wide arches raised above the ring, the cheeks bulge as if stuffed. An oval ring outlines the protruding mouth. The nose is a round protuberance between the eyebrows and the mouth. The eyes are oval discs of tapa and bulrush sewn to the tapa covering.

On the top of the eyebrow arch is a horizontal black line, on each side of which are
291 alternating fields of red and black dots separated by vertical black lines. A wide band of
532 red crosses the region of the eyes and the nose. On both cheeks there is outlined an elongated oval pointed toward the back, whose surface is covered by alternate fields of red and black dots separated by vertical lines. Similar dots occur on the mouth region. These motifs probably represent tattooing.

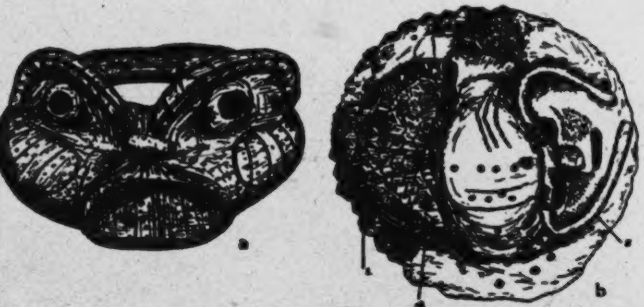


Figure 26.—Headdresses: *a*, tapa-covered circlet with human face in front, inner diameter 30 cm., height of face 12 cm. (Peabody Mus., Cambridge, 53541). *b*, hat of plaited bulrush covered with painted tapa with shallow crown and narrow brim: 1, part uncovered showing plaited foundation; 2, bulrush bands defining uncovered face; 3, covered bulrush bands defining covered face (Peabody Mus., Cambridge, 53540).

COMPARISON WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN HEADDRESSES

291 The feather circlets of Easter Island are similar to feather headdresses
287 described by Laval for Mangareva (28, p. 172). Circlets of pigeon or frigate
171

291 287 171 bird feathers are frequently mentioned by early voyagers to the Tuamotus; the only known specimen is formed by split black feathers lashed successively to some foundation hidden by the spiral turns of a continuous 2-ply sennit cord (74). This technique is fundamentally like that of Easter Island. A feather ornament described by Linton (142, p. 433) from the Marquesas is not properly a circlet, since it ties under the chin. However, the feathers project on the head as in the Easter Island circlet. The quills of the feathers are wrapped against a core of twisted coconut fiber.

291 171 The only parallel which may be proposed for the Easter Island conical feather hats are the cone-shaped sennit skull caps of the Cook Islands which were sometimes covered with feathers tied to light rods (33, p. 92). It must be stressed, however, that this analogy is purely superficial, since the basic techniques are different.

If the Easter Islanders actually wore in their hair bunches of feathers attached to small sticks, this ornament was probably similar to the long feathers attached to smooth sticks which were used in the Marquesas (142, p. 434) and in the Tuamotus (74).

Ear Ornaments

301 304 Both men and women had their ear lobes pierced and the lobes distended "to near three inches in length" (53, vol. 1, p. 291).

> These holes were pierced with a sharpened stick. At first only the point of the stick was left in the hole, but gradually the thicker part of the implement was pushed forward to widen the opening. Then a sugar cane leaf, a strip of bark, or white down of feathers rolled up like a scroll was inserted in the opening and gradually stretched. Finally the ear lobe became like a thin strap which fell down on the shoulder.
>
> It is impossible to tell whether the elastic substances were actually ornaments or were used to keep the holes at utmost extension. Probably they were both. Some people, when not wearing any ornament, turned the rent lobe over the upper part of the ear.

301 Another kind of ear ornament, probably used only on exceptional occasions or by certain persons, was the ear plug described by Roggeveen (186, p. 15) as "roundish or oval, having a diameter of about two inches measured through the widest section, and one and a half inches through the narrowest, being three inches, at a guess, in length." These ornaments were of carved shark vertebrae (*ivi mango*), but some must have been made of shells. (See 53, vol. 1, p. 291.) One such shark-bone ornament, in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, has been published by Ratzel (184, vol. 2, p. 44). Palmer (171, p. 172) writes that he obtained an ear ornament of wood, the size of a fist, carved into faces and joined together. As there is no reference to wooden ear ornaments (for Behrens, on whose authority Palmer relies, speaks of white balls, without indicating the material), it is probable that the ornaments he gathered are simply *tahonga* (wooden pendants), which his de-

scription fits rather well. The way ear plugs were inserted into the ear is well described by Roggeveen (186, p. 15): 301

> To understand how these supposed silver plates are fixed in the ears as ornaments one must know that the lobes of this people's ears are stretched from their youth up; and their centre is slit open, in such wise that the lesser rim of the plug, being stuck through the opening of the lobe, is then pushed on towards the thicker end, which accordingly faces towards the front, and completely stuffs the opening. 301 304

The custom of stretching the lobe of the ear lasted until the arrival of the missionaries. In 1886, Thomson (215, p. 463) saw some persons with such long ear lobes that they hung on the shoulders. In 1914, Routledge (194, p. 220) knew two or three old women with widely perforated ears. The men must have abandoned the custom before the women, for Beechey (15, p. 52) noticed that "the custom is not so general with the men as formerly." Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 67) regards this deformation as peculiar to the women. Yet in his youth, Tepano knew some men who had their ears mutilated; he even gave me their names. The Long-Ears probably disappeared about the end of the first half of the nineteenth century (p. 73). 304 178

NECK ORNAMENTS

BONE ORNAMENTS

The only conspicuous neck ornament used by both sexes in everyday life was "a flat piece of bone in the shape of a tongue, or like a laurel leaf" (83, vol. 1, p. 561). (See also 53, vol. 1, p. 291.) The natives informed Forster that this ornament, which was about 5 inches long, was made of porpoise bone (*ivi-taoraha*, fig. 27, *a*). 301

SHELL ORNAMENTS

Flat shells worn as ornaments round the neck are mentioned by Roggeveen (186, p. 22). Until recent times sea shells (*repu reva*), not unlike patellas, were prized ornaments. According to Geiseler (87, p. 49), these shells were suspended from cords made of hair worn round the neck; however, the cord for a shell ornament in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (VI.4936), is made of vegetable fibers; some identical shells in Bishop Museum (B3577), labeled Easter Island, are suspended by coconut-fiber cord, which makes their Easter Island origin doubtful.

A shell pendant in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (VI.4936), is round and flat with a suspension hole near one edge. The suspension cord is attached through the hole by a half hitch knot. The shell is white with yellow lines and is 73 mm. long.

In Bishop Museum (fig. 27, *b*) there is a fragment of a shell pendant whose roughly oblong shape resembles the bone plate described above. It is the only known specimen of this kind.

301 Necklaces of common shells (*pipi-vaka*), shark's vertebrae, ti and sugarcane leaves, and fruits of *Sapindus* were enumerated by my informants when discussing the ancient ornaments.

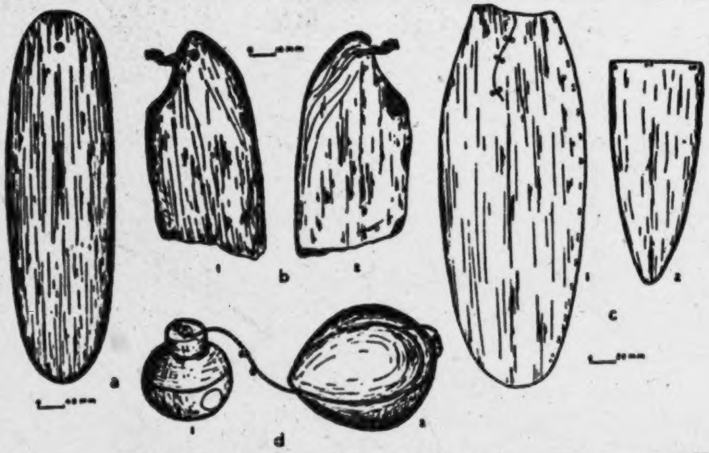


FIGURE 27.—Neck and belt ornaments: *a*, oval plate of turtle bone (*ivi taoraha*), 576 mm. long, 136 mm. wide, with suspension hole near upper end (B2579), *b*, fragment of a shell neck ornament 43 mm. wide, with suspension hole near upper end pierced from one side (B3577). *c*, plates of tortoise shell, parts of belt: 1, ellipse with holes along one side, crack mended by threads pulled through holes perforated along crack, 300 mm. long, 120 mm. in greatest width (B3652); 2, half elipse with holes along straight edge, 170 mm. long, 75 mm. wide (B3552). *d*, wooden ball neck pendants (*tahonga*; British Mus. 6817): 1, wooden ball, total height 68 mm.; greatest diameter 62 mm.; upper cylindrical projection 15 mm. high, 30 mm. in diameter; upper surface of projection cut down to depth of 5 mm., forming an outer rim 1.5 mm. thick and central knob 13 mm. in diameter with horizontal perforation for suspensory cord; 2, coconut-shaped ball; length 100 mm.; greatest diameter 83 mm.; four raised ridges radiate out from pointed end to divide ball into four equal segments; near base each ridge bifurcates and each bifurcation joins the adjacent one to form even curves, convex toward the base.

WOODEN ORNAMENTS

Crescent-shaped Breast Ornaments

301
171 A crescent-shaped breast ornament (*rei-miro*, fig. 28) was made generally of wood (*miro*), more rarely of whalebone. The word *rei*, widespread in Polynesia, usually means a neck ornament, but its original sense was a cachalot tooth, whale ivory. Cachalot teeth were worn by peoples of many islands (New Zealand, Mangareva, Marquesas, Hawaii) as highly esteemed neck pendants. In the language of Easter Island *rei* also means mother-of-pearl. Some shells used in necklaces are called *rei-pipipi*.

There is a common tradition on the island that the *rei-miro* were worn 301
especially by women at feasts. However, they were also insignia of the king 554
and other men of high rank. The king appeared in the ceremonies with two *rei-miro* hanging on his breast and two others on his shoulders. The *rei-miro* of the women were smaller than those of the men and were called *rei-mata-puku* (chicken embryo).

The first visitor to speak of the *rei-miro* is Palmer (171, p. 171): "At 301
their dances the men wore a gorget made of hard wood, lunate in shape, and 532

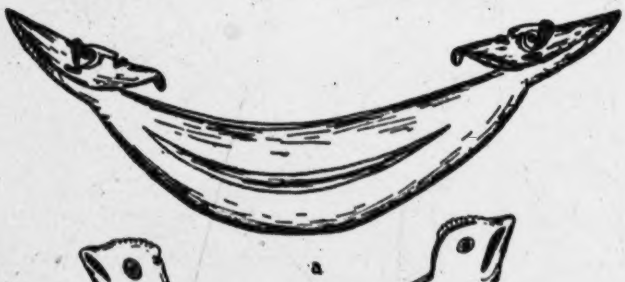


FIGURE 28.—Crescentic breast pendants (*rei-miro*): *a*, wooden pendant 690 mm. long, 120 mm. in greatest width (B3624); *b*, wooden pendant 240 mm. long (Ratton coll., Paris); *c*, whalebone (*rei-taoraha*) pendant 576 mm. long, 174 mm. wide, front bulges along upper edge, suspension holes at ends (B3578).

301 each end terminated in a head, the concavity was worn uppermost, the profile of the face in the oldest gorget was very aquiline."

532 Some authors have advanced the theory that the crescentic *rei-miro* were images of the boats with high stern and bow which brought the natives to their present home. Not a single fact confirms this fanciful conjecture. In collecting the *rei-miro* which are in Bishop Museum, Young (229) received some information from Easter Island natives which is perhaps worth reproducing here though Young is an unreliable authority: [114]

> I have been assured by old natives of Rapanui, that these are practically reproductions of similar objects which were hidden in caves after the introduction of Christianity, and which have disappeared. These objects are furnished with holes for strings to enable them to be worn as breast plates on ceremonial occasions. Hence, the name *rei* (breastplate). But they were also called *rei-marama* (*marama*, moon) and the old natives declared that the shapes of the different crescents were meant to represent different phases of the luminary and were worn at feasts held at the time of the planting of the *kumara*. I have been unable to obtain any description of the prayers or chants which were used at these ceremonies . . . I have possessed these crescents since 1888, when I obtained them from Rapanui through a reliable agent.

Tepano's assertion that only men's *rei-miro* had an oval-shaped depression on the front is dubious. So perhaps is his statement that three or four variegated shells (*rei-pipi*) were tied as tassels to the wooden crescent. On those that I have examined, there are no holes to which ornaments might have been attached. However, a petroglyph representing a *rei-miro* is provided with two perpendicular lines which can be interpreted as two conventionalized strings with tassels.

A *rei-miro* in the British Museum (195, fig. 115) has a row of tablet signs on its lower border. Another, obtained during Geiseler's visit to Easter Island and now in the Australian Museum (216, p. 149), is also decorated with signs, many of which are similar to those on the tablets. According to Geiseler's report (87, p. 35) and the label which accompanies the specimen (216, p. 149), it belonged to the king's family for many generations. After the kidnapping of Maurata, it was left to a chief called Hangeto. However, the signs engraved on this *rei-miro* look like crude imitations of the original symbols. They have been marked with little care, and symmetry has been neglected. As far as one may infer from the photograph, a steel implement was used to incise them.

A large *rei-miro* in Bishop Museum (fig. 28, *a*) is ornamented with a male head at each end. These heads have the goatee and resemble in all respects, except the pointed poll, the representation of the face in the male wooden images. The upper edge of the crescent is grooved from end to end. The *rei-miro* was supported by a cord which passed round the neck of the wearer and through holes perforated in two lugs near the upper margin of the crescent. On the reverse side a small crescent is sunk within wide margins. A small *rei-miro* in Bishop Museum is 345 mm. long.

A very small *rei-miro* in the collection of Charles Ratton, Paris (fig. 28, *b*) has ends ornamented by cock's heads with eyes of inlaid rings of bone and a piece of obsidian. A groove extends along the top from end to end. The suspension holes are pierced obliquely through the upper edge.

A *rei-miro* of whale bone in Bishop Museum (fig. 28, *c*) is called *rei-taoraha* (*taoraha* is the humpback or blackfish whale).

A *rei-miro* in Braine-le-Comte, Belgium (187, p. 5), demonstrates the scarcity and value of wood on Easter Island. The human head at one tip is lacking. It was not carved from the same piece of wood but was sewn on through a series of small holes.

Wooden Balls

301 554 Wooden balls, called *tahonga,* were apparently feminine ornaments worn around the neck, on the breast, and on the shoulders. But Tepano, under the direction of old men, drew a figure of the *poki-manu* (initiated boy ?) with *tahonga* hanging down his back. Tepano also told me that the king had the privilege of wearing six such pendants simultaneously, three in front and three in back, and that other men were adorned with these balls on certain occasions. However, these exceptions may well be misunderstandings or erroneous statements. *Tahonga* were tied in pairs with a rope of woman's hair and were thus suspended around the wearer's neck. Many *tahonga* have been collected by visitors, and the natives still carve them to sell as curios.

The rounded shape, slightly elongated at the lower part, ends in a conical tip and resembles a coconut. The resemblance is accentuated by four ridges which meet at the bottom of the pendant and diverge toward the top to form four arches (fig. 27, *d*, 2). Some authors advance the theory that *tahonga* are imitations of coconuts that grew in the homeland of Easter Island ancestors. The supposition finds no support in native tradition and the resemblance of *tahonga* to the nuts may well be fortuitous. At the upper end of the ornament there is a slight projection which is perforated for a string to pass through. This is sometimes carved into the form of a human head, single or double, or into the head of a bird. A *tahonga* in the Musée missionnaire at Braine-le-Comte (187, fig. 3) has two "eyes" of obsidian set in rings of bone inlaid on each side of the projection.

Some *tahonga* are very small. In Bishop Museum there is one 78 mm. long and 47 mm. wide. The British Museum has a wooden ball which may be considered a *tahonga* (fig. 27, *d*, 1). It has a circular flange at the top, the upper surface of which is cut down to about 5 mm., leaving a round central projection which is transversely perforated for a cord.

Carved Wooden Pendants

301 532 **Turtle head ornaments.** The wooden turtle head (*honu*) has the general form of the *tahonga* (fig. 29, *a*). The eye is surrounded by a band decorated with chevrons and the eyeball is represented by concentric circles in relief. In the central cavity which represents the pupil, a piece of obsidian has been inserted, probably at a recent date. The mouth is crossed by a series of inlaid slanting lines. The same hollowed lines run lengthwise along the entire head, imitating the wrinkles of the turtle head. The nape and the throat are excavated so that the jaws protrude. A suspension hole is pierced through the top of the head. There is little doubt that such tortoise heads were worn about the necks in the same fashion as the *tahonga.*

Human foot. It is impossible to ascertain whether the wooden pendant in the form of a human foot (fig. 29, *e*) was an amulet or merely an ornament with no supernatural value. Perhaps the foot figured is only a fragment of a wooden statue, transformed into a pendant by grinding off the broken part.

Octopus. The octopus (*heke*), esteemed as food, fired the imagination of native artists who not only carved its figure in wood but represented it in the petroglyphs and on the signs of the tablets.

Bishop Museum has a fragment of an old wooden octopus image (fig. 29, *b*). The tentacles have been broken off, but the animal is easily recognized by the oval shape of its body and the position of its eyes. The eyes are made in the traditional way with a bone ring and a piece of obsidian and inlaid in both lateral and circular projections on either side of the head. The image is double and the two identical figures of octopuses

301 are joined in the central part of the body. The suspension hole is perforated through this central ridge. The shape of the completed specimen may be inferred from another 532 octopus (fig. 29, *d*) which is in good condition.

Sow bugs. Sow bugs or pill bugs (*Isopoda*) swarm under every stone and have been taken as models by the wood carvers of Easter Island. A wooden pendant in the shape of a sow bug is shown in figure 29, *f*. The convex back of the animal with its tergites or segments and the sides lamellately expanded have been reproduced as faithfully as possible. The lower surface is slightly concave and raised throughout at a distance of 15 mm. from the edges. Although not very old the specimen represents an ancient type, as the good workmanship testifies.

Phallus. Figure 29, *c* shows a curious wooden figure which represents the phallus. 831 This piece is exceptional. However, the natives on the island sold to me a stone partly broken which was a very realistic representation of the penis and which I believe to be genuine. It is highly improbable that such a stone had any magical importance.

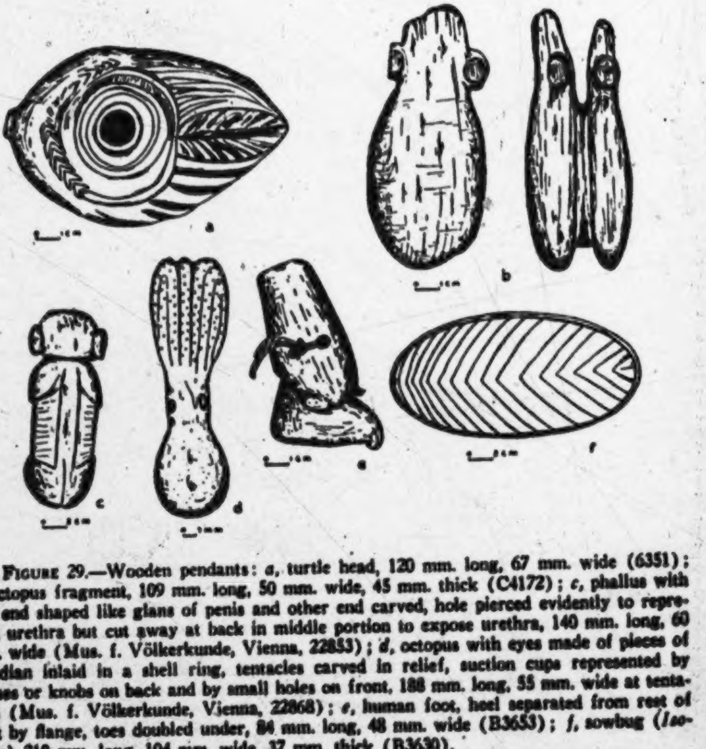


FIGURE 29.—Wooden pendants: *a*, turtle head, 120 mm. long, 67 mm. wide (6351); *b*, octopus fragment, 109 mm. long, 50 mm. wide, 45 mm. thick (C4172); *c*, phallus with one end shaped like glans of penis and other end carved, hole pierced evidently to represent urethra but cut away at back in middle portion to expose urethra, 140 mm. long, 60 mm. wide (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22853); *d*, octopus with eyes made of pieces of obsidian inlaid in a shell ring, tentacles carved in relief, suction cups represented by bosses or knobs on back and by small holes on front, 188 mm. long, 55 mm. wide at tentacles (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22868); *e*, human foot, heel separated from rest of foot by flange, toes doubled under, 84 mm. long, 48 mm. wide (B3653); *f*, sowbug (*Isopoda*) 218 mm. long, 104 mm. wide, 37 mm. thick (B3630).

TORTOISE-SHELL BELTS

Formerly, "when there were kings in Easter Island," turtles were caught 321
by the natives both for their meat and for their shell. Tradition tells that in 301
olden days the men wore tortoise-shell belts (*honu-toro*). During my stay on the island I received from a native some tortoise-shell plates which had been found in a cave. They had small suspension holes.

These plates are of two forms. Most of them are ellipses and have holes in groups of two, set in a row along one edge (fig. 27, *c*, 1). Others are tongue-shaped with holes along the straight edge (fig. 27, *c*, 2). Of the first type the largest specimens are between 320 and 340 mm. long and 125 and 132 mm. wide. The smallest are 260 mm. long and 90 mm. wide. The plates of the second type are 170 to 180 mm. long and 73 mm. wide.

It is difficult to get a clear idea of the original appearance of the ornaments made from such plates. They are so long that it seems impractical to have them tied around the waist and the two forms do not combine. Since all definite information is lacking we are forced to accept the tradition and consider the plates as pieces of ceremonial belts.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN ORNAMENTS

Deformation of the ear lobe to introduce wooden or bone plugs is restricted 304
in Polynesia to Easter Island. The nearest parallel is found in the Marquesas
where men and women used to wear in their ears heavy bone ornaments 171
which distorted the lobes, but never to such an exaggerated size as on Easter Island (104, p. 288). In the Tuamotus the men pierced their ears to introduce ornaments but they never deformed their lobes. The Maoris must have had large holes in their ears in order to wear in them the objects mentioned by early observers. However, no reference has been made to an abnormal stretching of the lobe (20, vol. 2, pp. 535-540). Maori ear ornaments cannot well be compared to the plugs of Easter Island since most of them were pendants of bone or stone. Maoris, like Easter Islanders, occasionally wore strips or rolls of *aute* bark in their ears. The ear deformation of the Easter Islanders has been emphasized as a culture trait suggesting Melanesian affinity. Though enlargement of the ear occurs in Melanesia, it is not general and the Easter Island fashion may well have developed locally. The big ear plugs of the Marquesas are sufficiently close to the Easter Island ornaments to serve as an intermediate link between the custom of piercing the ear and of enlarging the lobe for insertion of pieces of wood or bone.

The oval plates of Easter Island, worn on cords round the neck, were 301
substitutes for the whale teeth pendants common in other parts of Polynesia.
The tongue-shaped neck ornaments resemble those worn by the Maoris in 171
the time of Captain Cook (100, p. 20). The broken shell plaque (fig. 27, *b*) may be compared to the Marquesan plaques ground from the large end of a species of *Conus*. Linton (142, p. 428) attaches great importance to this ornament because it is rare in Polynesia but common in Micronesia. Since only one specimen is recorded from Easter Island, the parallel is of little significance.

301 The wooden crescents or *rei-miro* are without any parallel in Polynesia.
171 Large breast ornaments of quite different material and shape were worn in
Tahiti and in the Marquesas (142, pl. 78). Perhaps the *rei-miro* are genetically related to the pearl-shell breast pendants widely spread in Polynesia. The superficial resemblance to the big, crescentic shells of the Solomon Islanders does not imply a connection between Easter Island and Melanesia.

The wooden balls (*tahonga*) are paraphernalia peculiar to Easter Island. The value given to wood on this barren island has favored the invention and development of a great many wooden ornaments unknown in other regions of Polynesia.

Body Painting

302 Until very recent times men and women smeared their faces and bodies
with red, yellow, white, and dark dyes. The red dye (*kiea*) is a red-brown,
386 weathered and mineralized tuff which is found in several places on the island,
412 especially on the western slope of Poike Peninsula. *Kiea* was pulverized in a
[172] small stone mortar. Whole specimens or fragments of these mortars have
been picked up in ancient settlements, with traces of red ochre in the hollow.

412 The bowl is made of an oval, waterworn stone which has been slightly abraded, but the general form is more or less conical. The cavity is shallow in proportion to the volume of the bowl. In the large bowls the hollow has been carefully ground while the outside is either slightly ground, pecked, or rough. The rim has also been carefully ground and made even. To judge from the fragments, some of these mortars were of beautiful workmanship; the interior is not only smooth and regular, but the bowls are almost perfect hemispheres. In the Bishop Museum collection, besides one whole stone bowl, there are fragments of nine others, of which one is almost entire (B3501, 5960). The largest fragment in the collection is 165 mm. long and the smallest 88 mm.

Another earth, probably unoxidized tuff, gives a chalk-white color (*mari-*
386 *kuru*). To extract this earth the natives dug holes or pits. One of these
mines was seen by the Spaniards under Gonzalez (90, p. 122) near Vinapu where there was a cave "with furrows in it of various tints, from which the natives gave us to understand by signs they obtained the pigments with which they paint themselves." Geiseler (87, p. 15) mentions a deep hole on the west slope of Rano-kao, out of which the natives dug a yellow pigment. Charred ti leaves mixed with sugar-cane juice produced a beautiful black dye (*ngarahu*). Yellow or orange dye was obtained from turmeric.

[773] Though *pua* is the Easter Island name for *Curcuma longa*, the general Polynesian term *renga* has been preserved in the name of the two birds Manu-keukeu-renga who taught the natives how to prepare dye from turmeric root. *Renga* means also "something nice." According to the legend of the origin of the *renga* it was prepared in a special long house and the smell of the turmeric is still celebrated in legends (p. 369). Turmeric was uprooted (*keri*) with a pointed stick, then carefully washed (*tata maitaki*) and grated (*oro*) on a rasp (*tama*) made of fine *toro-miro* or *hau* sticks. The natives compared this rasp to a grill or a mat. The grated turmeric fell into a stone basin (*taheta*),

386 and was then put into a piece of tapa and wrung (*hakahihi* or *tatau*). The liquid and starch (*pia*) were strained (*teke*) into a calabash (*ki roto ki te ipu*), where the starch settled to the bottom. The water was decanted or left to evaporate. All my informants agreed that the latter process consisted in leaving the starch in the air to dry (*he tauaki mo hakapakapaka*). Probably the *renga* was cooked in special containers as on Mangareva and Samoa. The yellow powder which was obtained after this long preparation was mixed with sugar-cane juice and rubbed on the body. The sugar-cane juice (*pua oura*) used as an adhesive came from dry stalks peeled with an obsidian knife and pounded between two stones (*tingitingi*). This sticky substance was mixed with both turmeric and *ngarahu* (charred ti leaves).

302 G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 564) writes on the application of dye to the body: "The women were seldom satisfied with their natural brown colour, but painted the whole face with a reddish brown ruddle, over which they laid on the bright orange of the turmeric root; or ornamented themselves with elegant streaks of white shell-lime." Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 48) describes the painting of the natives as follows: "Some [men] had their faces painted black, some red, others black and white, or red and white, in the ludicrous manner practised by our clown, and two demon-like monsters were painted entirely black." According to Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 56) the women used only red colors, whereas the men smeared themselves with any kind of dye. Some idea of the 532 face painting of the natives can be gained from a tapa image in the Peabody 302 Museum (fig. 30).

The head of the image is banded from the top of the skull to the mouth, by eight broad strips of black, white, and orange. The mouth region is stained in orange (turmeric). The black bands could represent tattooing but they are darker than the actual tattooed surfaces and combine with the white and orange stripes that undoubtedly represent painting. This image may not be the exact model of a painted and tattooed man, for there is no indication of hair; the painted stripes could have been arranged in this fashion only if the individual had been carefully shaven.

386 For dyeing cloth the dry starchy turmeric was diluted with water and applied to the cloth with a brush made of feathers (*huruhuru moa*). A very 287 simple method of dyeing consisted in chewing the turmeric and spitting the dyed saliva on the cloth. The sheets stained in this manner were called *pua roiroi*. The cloth made now for trade is decorated with fanciful designs drawn with a piece of turmeric moistened in water.

TATTOOING

IMPLEMENTS

304 The art of tattooing (*ta*) was abandoned shortly after the arrival of the missionaries. It was practiced by experts (*maori* or *takona*) whose work was 413 supervised by the king. Their implements were a tattooing comb (fig. 32, *a*), a wooden mallet, and a calabash or box containing dark pigment.

413 Easter Island tattooing combs (*uhi*) are preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (VI.4921) and in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22830-22834). The

413 combs are made of bird bones with the convex surface at the front. The length varies between 75 mm. and 90 mm. and the maximum width between 7 and 8 mm. The comb tapers toward the rounded butt or is slightly constricted near the top to facilitate lashing to the handle (fig. 32, *a*). The distal end has five to seven teeth.

[304] To puncture the skin, the operator struck on the tattooing comb with a wooden mallet (*miro-puo-uhi*). A mallet in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (VI.4921b), is a plain stick of *hau* 420 mm. long.

386 The pigment (*ngarahu* or *kere*) was prepared from charred ti leaves mixed with *poporo* (*Solanum nigrum*) juice. It was kept in a little wooden box or wrapped in a piece of tapa (87, p. 51).

302
304
532

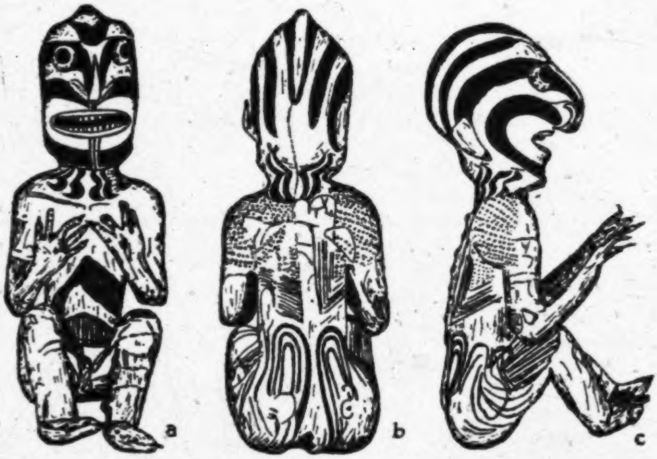


FIGURE 30.—Image made of bulrushes tied together with fiber bands (paper mulberry bast ?) and covered completely with tapa painted to represent body painting and tattooing (Peabody Mus., Cambridge, 53543): *a*, front; *b*, back; *c*, side; white, black, and orange colors; eyes made of circles covered with tapa and sewn onto head covering; ears of folded tapa sewn to temples, teeth of tapa sewn to gums; fingers and toes made of wood splinters; sewing of tapa with *hau* strings hardly visible; total height 39 cm.

DESIGNS

Sources of Information

304 There are only two tattooed persons still living on Easter Island: old Viriamo, Tepano's mother and Ana Eva Hei, the wife of Atamu Te Kena, one of the last "kings" of Easter Island. Viriamo has tights entirely of blue. Ana Eva Hei has two parallel stripes crossing her forehead from one ear to the other and the inner edge of the ear tattooed (134, p. 256). The design on her lower jaw is composed of a triangular figure which meets an oval design, together forming an open angle. Her hands are covered with

thin blue lines reminiscent of mittens. Neither woman is completely tattooed. 304
Viriamo refused to submit to further sittings after the tights were covered with tattooing because the operation was too painful. Ana Eva Hei, who is younger, was probably decorated when the last experts were dying.

The best source for ancient tattooing designs are three images, two in the 304
Peabody Museum at Cambridge, Massachusetts (53542, 53543) and one in 532
the Belfast Museum. They are made of bulrush and covered with sheets of tapa on which are painstakingly reproduced the elaborate patterns of a fully tattooed person (figs. 30 and 31). Equally valuable are the photographs and the sketches made by Stolpe (214) of an Easter Islander whom he met in the Marquesas.

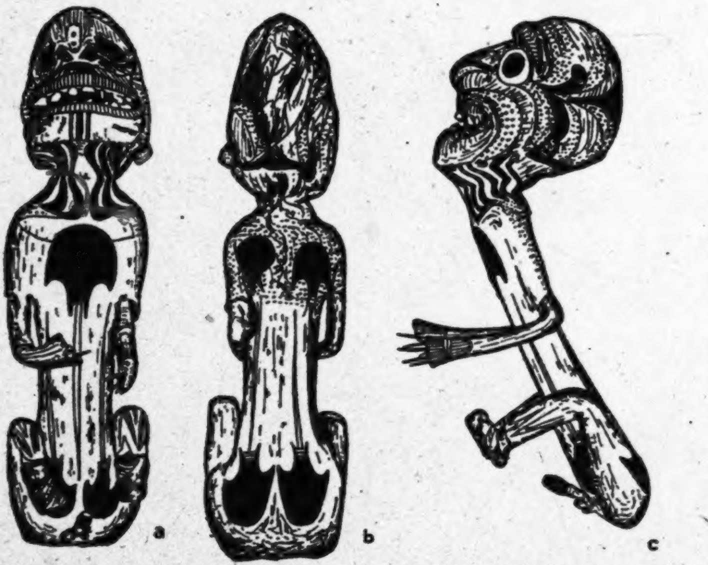


Figure 31.—Image made of bulrushes tied together with fiber bands and covered with tapa, technique identical to that of image shown in figure 30 (Peabody Mus., Cambridge, 53543): *a*, front; *b*, back; *c*, side; maximum length of head 19 cm.; spear head on chest 7.7 cm. long; marks on forearms indistinct (possibly a bird figure on right arm); legs tattooed in chevrons and triangles; erect penis reddish; total height 46 cm.

Other evidence on tattooing is provided by sketches made by travelers and 304
reproduced in their narratives. Some of these graphic representations are supplemented by short descriptions in the text (90, p. 98). The oldest draw- 114
ing of a tattooed Easter Island native was made by Hodges, the artist on Cook's second voyage (53, vol. 1, p. 291). Choris (49) sketched a fully

304 114 tattooed man during his visit to Easter Island, but his drawing is inaccurate in many details. The artist of Du Petit-Thouars' expedition (65, pl. 44) drew a man and a woman, both partially tattooed. The accurate portraits of tattooed Easter Islanders by Pierre Loti (145, pp. 66-68) and the more schematic designs by Thomson (215, p. 466, fig. 4, *a-b*) have contributed to the preservation of knowledge about tattooing. In 1911 Knoche (123, pl. 13, p. 160) drew the last Easter Island woman with elaborate designs on her body. A few years later, Routledge (194, p. 219) was obliged to depend on the memories of the old men for analysis of ancient motifs. The reconstruction of ancient tattooing made for her by Tepano is not inaccurate but simplified and purely schematic. The wooden images can be used in the reconstruction of the old tattooing patterns; the oldest ones generally have a human figure carved in relief on the top of the head. An attentive examination reveals conventionalized tattooing motifs incised on the faces of these figures.

304 In the following analysis of the various Easter Island tattoo motifs, the most elaborate design for each region of the body is used as a basis. Information from literature is used to complete descriptions or to emphasize the persistence of fundamental motifs, which were repeated on all individuals, both male and female, and were faithfully preserved from one generation to the next. Geiseler (87, p. 36) contradicts evidence when he writes: "We looked for a constant pattern, which we were unable to find. Everyone had different signs. The persons which were shown to us as being the chiefs were the most tattooed, but their motifs were also different." It is true, however, that personal taste varied the general patterns. Perhaps different tribes or subtribes had favorite designs, but in general the selected motifs depended on patterns. Even Geiseler admits that certain designs were more common than others.

Extent of Tattooing

Tattooing is mentioned by nearly every voyager who touched at Easter Island. Though there were probably differences between the motifs used by men and by women, the features noticed by early observers are common to both. There is no way of determining the variations in designs for the two sexes. However, Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 290) says that the women, in contrast to men, were only slightly marked.

It appears from the reports of early travelers that the extent of tattooing varied with individuals. In the greater number, tattooing was confined to small surfaces of the body (15, vol. 1, p. 53). Kotzebue (127, p. 140) noticed that "they were all tattooed and those who are over the whole body have the appearance of chiefs." This remark is probably correct as full tattooing in Polynesia is, as a rule, an expression of wealth. [566]

304 The graphic documents confirm the observations of voyagers. The only representations of a full tattooing are the tapa images referred to above and the man sketched by Choris (49, pl. 11). A young man represented by Loti (145, p. 68) has the face undecorated though the body is beautifully tattooed. The native whom Stolpe (214, pp. 4-5) studied so carefully had only the head decorated in the ancient style. The motifs on the rest of his person were few and unimpressive.

[171] These variations in the extent of the tattooed surfaces are good evidence that on Easter Island as in the Marquesas, tattooing was a lengthy process that took place at different periods of life.

[413]

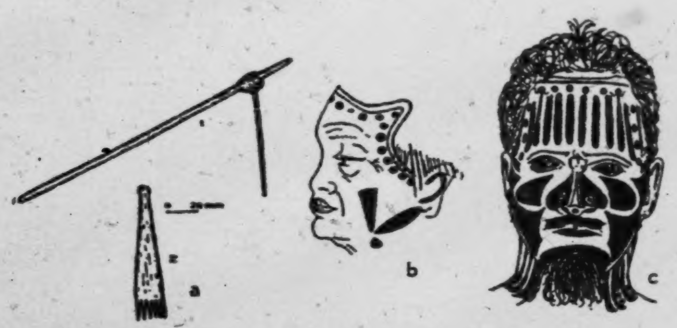


FIGURE 32.—Tattooing comb and tattooed face designs: *a*, tattooing combs of bird bone: 1, comb 75 mm. long lashed at right angles to a handle 203 mm. long with thin white tapa bound round in a ball and then lashed with thin thread; 2, comb with six teeth, slight constriction below knob, 88 mm. long, 8 mm. wide at lower end (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna); *b*, tattooing of woman's face (from Lavachery, 134, p. 256); *c*, tattooing of man's face, vertical stripes on forehead given human form by adding dot at upper end of tapering body and bent arms at side (from Stolpe, 214, fig. 4).

Face Designs

Forehead. Tattooing of the forehead was called *retu*. Two parallel, straight or curved lines banded the forehead just below the hair line and then continued down the temples, turning backward at the level of the eyes (fig. 32, *b*). If curved, the parallel lines were divided into three segments: one in the middle with the concavity up and the others on either side. A series of large dots (*humu* or *puraki*) always ran below and along the stripes. Six to ten vertical, fusiform, or straight, solid stripes filled in the remaining space (fig. 32, *c*). The parallel lines across the forehead and the fringe of dots were the first motifs tattooed on the face, as evidenced by the fact that they were present on persons whose tattooing remained unfinished. This pattern was the most general, since it is the one commonly recorded by the early voyagers.

The Easter Island man depicted in Du Petit-Thouars' atlas (fig. 33, *a*) has triangular patches on the temples and in the middle of the forehead. This tattooing may be over-simplified and perhaps is not entirely reliable.

Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 564) writes: "They are all prodigiously punctured on every part of the body, the face in particular; and their women who were very small and slender limbed had likewise punctures on the face, which resembled the patches worn by our ladies." These big dots were carefully reproduced by Hodges, the artist of Cook's expedition. Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 53) also describes this motif: "Some of them tattoo their forehead in arched lines as well as the edges of their ears and the fleshy parts of their lips." According to Palmer (171, p. 171), "in 1852 it was noticed in particular that they had a row of dots over the forehead close to the hair, which ran down to the lóbes of the ears." Like Forster and Beechey, Geiseler (87, p. 53) seems to regard this pattern as appropriate for women: "Very often the women have on their face a heavy line which, crossing the forehead goes from one ear to the other. This line is curved and combined with a series of dots" (fig. 32, *b*). The same motif is analyzed by Thomson (215, pp. 466-467) as follows: "A narrow band around the upper part of the forehead, at the edge of the root of the hair, with little extending down upon the forehead to the band by a stem. From the coronet, a line extended round the outside edge of the ear, with a circle on the lobe." These various descriptions apply to the tapa image (fig. 31), whose forehead is crossed by several horizontal lines with the intermediate spaces filled with rows of dots. The schematic tattooing designed by Routledge's informants includes vertical stripes with dots on the forehead but lacks the parallel lines probably out of negligence.

Nose Region. A large isosceles triangle was generally tattooed on the top of the nose (figs. 30; 32, *c*). From the base of the triangle, short lines extended along the alae edges. On the tip of the nose there was a circle with a central dot. In figure 32, *c*, large triangular patches cover the sides of the nose and part of the alae and extend toward the cheeks. The "tattooed chief" sketched by Loti (145, p. 67) has a triangular stripe on the bridge of the nose, perhaps a careless representation of the usual triangle.

Eye Region. A dark stroke along the eyebrow runs parallel to a line tattooed on the upper eyelid. The lines meet a curved stroke which follows the inner corner of the eye, extending toward the triangle tattooed on the top of the nose. This pattern, called *matapea*, is figured in a sketch representing old tattooing designs drawn by Easter Islanders whom Stolpe interviewed in the Marquesas. The chevrons traced on the eyebrows of the tapa image (fig. 30) suggest a conventionalized representation of hair rather than tattooing. The same pattern is incised on wooden images. In Routledge's drawing (194, p. 219), the eye is entirely surrounded by a line which meets an oval design on the temples. The human figures carved on heads of wooden images show some tattooing around the eyes and a line extending from the corner of the eye toward the temples.

Cheeks. One tapa image (fig. 31) is decorated on the cheeks with two crescentic bands filled with dots. The upper band starts from the corner of the eyes and follows more or less the outline of the jaw. The lower band begins under the nose and covers the anterior part of the cheeks.

Very often cheeks were covered by solid triangular patches with somewhat rounded base or sides (fig. 32, *c*; 145, p. 67). Women tattooed in more recent time lack these patches and the only decoration of the cheeks consists of a motif called *tangehua*, formed by the meeting of two designs—one triangular and the other fusiform (fig. 32, *b*). According to Pinart (178, p. 239), this design symbolized a hafted stone ax. The same name was applied by Routledge's informant to an elongated oval figure at either corner of the mouth. Neither of the two designs is very suggestive of an adz or an ax, but there is little doubt that "stone adze" was the term for an ornament tattooed on the lower part of the cheek.

Mouth Region. A tattooed ring (*ngutu tika*) surrounded the mouth (figs. 30-31). This motif may be the same as that noticed by Geiseler (87, p. 36) on some persons, principally women, and described as "strokes the chin to the neck." Sometimes the upper lip was crossed by a band which tapered at both ends, not unlike a moustache (fig. 32, *c*). Most people had the mucous membrane of the lips entirely tattooed although some had it decorated with alternating bands of perpendicular strokes.

The chin was crossed by three vertical strokes descendinig from the mouth (figs. 30-31). This pattern was common but not general.

Ear Region. Only individuals who were bald or shaven could have had tattooing on the temporal region such as that indicated on the tapa images (figs. 30-31). The two crescentic bands filled with dots on the side of the head join the ends of a similar band traced above the higher part of the forehead. Seen from above these crescentic bands form a starlike figure, the center of which is painted black. The solid discs representing the ears are entirely covered with dots. A circle traced on the left temple is similar to a mark on the face of an Easter Island woman who was still living twenty years ago (123, p. 160).

Another motif for this region was a tattooed strip following the helix of the ear and sending ramifications to the cheeks. On some individuals a line extended "from the coronet round the outside edge of the ear with a circle on the lobe" (215, p. 467).

Neck Designs. The fundamental decoration of the neck (*ua*) consisted of four pairs of broad and wavy stripes. The spaces between were occupied by dots or by finer short lines which were each surmounted by a dot and ended in a series of squares or lozenges with central dots (fig. 32, *c*).

This typical pattern impressed early visitors. If Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 53) is not mistaken, this tattooing was essentially masculine. "The males tattooed themselves in curved lines of a dark Berlin blue color upon the upper part of the throat beginning at the ear, and sloping round below the under jaw." Thomson (215, p. 467) describes this design and Loti figures it (145, p. 68).

On the throat a conventionalized bird was figured with head turned down, elongated body, and wings reduced to four small strokes (figs. 34, *a-b*; 35, *e*). A superficial observer might mistake this figure for a frog or toad as did the officers of the Gonzalez expedition (90, p. 98). They give the word *cogè* as the native name for this figure. It suggests the name of the frigate bird, *makohe*, written *macoge* by Spanish-speaking people.

Typical neck tattooing has been carved on some stone images of Rano-raraku. The symbolic figuration of the vulva is painted on the nape of the neck of a tapa image. It occupies the same position as on the wooden images, when they are decorated with the conventionalized human being on top of the head.

Breast Designs

Clavicle lines were stressed by two stripes or dotted bands, running from one shoulder to the other. Under the throat of the tapa image in Belfast Museum (fig. 34, *a*) are two opposite hooked motifs formed by several parallel lines. Below is a symbolic representation of the vulva. The hooks recall the fishhook which Routledge (194, p. 219) says was tattooed on both sides of the breast at the level of the mammae. The tapa image at Belfast (fig. 34, *a*) has, in place of the fishhooks, two obsidian knives (*mataa*) conventionalized as they are on the tablets. The handles are neatly drawn and on both sides are strokes corresponding to lashing. In the reconstruction by Routledge's informant, identical *mataa*, turned upside down, appear below. The tapa image in the Peabody Museum (fig. 31) has a single *mataa* painted on the breast with a handle descending to the waist.

Two conventionalized branches, extending from belt to mammae, are the only breast designs on the young man depicted by Loti (fig. 33, *b*). Only slightly different from this motif is a slanting, tapering strip of blue color which crosses the right side of the breast of the man shown in figure 33, *a*.

Abdominal Designs

The lower part of the chest was decorated on either side by representations of the dancing paddle (*ao*; fig. 34, *a*). In figure 36, *a*, the *ao* is replaced by two human heads, the outlines of which resemble the dance paddle. Stolpe (214, p. 12) supposes that Thomson has slightly anthropomorphized the *ao*. The rounded blades of the *ao* are often provided with eyes, nose, and mouth. Thus the transition from the figure of a dance paddle to that of a man is a natural one. Conventionalized human heads with hairs, radiating like beams, were drawn by Routledge's informant as abdominal designs. Such

304 a motif was observed and described in 1770 by the Spaniards (90, p. 98): "On the vacant part of the abdomen they depict two fearsome monstrosities (*rostros horrorosos*) which they call *pare*, and I believe they look on them with veneration, but they do not like one to touch them with the hand." As Routledge gives the name *pare-pu* to the two faces tattooed on the abdomen, there is no doubt that human figures, whether or not derived from the *ao*, formed a traditional pattern for that part of the body. The word *pare* was given to me as designating a motif tattooed around the waist. On the abdominal region of the tapa image at Belfast (fig. 34, *a*) and one at the Peabody Museum (fig. 31) are representations of two obsidian spearheads, turned downward, which repeat the *mataa* tattooed on the breast. A standard motif had two large striped bands running obliquely across the abdomen, meeting at an open angle at the navel region (figs. 30, 34, *a*; 36, *a*). The band was surmounted on either side by two pairs of hooks or loops, back to back.

In contrast with the elaborate tattooing of his head, one native examined by Stolpe had only a small design on the front part of the body, above the navel, representing a conventionalized human figure treated in the style of the tablets (fig. 35, *b*).

302
304

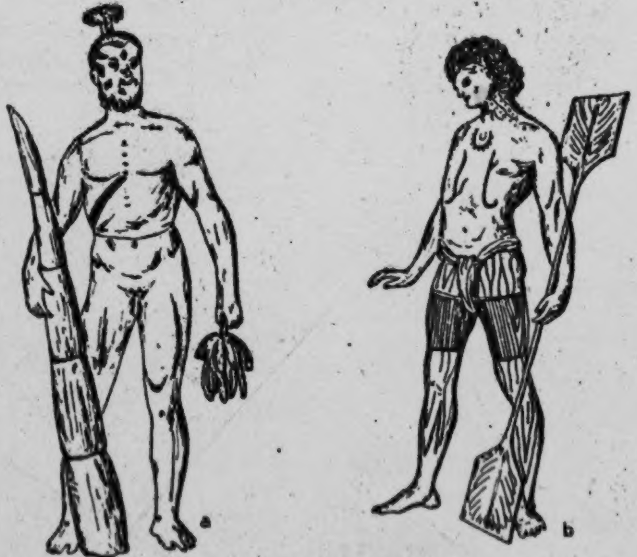


FIGURE 33.—Tattooing motifs: *a*, man with topknot holding a float (*pora*) made of reeds (after Du Petit-Thouars, 65, pl. 44); *b*, young man (from Loti, 145, p. 68).

Back Designs

304 In the examples known to us, back tattooing presents variations. On Thomson's sketch (fig. 36, *b*), the essential decoration of the back is a continuation of the two bands tattooed on the abdomen. The tattooed surface widens to cover the sides from the upper part of the thigh to the hips, then narrows into rounded ends curved upward and ending under the shoulder blades. The region between the shoulder blades is occupied by the outline of a dance paddle with its conventionalized eyes and nose. Very closely

304 related to this combination of patterns is the tattooing of an old woman sketched by Knoche (123, p. 160). In the middle of her back is a dance paddle 20 cm. long and 6 cm. wide treated more or less like that in figure 36, *b*. Along the lower part of the back, and under the *ao* is a stripe which winds back and forth. The same winding bands, terminated by a conventionalized bird head, cover the buttocks and the waist region of a tapa image (fig. 30). It is probably to this motif that the Spaniards refer in the following passage (90, p. 98): "In particular they figure on the back a maze of convolutions with so much skill that it excited our wonder, not a dot nor a line from right side to left side wanting in regularity." Girls sketched by Loti (145, p. 60), have back tattoos, which are strongly reminiscent of the motifs analyzed by Stolpe and Knoche. These are the most elaborate patterns recorded for this part of the body.

The man examined by Stolpe had on the right side of the spine a set of nine parallel lines, running vertically and bending to the right at the bottom (fig. 35, *c*). The vertical lines are surmounted by small motifs, difficult to recognize but evidently zoomorphic.

[531]

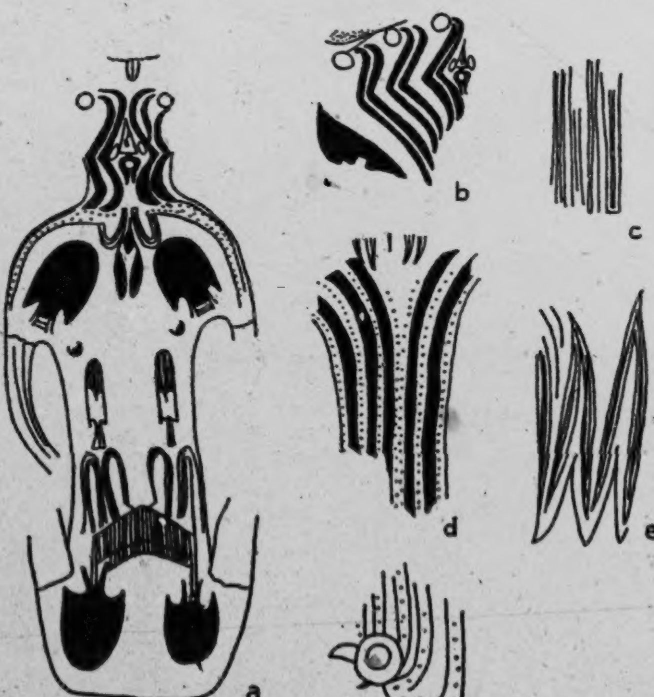


FIGURE 34.—Tattooing motifs (from Stolpe, 214, figs. 15-21): *a*, neck, chest, and abdomen designs; *b*, neck design, stylized bird with head pointed down and bordered by pairs of curved lines; *c*, upper part of thigh, parallel lines, some of them converging; *d*, back, orange-colored bands alternating with rows of dots; *e*, leg just below knee; *f*, hip, bird's beak joined to two concentric rings.

304 (See also fig. 30.) The Belfast Museum tapa image is decorated with alternating groups of dots and orange-colored lines (fig. 34, *d*) which terminate on the hip in a conventionalized bird beak (fig. 34, *f*). The name of this back motif was probably *purariki*. One tapa image (fig. 31) has a *mataa* on each shoulder blade surrounded by black dots and a downward pointing *mataa* on each buttock.

Many wooden images have two circles carved in relief on the lower back. Various old persons told Routledge (194, p. 220) that "they remembered seeing men with a pattern on the back similar to the rings of the girdle of the images."

531

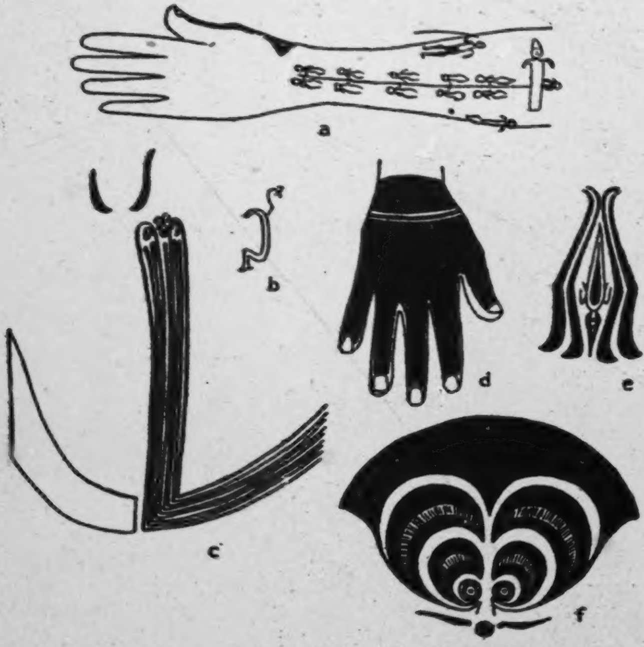


FIGURE 35.—Tattooing motifs (from Stolpe, 214, figs. 10, 6-9, 14): *a*, anthropomorphic figures on forearm; *b*, figure placed on front of body about 9 cm. above navel and somewhat to the right; *c*, design on back, nine vertical parallel lines on right side of spinal column, significance of figures at top unknown; *d*, back of hand tattooed solid black except for sides of fingers and two bands near wrist; *e*, bird figure with head pointing downward on front of neck; *f*, design on top of head.

Hand and Arm Designs

The tattooing motifs on the arms of the tapa images are somewhat blurred. On figure 30, the tattooing consists of parallel strokes extending along the forearm and on to the back of the hand where they are interrupted by three horizontal strokes. The other image (fig. 31) shows the same parallel strokes on the forearm, but on the right arm there is a somewhat confused drawing that may represent a bird. Other blurred designs can be described as an arrow head (?) and portions of solid band.

Native informants reconstructed an arm pattern for Routledge (194, p. 219) consisting of a continuous series of solid triangular designs terminating in unfilled ovals. 304

Stolpe shows a forearm covered with anthropomorphic designs (fig. 35, *a*) and a hand of solid color except for two untattooed strips (*piriu kona*) at the wrist (fig. 35, *d*).

These patterns of the hand were called *tuaha ingoingo* by my informant and are listed in Roussel's vocabulary as "back tattooing."

Thigh Designs

Viriamo's thighs are covered with such fine stripes that at a distance they appear uniformly blue. Beechey (15, pp. 52-53) supposes that this tattooing was "in imitation of blue breeches; copied no doubt from some of their visitors, who frequently tuck up their trousers to the knee in passing through water." Thomson (215, p. 467) compares this tattooing of the thighs with "silk tights with variegated patterns" (fig. 36). This pattern was carefully drawn on the top part of the thighs of the tapa images (figs. 30, *c*; 34, *c*). The back part might be decorated by a conventionalized representation of a branch with leaves (fig. 36, *b*).

The thighs of the Easter Islander depicted by Choris are crossed by slanting solid bands. An Easter Island woman painted by Du Petit-Thouars' artist (65, pl. 44), has the inner side of the thighs tattooed in a continuous blue surface which gives the effect of a leather crotch on riding breeches. Loti shows the tattooing of the thigh divided into regions. The upper part of the thigh has an alternate series of angles, some of them with curved or undulating outline; the second region is separated from the first by a horizontal band (fig. 33, *b*). The lower part of the thigh is covered by fine perpendicular lines ending at another band above the knee. One Peabody Museum tapa image (fig. 31, *a*) has on the lower part of the thigh, above the knee, motifs that can be defined as chevrons and triangles.

Leg Designs

Choris shows men with slanting stripes on the legs similar to those on the thighs, but terminating at perpendicular parallel lines along the tibia. The tattooing of the leg (*humu*), as indicated on the Belfast image (fig. 34, *e*), shows a series of long triangles within triangles, ending in a serrated border. The analogy of this motif with that shown in figure 33, *b*, is very striking. On the other hand, little analogy exists between this pattern and the sign of the tablets called *humu i te vae* (tattooing of the legs). According to Thomson (fig. 36) the tattooing of the legs might have consisted of filled perpendicular bands, separated by stripes of natural color. Pinart (178, p. 239) mentions circular tattooing round the ankles.

Realistic Motifs

An outstanding feature of Easter Island tattooing is the number of realistic motifs used. Dance paddles, obsidian spear heads, plant branches, and human figures were parts of the ordinary pattern of any complete tattooing. Other subjects were represented according to the fancy of the individual. The Easter Islander met by Stolpe in Tahiti had a forearm tattooing which "made him a living chronicle of Easter Island" (fig. 35, *a*). The bearer of these designs explained them as a representation of the dragging to the landing place of the big image at the British Museum. The ten figures on the longitudinal line represent English sailors; the tall figure with a stick, the first officer; and the other figures the second officers. The little human image by the transverse statue above the elbow is a dancing chief. 304 532

It was probably customary to represent in tattooing some important incident in which the tattooed person had participated. My informant, Victoria Rapahango, told me that her grandfather who was taken by storm near the reef Salas y Gomez, had a canoe tattooed on his face when he returned. [211]

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TATTOOING

304 831 Little is known of the symbolic value of tattooing. According to Geiseler (87, pp. 29-36), the vulva tattooed on the breast was an ensign of married chiefs; according to Stolpe (214, p. 10) it indicated only that the young man who wore this mark had watched the carnal union of a couple.

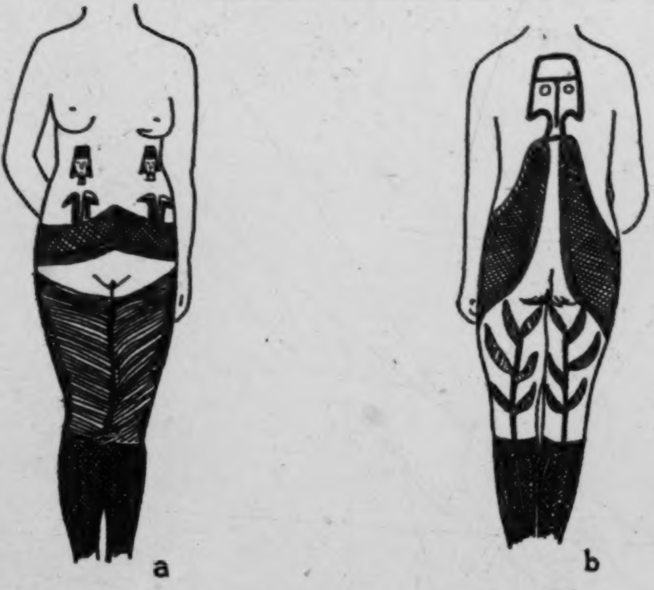


Figure 36.—Tattooing of a woman: *a*, front view; *b*, back view (from Thomson, 215, fig. 4).

833 One of the tattooed old women interviewed by Knoche (171, p. 16) told him that the *rapa* tattooed on her back represented one of her first lovers. This tattooing was done in youth, after the first sexual intercourse.

832 The natives sometimes interpreted figures on petroglyphs as tattoo patterns. Series of small concavities carved on the rocks, strongly suggest the dots tattooed across the forehead.

According to my informant, the first tattooing was made on the leg when a child was about eight years old. Geiseler (87, p. 35) states that young people were tattooed between their twelfth and their seventeenth year.

WOODEN IMAGES

Next to the stone statues, the most famous products of Easter Island art 532 are the wooden images representing emaciated or decaying human beings. 178 These figures are mentioned for the first time by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 582). Since Captain Cook's expedition a great many of these images have 439 reached museums and private collections the world over.[14] There are few works of Polynesian art which have been more widely scattered or have become more popular. The number of wooden figures from Easter Island contrasts strongly with its geographical and ethnographical importance and may be explained only as the result of active production over a long period of time. The intelligent and observant natives of Easter Island soon noted the interest that their strange carvings aroused in white visitors and realized that they might be made a source of profit. The early commercialization of their art is manifest in the poor quality of many wooden statues which were acquired on the island in the second half of the last century, at a time when the old traditions of workmanship were still alive. The pieces collected by Pierre Loti in 1871 (145, fig. 139) are decadent as are the specimens that Thomson bought fifteen years later. In 1882 (87, p. 32) there were still a few old images on the island that the natives were unwilling to sell. All the images which have been purchased on the island since that time exhibit the same clumsiness of form, the same crudeness of detail, and denote the same decadence in taste and in technical skill of native artists. Figures not carved for sale are characterized by elegance of outline and by a vigorous style. They are expressive of an art with a long tradition and they reveal the unusual talent and craftsmanship of the wood carvers.

The poor taste of visitors to the island is greatly responsible for the passing of the old art. Seamen, especially the Chileans, buy statues, not because of their interest or their beauty, but because they are funny. The natives are perfectly aware of this fact, and they now seek to make their images as ridiculous as possible. The ancient forms have been exaggerated and twisted; the images are no longer conventionalized figures but awkward caricatures. (See the images published by Knoche, 123, pp. 138, 140; figs. 171, 176-178, 182-184.) The natives believe that the bigger a statue, the more splendid it is to foreigners, hence the general tendency is to produce carvings of gigantic proportions. Several years ago an officer of the *Baquedano* bought an image which was nearly 10 feet high.

The carving of wooden images is the only regular industry of the island. 532 439

---

[14] Wooden images from Easter Island have been reproduced in the following publications: Routledge, 194, figs. 119-120; Lehmann, 139, figs. 1, 2, 5, 6; Karutz, 116, figs. 1-4; Bahnson, 8, vol. 1, fig. 57; Schulze-Maizier, 199, pl. 20; Pinart, 178, pp. 239-240; Thomson, 215; pl. 50, figs. 1-3; Lavachery, 132, p. 14; Ratzel, 184, vol. 2, p. 331; Buschan, 36, vol. 2, fig. 171; Edge-Partington, 68, pls. 1-3; Shapiro, 202, Cahiers d'art, figs. 171, 176-178, 182, 184, 185, 187, 188; Chauvet, 45, figs. 115-148; Handbook to Ethnological Collection, 102, British Museum, fig. 158; Knapp, 117, p. 466.

532 439 [431] Each year, when the *Baquedano* arrives with her crew of cadets, the natives barter images for clothes and soap. Though expert carvers are few, through the complicated system of mutual gifts every man and woman has a number of statues to sell. Some manufacturers have workshops with most up-to-date tools. The images are caved with chisel and plane and polished with emery paper.

532 The carved human figures can be classified as follows: *moai kavakava,* emaciated men (except for a few modern images); *moai paapaa,* thin women with some male characteristics; *moai aringa,* double-headed images; *manu-*

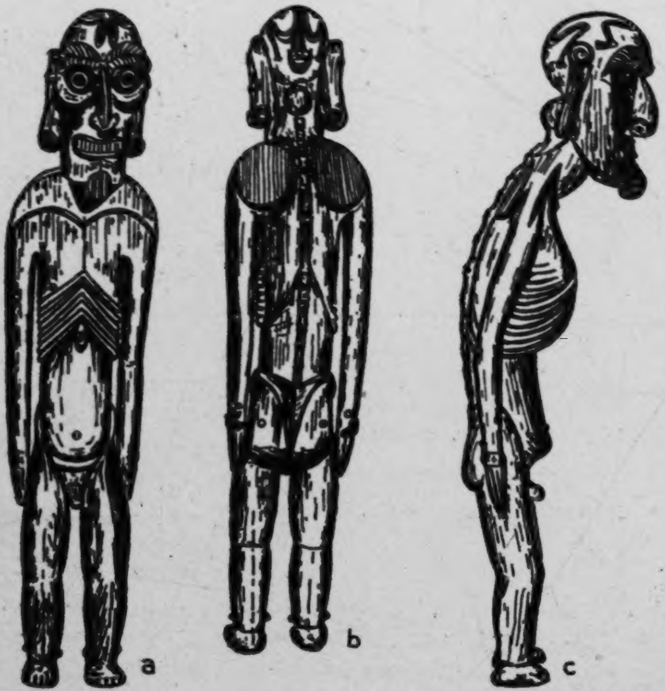


Figure 37.—Male wooden image (*moai kavakava*): *a,* front, human figure carved in relief on top of head (fig. 38, *a*), lips closer together in middle than at sides, nipples indicated just above ribs, two pairs of 12 ribs with sternum lacking, xiphisternum long, sharp, and bent inward, long abdomen separated from innominate bones by deep groove; *b,* back, seventh cervicle pierced with hole for suspension, 13 vertebrae, innominate bones indicated by three ridges forming a triangle divided by sacrum; *c,* side, height 455 mm., shoulder width 96 mm. (Ratton coll., Paris).

uru, grotesque figures of men; *tangata-manu*, bird-men, images combining the head of a bird with the body of an emaciated man.

MALE IMAGES (MOAI KAVAKAVA)

The outstanding characteristics of the male images (*moai kavakava*) are constant and easily summarized (fig. 37):

The elongated head is disproportionately large for the body. The neatly rounded cranium sometimes protrudes in the occipital region. The eyebrows, represented by a ridge crossed by incised chevrons, are exaggeratedly high and wide. The eyeballs are made of a polyhedral piece of obsidian inserted in a ring of fishbone. The large, thin nose is markedly aquiline. The cheekbones protrude, accentuating the hollow cheeks. The large mouth is usually half open with upturned corners showing two rows of teeth. Sometimes the mouth is stained with red earth (*kiea*), traces of which are seen on some old specimens. The protruding chin is vigorously outlined with sharp edges and always has a goatee that curls back.

Every image has the long ears characteristic of the natives of a hundred years ago. The ear is sometimes reproduced realistically but is more often reduced conventionally to a simple spiral with a distended lobe reaching the lower jaw and ornamented with perpendicular incised lines. The ear plug at the lower end of the ear lobe is cylindrical with both front and back faces slightly concave. An ancient image in the Museum of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, has short ears represented by a spiral (117, p. 466).

The larynx is always designated as abnormally protruding. The clavicles are indicated by two arched ridges. The ribs, the number of which varies, are always prominent. Generally the sternum is missing, the ends of the ribs joining directly. The xiphisternum is exaggeratedly long and crooked. The abdomen recedes below the front rib margin. The depression of the upper part of the abdomen makes a decided contrast with the protrusion of the navel region and the part below. The navel is emphasized, and the male sex is always indicated.

On the back, the spinal column protrudes as a ridge. The seventh cervical vetebra is represented by a rounded protuberance, generally at the back of the neck, which develops into a knob for the suspension hole, though the protuberance is not always pierced. The length and the number of the vertebrae vary, but usually their length is exaggerated and their total number is quite below normal. An image in the possession of Dr. Lavachery is an exception, with its 24 vertebrae carved with painstaking care. The salient shoulder blades are naturalistically outlined. In most of the images the vertebral column ends at a ring, shown in relief and placed at varying heights above the pelvic rim. Often a ridge narrows downward below the pelvic rim as a direct prolongation of the vertebrae. In a few specimens the vertebrae continue below the ring and end between the legs. A ring at the level of the waist is often represented on stone statues. A similar ring is to be seen on the back of images that do not represent emaciated men. Routledge (194, p. 266) has pointed to the analogy between the carved rings on the backs of the stone and wooden images and the circles painted at the same place on young initiates (*poki manu*).

The pelvic rim is figured in numerous ways. In some images the carver has tried to represent the innominate bones as naturalistically as possible, in others he has indicated them by two arched ridges which meet at the end of the vertebral column. This elementary way of figuring the crest of the ilium has led to another, even more conventional stylization—a transverse ridge under the ring, which might be mistaken for a belt if it extended to the front. In some images the crests of the ilia curve downward, either rejoining the coccyx or being kept apart by the continuation of the vertebral column. The two excrecences on the buttocks seem to be the extremities of the two trochanters which have been displaced. The buttocks are always rounded and accentuated, the natal fold being well marked.

532 The long, thin arms are generally extended along the body with the hands resting against the thighs. The elbows are indicated by an incised V. A knob at the wrist corresponds to the internal condyles. The fingers are elongated and coarsely modeled.

The slightly flexed legs are short in proportion to the body. The thighs and the legs are almost the same width. The knee is sometimes indicated by an incised V. On the ankles one or two knobs correspond to the external or the internal malleoli. Without exception, the feet are extremely short, with incised lines for the toes which are, however, sometimes entirely missing.

The bent position of many of the *moai kavakava* is due to the natural curve of the branch or trunk of the *toro-miro* tree from which the carving is made. It is likely that the crouching attitude, after having been imposed in many figures by the material, was accepted as conventional for all figures.

ORNAMENTAL HEAD CARVINGS

On the top of the head of many old wooden images are relief carvings of men and birds. Typical examples are shown in figure 38.

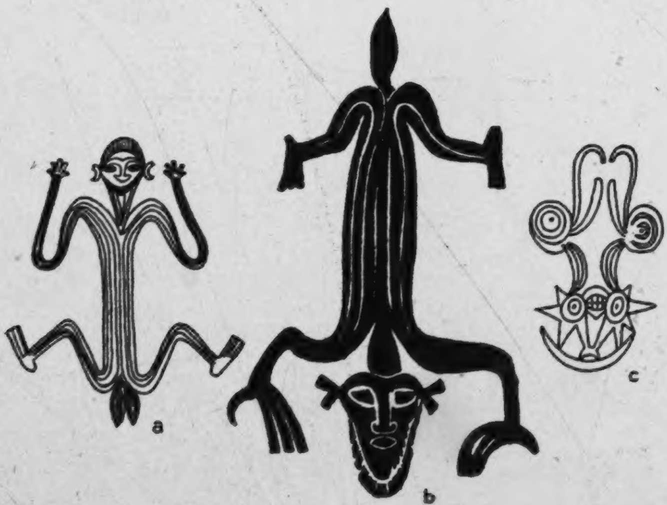


FIGURE 38.—Figures carved in relief on heads of wooden images: *a*, human figure from head of image shown in figure 37, oval appendages between legs indicate bird tail; *b*, semi-human figure crouching in position of a lizard with upturned head, triangular face fringed by beard, elongated ears represented by two V-shaped appendages at temple level, three fingers on right hand and crooked thumb suggesting lizard claw, fingers of left hand fused into crescent, tail between legs (Univ. Pennsylvania Mus. 18059); *c*, relief carving on image (Peabody Mus., Salem, 4540).

On the head of an image in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (139, fig. 7), is a figure of a man viewed from the front. But for the position of the limbs and the tail appendage between the legs, it has no animal traits. The head is round with a goatee and long ears. Lines and surfaces on the face suggest tattooing. A conventionalized feather headdress outlines the top of the head. Hands and feet are those of a man.

Some images show the double-headed birds so dear to the ancient Easter Island artists. The best example of this motif is on the head of a wooden image in the British Museum. On the front are carved in relief the heads of four frigate birds—two large and two small—facing each other and merging into a single body which extends on the occiput. (See 45, figs. 135-136.) An image in the Museum of Munich has what superficially looks like the back of a crustacean (139, fig. 12), but the ribs and the backbone might well be those of a human being or any other animal represented according to the conventional pattern of Easter Island art. The vertebral column spreads into a fanlike termination, which is identical with the tail of the bird-man and some lizard images.

A relief carving on the head of an image in the Peabody Museum at Salem consists of two conventionalized bird heads emerging from two starlike motifs resting on a crescent (fig. 38, *c*). The interest of this decoration rests on the similarity between this design and certain symbols of the tablets. In such artistic productions different motifs have been combined—for instance, the double-headed bird might be provided with human legs, open and flexed as in the anthropomorphic representations. The tail or oval appendage between the legs of the human figures corresponds here to a fanlike design—the tail of the bird. On some images, groups of curved lines cross the head from one side to the other and are suggestive of hair. A specimen in the Museum of Dresden (18360) has a fish incised around the pupil of the eye. (See Lehmann, 139, fig. 9.)

ORNAMENTS ADDED TO THE FIGURE

According to Pinart (178, p. 239), some wooden images were decorated with wigs of hair and necklaces. He reproduces a wooden image, preserved in the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadero, Paris, which is covered with a wig. (See 136, p. 118.) I am inclined to consider this wig an addition made at the time the figure was provided with a necklace made of shell discs, threaded on coconut sennit—an ornament which apparently comes from the Carolines. The wig is so similar to Marquesan wigs used on the heads of wooden images that I believe it was displaced from one of those images. On the skull of the Easter Island image, under the wig, is an anthropomorphic carving, in relief, of the same type as those described above. The need for such decoration is not clear if the original plan was to cover the head with a wig. In the same museum is an image, certainly not very ancient, with a bunch of hair stuck into the top of the head as a topknot to give a more realistic appearance.

A very poor specimen, collected by Pierre Loti in 1872, still bears two cock feathers, crudely affixed to the forehead (145, fig. 139). At the time this image was acquired, the natives were already making *moai kavakava* for curio trade, and these feathers as well as the hair are probably embellishments made by the carvers in an effort to give some originality to their products. A few images, which obviously belong to the category of curios, have belts or *maro* of tapa around the loins.

MOAI TANGATA

A few wooden images share many features with the *moai kavakava* but lack some essential cadaverous characters. An image, belonging to the Young collection, which is known to me only through photographs, has a head treated according to the usual convention of the *moai kavakava*, but the body is distinctly realistic, only minor details show the influence of the ordinary pattern (protruding condyles or malleoli). To the same category belongs an image in the Pierre Matisse collection which is probably of a later date.

FEMALE IMAGES (MOAI PAAPAA)

532 Female images are called *moai paapaa* (flat figures). Unlike the *moai kavakava*, these do not represent an emaciated human body in a state of decay. Features like the ridge on the chest representing the clavicles, the protruding condyles or malleoli, and the pelvic rim are conventionalized details derived from the *moai kavakava*. Bishop Museum has an excellent specimen of the *moai paapaa* (fig. 39) which may be singled out as a type for the entire category of this image:

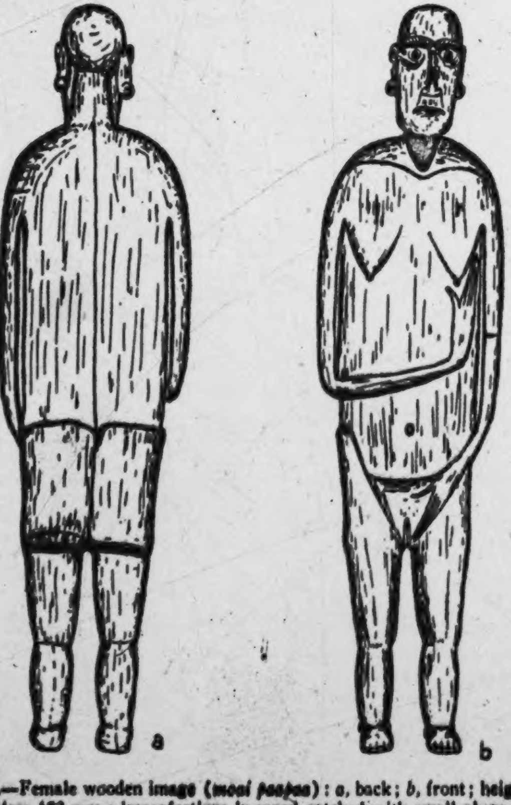


FIGURE 39.—Female wooden image (*moai paapaa*): *a*, back; *b*, front; height 763 mm., width at shoulders 182 mm.; imperfections in wood patched with small plugs (6206).

The head is small in proportion to the body, with the top neatly rounded. The eyebrows protrude, as do those of the male images. The nose is of a proportionate size and is slightly aquiline. The cheeks are flat. The lines extending from the alae of the nose to the mouth are well marked. The mouth is closed and the lips have an almost natural thickness. As a concession to the traditional pattern of the *moai kavakava*, all the female images wear goatees. The eyes consist of a bone ring with a piece of obsidian. The ears are conventionally represented by a carved spiral with distended lobe ending in an ear plug, the front surface of which is hollowed out. The neck is protruding. Two curved, low ridges on the upper breast mark the clavicles. The surface of the long breasts is slightly raised. The incised sex organ has the conventional appearance of the symbol found on many boulders throughout the island. 532

The backbone is indicated by a groove from the end of the neck to the bifurcation of the legs. The crests of the ilia are represented by two curved ridges which join at the vertebral column. This ridge ends in a lateral prominence that corresponds to the upper part of the thigh.

The arms are extremely long and thin, the right one is bent on the abdomen with the hand turned toward the left breast. The left arm extends along the body and the hand lies on the pelvic region and touches the vulva. The hands are narrow and elongated. The thumb, separate from the fingers, is turned backward. The incised hands are like those of the stone images in form and slenderness.

The legs are flexed, and thigh and leg are of almost the same thickness. The feet are extremely short and clumsy.

Female images are not common, but they belong to the old art of the island. The workmanship is too careful and the type is too uniform to be a recent development. Both the use and the value, symbolical or otherwise, of these images are unknown. These images never have a suspension hole as do the male images.

GROTESQUE IMAGES

Tepano, a distinguished carver, was fond of making images that departed conspicuously from the normal type, giving them the appearance of ugly, monstrous beings, called *manu-uru* (kite, mask, or masquerading people). The Museum of Bremen (114, figs. 184-185) has two very old images, undoubtedly in the ancient style of the island, which represent real grotesques. One of them has a snoutlike, protruding mouth and a hump for the abdomen. The second is terribly contorted. In the two figures, some of the characteristics of the *moai kavakava* are respected, but many others are entirely disregarded. 322

The grotesque figure shown in figure 40 has a big head, a stout abdomen, and short feet. The ears are short and they alone are treated in the conventional style of the island. Incised lines form the hair on the top of the head and incised chevrons cover the wide eyebrows. The eye sockets are hollowed out and inlaid with bone and obsidian. The nose is almost straight, and there is a mustache on the upper lip. The shoulders are rounded and the shoulder blades protrude. The arms are separate from the body with the hands resting on each side of the abdomen. The workmanship is fair, and though the image is certainly post-European it is near that of ancient tradition. Another image of the same type, in the Young collection, is of purer style and represents a man crouching on the floor. But for extremely salient clavicles, this image is carved in a most realistic fashion. Another image of the same thick-set type but feminine, preserved in the Museum of Lubeck, Germany (116, pl. 4, figs. 3-4), has the legs summarily treated and is apparently of a rougher style than the other two.

BIRD-MAN IMAGES

532 The image of the bird-man, a being with bird head and human body, is one of the most frequently represented figures of the petroglyphs. At Orongo, the center of the cult of the bird-headed god, this image has been carved in the rock more than 150 times. There is strong evidence that the bird-man thus figured symbolizes the god Makemake. On the other hand, wooden images of this god (fig. 41) are rare.

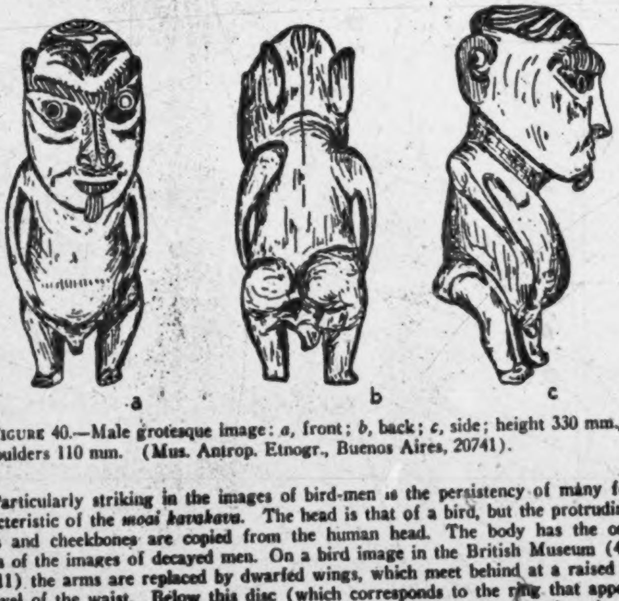


FIGURE 40.—Male grotesque image: *a*, front; *b*, back; *c*, side; height 330 mm., width at shoulders 110 mm. (Mus. Antrop. Etnogr., Buenos Aires, 20741).

Particularly striking in the images of bird-men is the persistency of many features characteristic of the *moai kavakava*. The head is that of a bird, but the protruding eyebrows and cheekbones are copied from the human head. The body has the ordinary details of the images of decayed men. On a bird image in the British Museum (45, figs. 110-111) the arms are replaced by dwarfed wings, which meet behind at a raised disc at the level of the waist. Below this disc (which corresponds to the ring that appears on the ordinary images at the same place) is a short tail, partially covering the human buttocks. The same details are seen on a specimen in Leningrad (139, fig. 4). The bird-man image in the American Museum of Natural History in New York is not so elaborate in detail. The general outlines are those of the other specimens, but the ribs are not carved on the chest. The image is decorated with signs from the tablets.

The close blending of human and bird elements in these figures has led to extraordinary combinations. A bird-man in the Museum of Braunschweigen, Germany, has human ears which are well carved but are set horizontally; over them the wide, rounded eyes are suggestive of those of a bird. The upper part of the nose is depressed, continuing into a horizontal, aquiline nose with expanded nostrils. A long beak replaces the mouth, and under it hangs the fleshy craw of the hen. (See 6, pp. 389-390.) Such fantastic intermixture of features appears on another bird-man image in the British Museum (45, figs. 110-111) in which the beak overhangs a human face, but the bird and the man share one pair of eyes.

The bird-man image reproduced in figure 41 has an unusually short, thick beak, like that of a parrot. The head, neck, and legs are covered with rows of incised angles suggesting feathers. On the chest there are only two pairs of ribs. The nipples and navel are prominent. The legs are flexed and the feet reduced to small protuberances with no apparent indication of toes. The large circular eye sockets have raised edges and were probably filled with a bone ring and a piece of obsidian. Under a prominent scapula, carved as in the *moai kavakava*, the wings come together. Where they meet there is a protruding knob. The fanlike tail with parallel incised lines covers the lower back and ends over the buttocks.

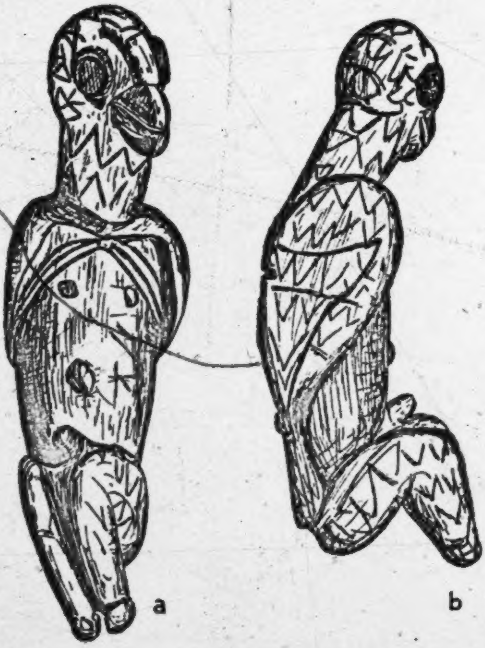


FIGURE 41.—Bird-man image: *a*, front; *b*, back; 198 mm. high, incised lines represent feathers (Ratton coll., Paris).

The bird-man images demonstrate the extent to which the conventional motifs were imposed on all Easter Island wood carving. The bird-men in the petroglyphs have none of the features of those cut in wood.

DOUBLE-HEADED IMAGES

The first double-headed images (*moai aringa*) were collected on Easter Island by Geiseler (87, p. 67), in 1884, who catalogs them as "Double-headed divinity. Used at dances and festivities. One side shows the face of a man and the other that of a woman." More recently, double-headed images have been collected which are so crude that they must be fancies of the commercialized art of the present natives.

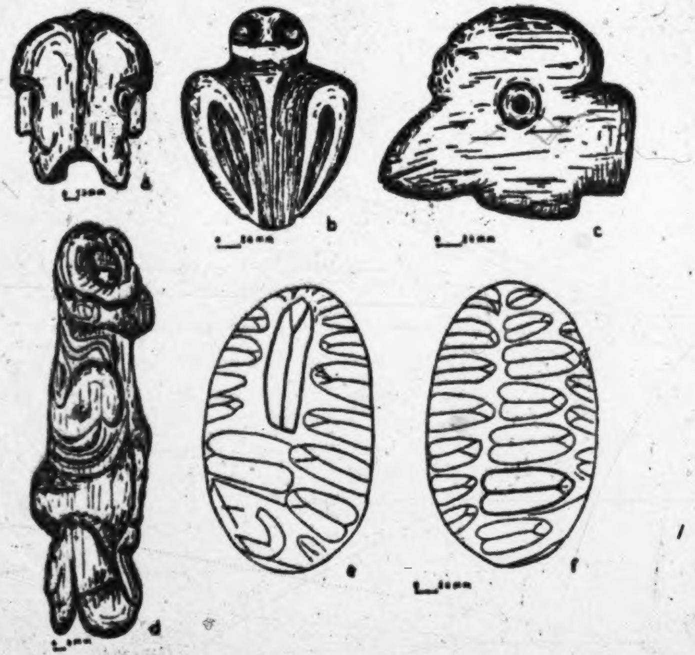


FIGURE 42.—Good-luck objects: *a*, double-headed wooden pendant; 887 mm. high, 76 mm. wide (Peabody Mus., Salem, E5307); *b*, stone turtle with eyes bulging, nose formed by raised triangle on same plane as forehead, neck depressed, flippers indicated by depression on each side, raised ridge along back, ventral surface plain, 212 mm. long (3502); *c*, stone cock head, protruding eye with central cavity, 169 mm. long, 137 mm. wide (C4154); *d*, wooden lizard with suspension hole through one vertebra, 216 mm. long, 52.7 mm. wide, and 63 mm. thick (Peabody Mus., Salem, E13896); *e-f*, two sides of boulder with incised representations of the vulva, 260 mm. long, 159 mm. wide (B4454).

On the tablets there are some representations of human beings with two heads and the upper part of the ceremonial staff is carved into the form of two heads placed back to back. The Peabody Museum, Salem, has what is apparently a wooden pendant (fig. 42, *a*) which could be mistaken for the upper part of a double-headed image. The two heads are back to back, they have no neck, and the lower part of the pendant is deeply notched. On the top of the head there is a suspension hole. The bird with double head on a single body is figured among the petroglyphs and occurs commonly among signs of the tablets. 532

SIGNIFICANCE OF WOODEN IMAGES

Like the stone images, the *mòai kavakava* and *paapaa* are enigmas. Their true significance was not even clear to the natives 50 years ago. Though our information about them is vague, we know their ritual use. The earliest evidence on this subject is contained in a letter of Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 69): 532 778

> I was unable to discover any positive act of a religious cult. In all the huts are found small images 30 cm. tall, representing men, fish, and birds. Beyond any doubt they are idols, but I never noticed that any kind of respect was payed to them. Sometimes I saw the Kanakas lift their images up in the air, make some gestures, and accompany the whole thing with a sort of dance and with an insignificant chant. What was their purpose? I think they did not know it themselves. They simply did what they had seen their fathers do, without reflecting longer about it. If you ask them what it means, they will answer you . . . that so is the custom of the country.

Palmer (171, p. 180), though he calls them "lares" or "household gods", asserts that they were not worshipped and that the natives knew nothing about the significance of the motifs carved on them. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 128) states definitely that these images were considered sacred. Gill (89, p. 181) learned from an Easter Islander that such images were worshipped.

Fifty years ago Geiseler (90, p. 32) was told, probably by Salmon, that these images represented secondary gods which were exhibited during the feasts, notably those celebrated at harvest time or when the first fruits were offered. The rest of the time, the images were kept in huts, carefully wrapped in tapa. During feasts, everyone displayed the images he possessed, hanging them on his person. The more images a man could wear, the greater chance he had of having his requests granted by the deity. Sometimes individuals were loaded with 10 or 20 images. The images were unwrapped amid chants and rocked in cadence on the arms of the owners. The natives took pride in the number of images they owned and in their workmanship. In confirmation of Geiseler's information, I was told repeatedly that the images were taken out during feasts by men who danced with them. My informants demonstrated vividly the grotesque and often obscene gestures made by those who carried images.

Though Thomson (215, p. 534) had access to the same source of information as Geiseler, he mentions only that the images "were given a place of honor at feasts and ceremonies." However, he seems certain that they were representations of spirits and that they figured deceased chiefs and persons of note. There is perhaps some truth in Knoche's statement (126, p. 95) that "the images of *toro-miro* were carved when the member of a family died whose name was given to the figure." [769]

532 778 Routledge (194, p. 270) concludes that "on the whole the female figures and those with ribs seem to have been considered to be supernatural beings; they are generally called *akuaku*, and sometimes *atua*, while the others represent men."

Edge-Partington (68, p. 180) writes that the images were kept in the huts "either in niches (?) or suspended from the ridge pole, and were carefully wrapped up in nature cloth or tapa."

532 769 778 The wooden images showing protruding bones were intended to represent the spirits of dead people. This conception, which was very ably suggested by Desmedt (59, pp. 134-135) is borne out by traditions and by the statements of natives who still conceive the spirits of the dead as identical with the wooden images.

532 773 778 The legend accounting for the origin of the first images has been recorded several times (194, pp. 269-270; 222, pp. 61-64; 27, pp. 137-138). Most of the natives know the story, and their version may be useful for a true understanding of the nature of wooden images:

539 He manau Tuu-ko-ihu mo (o)ho ki Hare-koka i Hanga Hahave. He noho Tuu-ko-ihu, he moe i Ahu-te-peu. He otea i te po a, he ea, he oho ki Vaitakatiki, ki Puku-takaure, ki Ahu-ava-a-atea, ki te Henua-kava. He iri, he oho, he tuu ki Punapau. I ka tuu atu ki mua ki te hitirau, ko te varua e momoe roa i te aro o te hitirau. He kavakava no, he ivi no, ina he hakari. Te ingoa nga varua era ko Hitirau ko Nuku-te-mango. He oho Tuu-ko-ihu. He rangi mai etahi varua ko Hauriuri te ingoa: "Ka ara korua, ku tikea ana te korua kavakava e te ariki." He veve veveri, he ara, he ui atu ko te tangata. He oho ro ana, he ea ki runga, he oho ararua, he pu mai amua, he ui ki te ariki: "Pehe taau mea maa." He ki te ariki: "Ina." He ki hakahou: "Atikea te mee aau i ui." He ki te ariki: "Ina." He ngaro hakahou tau nga varua era.

He oho Tuu-ko-ihu. He piri hakahou ki a Tuu-ko-ihu i Mataengo. He ui hakahou: "Pehe taau mee maa, e te ariki e." He ki Tuu-ko-ihu, "Ina." He oho hakahou Tuu-ko-ihu he piri hakahou i Puku-rautea. He ui hakahou ki a Tuu-ko-ihu: "Pe he taau mee maa e te ariki e." "Ina." Ana i haaki Tuu-ko-ihu ku tingai ana o te ui i to raua kavakava oira ana tingai. He ngaro hakahou.

Tuu-ko-ihu decided to go to the house called Hare-koka (House-of-the-cockroaches) at Hanga Hahave. Tuu-ko-ihu was living then in Ahu-te-peu. Early in the morning he left and went to Vaitakatiki, to Puku-takaure, to the Ahu-ava-a-atea, to Henua-kava. He went up and climbed to Punapau. He happened to see in front of the red stone two spirits who were sleeping near the (cliff) of red stone. They were just ribs and they had no bodies. The names of these spirits were: Hitirau and Nuku-te-mango. Tuu-ko-ihu went on. Another spirit, named Hauriuri, cried: "Awake, the king saw your ribs." They woke with a start and saw this man. They went, (they) climbed and crossed the way in front of Tuu-ko-ihu. They asked: "What do you know?" "Nothing", answered the king. They said again: "Perhaps you noticed something." "No", said the king. The two spirits disappeared again.

Tuu-ko-ihu went on. (But) the spirits met him again at Mataengo. They asked again: "What do you know about us, O King?" Tuu-ko-ihu answered, "Nothing." Tuu-ko-ihu went on and he met them again at Puku-rautea. They asked Tuu-ko-ihu again: "What do you know about us, O King?" "Nothing." If Tuu-ko-ihu had told them he had seen their ribs, they would have killed him. They disappeared again.

He turu, he oho Tuu-ko-ihu he tuu ki Hare-koka. I ka tuu atu Tuu-ko-ihu ki Hare-koka ko te tangata, e uru ana i te umu, te umu ava, he hoahoa i te tutuma o te toro-miro. He oho atu Tuu-ko-ihu, he too mai te tutuma, he mau ki roto ki te hare. He tarai i te moai e rua etoru raa. He oti te moai rae, he too mai i te rua tutuma, he tarai hakaou. He oti te rua moai ko Hitirau, ko Nuku-te-mango.

He moe mata hakahou Tuu-ko-ihu i te po, e hauru no a Tuu-ko-ihu, he ui atu te mata o te varua o Tuu-ko-ihu ki te nga vie erua ko Paapa-ahiro, ko Paapa-akirangi. He ui atu te mata o te kuhane o Tuu-ko-ihu. He kokomo ro ana i te rima. He veveri te kuhane o Tuu-ko-ihu. He ara, he otea, he too mai, he tarai hakahou erua hoki moai paapaa. He oti te tarai ararua moai, he too mai ahaha moai. He amo, he oho ki Ahu-te-peu, he tuu ki Ahu-te-peu ki roto ki te hare. He hakarere, he hakamaromaro a i roto i te hare. He noho.

He tanu mai te moai o te tangata ki a Tuu-ko-ihu mo anga tangata. I puhi i te umu i tau, i te moa, i tao i te ika, i te uhi, i te kumara, he mau mai ki a Tuu-ko-ihu o te anga i te moai. He noho Tuu-ko-ihu, he tarai, he oti te moai nei. He oti te moai nei, te raa ananake anga era Tuu-ko-ihu i te moai. O kope era o kope era e ku tata mai a te moai hoou he tarai hakahou. He moai umu ana ka vaai ki te hoa moai. He moai umu kore ana ka hakarere i ai ananake te moai e anga era.

He tuu ki toona raa, he oho mai te tangata ananake moai tae vaai. He ki ki te ariki ki a Tuu-ko-ihu: "E te ariki e, e Tuu-ko-ihu e, e ka vaai mai koe i tamatou moai." "Ka noho mai." He too mai Tuu-ko-ihu, he hakahaere i te moai i roto i te Hare-hakahaere-moai. He nape iho te ingoa o te hare ko te Hare-hakahaere-moai. He haere te moai kavarikavari i roto i te hare. He ui te mata o te hoa moai e haere mai era. He ki te tangata: "Kareka te moai ku haere ana iroto i te hare." Ai ka ui no te mata ai ka maharo no: "Kareka te moai e haere mai era." He tuu ki te ahiâhi, he hohoki te tangata ki toraua hare ina kai vaai Tuu-ko-ihu i te moai i hohoki ro ai.

Tuu-ko-ihu went down and arrived at Hare-koka. When he arrived there the people were taking the stones from the oven. They were throwing away firebrands. Tuu-ko-ihu took two firebrands and carried them into the house. He carved first one image, then another from the firebrands. He finished two images [representing] Hitirau and Nuku-te-mango.

532
539
773
778

Tuu-ko-ihu fell asleep and dreamed of two women: Paapa-ahiro and Paapa-akirangi. His soul in the dream had seen they were hiding their sex with their hands. Tuu-ko-ihu awoke with a start; he got up and when it was day he took wood and carved two flat images. He loaded them on his back and went back to Ahu-te-peu. He left the images standing in the house where he lived.

The people went to Tuu-ko-ihu with images to be carved. They lit their oven and cooked in it leaves, fowls, fish, yams, and sweet potatoes; and they brought this food to Tuu-ko-ihu, so that he would carve images. Tuu-ko-ihu carved and finished various images. He was working all day long. People and more people came with new figures to be carved. They [got] the images when they offered an earth oven to the owner of the images. But if there was no earth oven for the images, he [Tuu-ko-ihu] kept all the images he had made.

One day all the men whose images were not returned went to Tuu-ko-ihu and said: "O king, o Tuu-ko-ihu, give us our images back." "You wait." Tuu-ko-ihu made the images walk in his house and thereafter the house was called "The-house-of-the-walking-images." The images walked and made turns and turns. The owners of the images saw their images move and said: "How amusing are these images moving in the house." When they saw that, they were full of admiration. "How funny are these moving images." In the evening these people went to their houses, but Tuu-ko-ihu did not give [back] their images when they returned.

532 539 773 778 Routledge's version of this legend (194, p. 270) presents a single variant. The two spirits, in order to be sure that Tuu-ko-ihu has not seen their ribs after dark "prowled around the house, listening with their hands up to their ears, to hear if he gossiped about what he had seen, intending if he did so to kill him. The ariki, however, held his tongue." In the version published by Vives Solar (222, p. 62) the two spirits are awakened by a spirit called Akere-kere, who tells them that their ribs have been seen by Tuu-ko-ihu. Discarding the magical element of the tale, Vives Solar (222, p. 64) has Tuu-ko-ihu move the images by cords. On this misunderstanding, Knoche (126, p. 98) and later Brown (27, pp. 132-145) built their theory of the Easter Island marionettes and the parallels with Indonesia.

There is another tale about Tuu-ko-ihu and the images:

> There was a young man living in Riu-o-hatu. He planned to make a feast (*koro*) for his father. For that purpose, he raised chickens and had a house built. All his people worked on it. When the *koro* house was finished, he left his people and went to Ahu-te-peu to call on Tuu-ko-ihu and ask him for a statue. He arrived at Tuu-ko-ihu's place and asked: "Give me a statue, o king, in loan for the feast in honor of my father." The ariki said: "It is all right." Tuu-ko-ihu gave him an image. The young man took it and returned to his *koro*. He broke sugar-cane stalks, dug out yams and sweet potatoes and put bananas in a ditch. He lit the oven and put in it fowls, yams, and sweet potatoes. Some people sang *riu* chants, others *ei* chants and others *a te atua*. They took all the foods—bananas, sugar cane, fowls—to the *koro* house. They set up the image at the door of the *koro* house, and the people went to admire this image. They spent three days in the *koro* house. This *koro* house was nice, and the people ate plenty of sugar cane and bananas.
>
> When the *koro* was finished, the young man stayed there. The third day, the *koro* caught fire. Men, women, and children shouted: "The *koro* is burning, the *koro* is burning." This cry sounded at Hanga-roa, at Motu-tautara, at Ahu-te-peu. Tuu-ko-ihu heard it and said: "O my brother 'The jumping-little-bird' (*piu-hekèrere*) jump!" A servant of Tuu-ko-ihu was sent to Riu-o-hatu. When the young man saw him, he said: "Your image is burnt up." The servant said: "No, it did not burn." He looked for it and found it lying far away. The servant called the owner of the *koro* and said: "Here is your image." He returned it to Tuu-ko-ihu.

532 778 The connection of the images with the spirits of the dead is made evident in the first myth. The second shows that these images were exhibited during feasts and that perhaps their presence was indispensable. Numerous details about their handling, such as their ceremonial unwrapping, would be incomprehensible unless we suppose that these images were really gods or representations of deified ancestors. The handling of the images and the chants addressed to them correspond to the various methods of coddling and flattering the gods used in the Tuamotus and Tahiti.

In the course of time the artistic element may have become predominant; thus many of the images may have been carved and carried merely as ornaments or precious property, displayed during a feast.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN WOODEN IMAGES

Wooden images of humans are common to the cultures of eastern and 171 central Polynesia. The decayed condition portrayed in Easter Island images is foreign to other Polynesian art, except that of the Chatham Islands. A 532 Moriori image (206, pl. 4) has protruding ribs and a retracted abdominal 778 region. However, all other features are treated quite differently from those on Easter Island images. Ribs are frequently represented on the famous tree carvings of the Chatham Islands and ribs may be seen in some Maori *hei-tiki* (206, p. 66) and in the cave drawings from the South Island of New Zealand. The position of the arms—slightly flexed and lying along the thighs—is the same in Easter Island and Hawaiian images (142, p. 89).

Small wooden images seem to have been used throughout Polynesia as temporary tabernacles for gods and ancestral spirits. Probably such was their function on Easter Island. In New Zealand sticks with conventionalized figures carved on one end were used as temporary shrines for the gods (20, vol. 1, p. 281). In the Whanganui district small images were kept in the house "each of which is dedicated to the spirit of an ancestor of the family, who is believed to enter into its substance, on particular occasions, in order to hold converse with the living" (203, p. 63). Occasionally Maori wooden images were made to represent defunct relatives before which the living wept while food was offered to them (20, vol. 2, p. 60). Tahitian *ti'i* (wooden images) were also temporary receptacles for lesser gods or spirits who were called into the image by a priest or a magician (107, p. 203). The naturalistic Mangarevan wooden figures represented gods, especially the god Tu. The small stone and wooden images of Hawaii and the Marquesas were probably ceremonial objects but their exact use is not known.

GOOD-LUCK OBJECTS

The magic significance attributed by one of my informants to the signs 777 on the tablets probably derived from the fact that the natives consider as talismans or amulets every stone with an incised figure. Numerous boulders with engraved designs on them have been found on the island. The design [831] which is most frequently reproduced on the stones is that of the vulva, stylized as in figure 42, *e-f* (p. 258). [532] Rarely the outline of a fish, a bird, a turtle, or a man is seen (*fig.* 42, *b-c*). The carved figures might have increased the magic power of the stones or simply distinguished them from ordinary boulders.

J. L. Young, who collected some magic stones with the incised representation of the vulva, was given the correct name, *maea mo moa* (stone for [235] fowls) and was told that the stones "were placed under domestic fowls with the idea that the fertility of the eggs was thus promoted" (229, p. 171). A

777 few years before Young's visit, Thomson had purchased from the natives what he calls a "fowl god" (*maea moa*, stone of fowls) which he describes (215, p. 537) as "a beach pebble with slight traces of tool-marks" that was placed under a setting hen before the eggs were hatched. Stones incised with 304 designs of the vulva are common on the island and had no connection with 831 the purported ceremony of the *hakatoro* (stretching of a girl's clitoris) as 856 suggested by Young (229, p. 32). The stretching of the girl's clitoris (*repe*) was not a special rite, but a long process of deformation which lasted for years under the care of the girl's mother. Routledge counted 49 signs of the vulva (*komari*) on the rocks at Orongo and observes that the "*komari* is frequently found on hollow stones and elsewhere" (194, p. 449). The same symbol appears on a stone which was given to Thomson as a fish god (215, 778 p. 537):

> This rough, ill-shaped stone was one of the objects really worshipped by the natives. Some of them bear evidences of tool marks, but it does not appear that any effort was made to carve them. These gods were never common, and were possessed by communities or clans [lineages], and not by individuals. The legends claim that they were all brought to the island by Hotu Matua and the first settlers.

In a field near Mataveri we found a large stone, about 3 feet high, on which the conventionalized design of the big-eyed god was carved five times. The location of this stone in the middle of the cultivated grounds resembles strongly the *kumara* gods of New Zealand, which were temporary abiding-places for the *atua* and were placed in potato fields to insure a good harvest.

Natives still remember that formerly fishermen carried in their canoes 777 stones selected for their shape which were supposed to bring luck. Some 226 looked like fish, others like cocks, and some suggested the form of a man. They were called *maea ika* (stones for fish). There were special ones called *maea kahi* for the *kahi* fish. These, according to Thomson (215, p. 537), had "no distinguishing characteristics."

Amulets were buried in houses. Thomson got a fair collection of them by 777 digging beneath the door posts of ancient dwellings. "The majority are simply beach pebbles; others have been formed by rubbing; and one is a triangular-shaped stone with a face outlined upon it. These were placed beneath the houses, with much ceremony, and were supposed to ward off evil influences" (215, p. 538).

Natives frequently offered me stone blocks with natural holes which they 235 called "nests for hens." They insisted that these stones, not unlike enormous egg-cups, were "good" for the hens and caused them to lay eggs. This interpretation was confirmed by the discovery of some of these stones in an old chicken house.

Among the "fetish stones" figured by Thomson (215, pl. 60, fig. 2) there is one identical with five stones in Bishop Museum (B3545) classified as "sharpening stones." All are elongated and have a more or less conical form. The porosity of the stones would make them convenient for polishing wood, but such a use is quite hypothetical. 777 Three rectangular stones in the collection of Bishop Museum (B3546), labeled "idols", may have been fetish stones.

A small boulder in the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadero, Paris, has a human 777 face pecked on one side (fig. 55, *b*). The nose is on the same plane as the forehead. 532 The protruding eyes are oval with a central round depression representing the pupil. The mouth is weakly indicated. The back surface is rough, as if it had been broken. A similar rough head is figured by Thomson (215, pl. 51, fig. 1) with protruding cheek bones and a large mouth. I saw another small stone suggesting a coarse pounder which had a very rudimentary human figure on the upper side. This was probably also a talisman.

Images for Protection of Houses

The low entrances of houses were guarded by images of wood or of bark 532 cloth, representing lizards or rarely crayfish. The bark cloth images were 342 made over frames of reed, and were called *manu-uru*, a name given also to 789 kites, masks, and masked people. According to my principal informant, there were two of these images, one on either side of the door. Tepano protested [778] violently against the statement of Brown (27, p. 134) that the images housed spirits or *akuaku*. He insisted over and over again that "the *manu-uru* had no significance at all, that they were only ornaments of the house and that nobody but children or women were afraid of them." But one must not discard entirely the possibility that some supernatural power was attributed to the images. Very likely they were believed to protect the dwellers of the house against evil spirits.

Three of these images have been preserved. One is in the Belfast Museum (for description see 214, p. 11, figs. 12-13) and I have examined two others in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge (figs. 30, 31) which are made of plaited bundles of bulrush covered with sheets of tapa sewn over the framework and covering it entirely. The eyes and the ears are separate pieces stitched to the tapa covering. The nails are long sticks and the teeth are pieces of bulrush. The conventional style of the wooden images shows its influence in many details: the strongly aquiline nose, the protruding vertebrae and the two bulky malleoli. Tattooing motifs and facial painting have been carefully reproduced on both images (pp. 238, 239).

The large tapa images erected during the *paina* feasts (p. 344) were almost 4 meters high and a man could climb into them. A member of the La Pérouse Expedition (130) saw near an ahu, "the figure of a child two feet long, with arms crossed and the legs hanging down." This description suggests an image of the type described here.

Tepano contended that the wooden lizards were clubs (*paoa*) used to defend the entrance to the house; the same explanation is given by Geiseler (87, p. 37). Certainly wooden images were associated with house doors and their religious significance may be inferred from the fact that when a new house was built, "the wooden lizards were put formally on each side of the entrance to the porch" (194, p. 243). Possibly the images were pulled out and brandished like clubs when the village was attacked.

Many wooden lizard images have been preserved in museums in America 532 and Europe (fig. 42, *d*). A few of them are genuine but most are clumsy

1

532 modern imitations. Some very small lizards were pierced transversely through the raised backbone and were hung on a string around the necks of dancers during feasts (87, p. 32). Other images were carried in the arms and were moved rhythmically (87, p. 48).

Figures of lizards combine a triangular animal head with other features derived from the human images. The protruding eyebrows meet in a ridge that continues downward toward the mouth. The eyes are of inlaid bone and obsidian. On the neck the seventh cervical vertebra protrudes as a knob, as in the *moai kavakava* (wooden images). The ribs are treated as those in the human figure, but they are fewer. The abdomen is more or less on the same level as the under jaw and the chest. The vertebrae form a crest along the back and often have a fanlike termination, similar to a bird tail. On the lumbar region there is usually a ring, like that on the human images. The arms are long and thin and extend from under the shoulder blades across the upper part of the chest, and terminate under the head in humanlike hands, although the position suggests the legs of a lizard. The legs are either bent up or extended along the tapering point of the piece of wood out of which the image has been carved. The point was intended to be stuck into the ground. (See 68, p. 73; 99, pp. 129-131.)

On an image in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania the hips and the upper part of the thighs are covered by a raised ridge which evidently represents the upper outline of the pelvic region and expresses emaciation (99, p. 130). Another wooden image of the same type has features more like a rat than a lizard. The ears are prominently raised and the mouth is distinctly ratlike (92, p. 96).

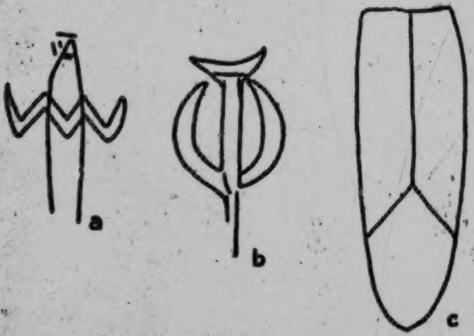


FIGURE 43.—Signs engraved on skulls used as talismans: *a*, bird without a head (U. S. Nat. Mus. 31064); *b*, bird (from Routledge, 194, fig. 96); *c*, vulva (U. S. Nat. Mus. 31064a).

ENGRAVED SKULLS

778 [565] The power that *ariki-paka* (noblemen) exercised over nature, through their mana and perhaps through their knowledge of rites, was not restricted to their lifetime. The skulls of *ariki-paka* were supposed to have the magic power to multiply chickens. They were thus highly valued and kept as precious talismans in the stone hen houses. These skulls were called *puoko moa* (skull for the fowls). They were always marked in front with an incised

design (fig. 43). Of the two skulls I collected, one bears the figure of a dance paddle (*ao*), the other that of a bird very like the one engraved on the skull reproduced by Routledge. In 1912, Knoche (123, pp. 214-215, fig. 73, *f*) obtained three magic skulls which were similarly marked. The designs are described as follows: 778

> The three designs are on the foreheads of the skulls and have probably been incised with a sharp piece of obsidian. One of the figures shows a simple system of lines. It is placed exactly above the supra-orbital of the right side and ends on the left side. There are three pairs of lines, and one of them is perpendicular to the others. The pairs are combined in a curious way so that they produce two rectangular triangles. The second design has the form of circles. The lower periphery is almost parallel with the glabella. The third figure is the best incised and is on the oldest of the three specimens. On the left side of the frontal bone there are four isosceles triangles with parallel sides which cross each other on the summits. The right side of the fourth triangle is lacking. The summit is on the glabella. The base of the triangle is slanting to the left socket.

Present-day natives still believe in the power of the skulls and are reluctant to part with them. They say that the skulls of the *ariki-paka* (noblemen) were stolen from the ahus. Relatives of the dead whose skulls had been [578]
stolen felt the insult deeply and sometimes resorted to war to avenge such injuries. This information is invalidated by the tradition concerning the skull obtained by Routledge (194, p. 240). It was the skull of Hotu who made [523]
it an heirloom because "it was extremely good for chickens" and he did not wish it to go out of the family. His son gave it to a relative whose son was an old man, and from him Routledge bought it. The incised skull which was sold to me by Tepano had been presented to him by the uncle of his wife.

This belief in the fertilizing power of *ariki* skulls is paralleled in other parts of Polynesia. In the Marquesas the skulls of chiefs were preserved separately and were brought out for certain public activities. Such skulls were taken on fishing expeditions to ensure a good catch and to protect the fishermen from sharks (104, p. 166). Maoris used to place the skull or bones of their ancestors in the sweet potato fields to procure a good harvest (20, vol. 1, p. 387). 778 171

DANCE ACCESSORIES

Dance Paddles

The two types of dance paddles were the *ao* which was large and the *rapa*, which was small. These paddles were held at the middle of the shaft by the dancer or chanter and were twirled very rapidly in the rhythm of the chant. The catalog of the Museum of the University of California contains an interesting statement about one of these paddles (1159): "It was used by chiefs in their war dances before the king. They were twirled and shaken in close proximity to his face as tho' to frighten him." 535 293

293 The blades of the *ao* paddle are straight-sided with rounded ends. One blade has
a pointed tip with a shoulder at about mid-length. The other blade has a conventionalized
532 human face carved on both sides (fig. 44, *a*). On a specimen collected by Thomson
(215, pl. 52) and on another illustrated by Routledge (194, fig. 118) the hair or frontal
535 tattooing is indicated by vertical bands ending in an arched curve, below which two
other curves unite in a long vertical band representing brows. The mouth is lacking, but
the eyes are carefully carved. The ears are indicated by a rudimentary spiral with
rounded knobs for lobes. The ancient *ao* were painted, as are the modern ones sold as
curios. On the *ao* illustrated by Thomson (215, pl. 53) one face is painted with alternating
bands of black and white, suggesting facial painting. The colors are reversed on
the other side.

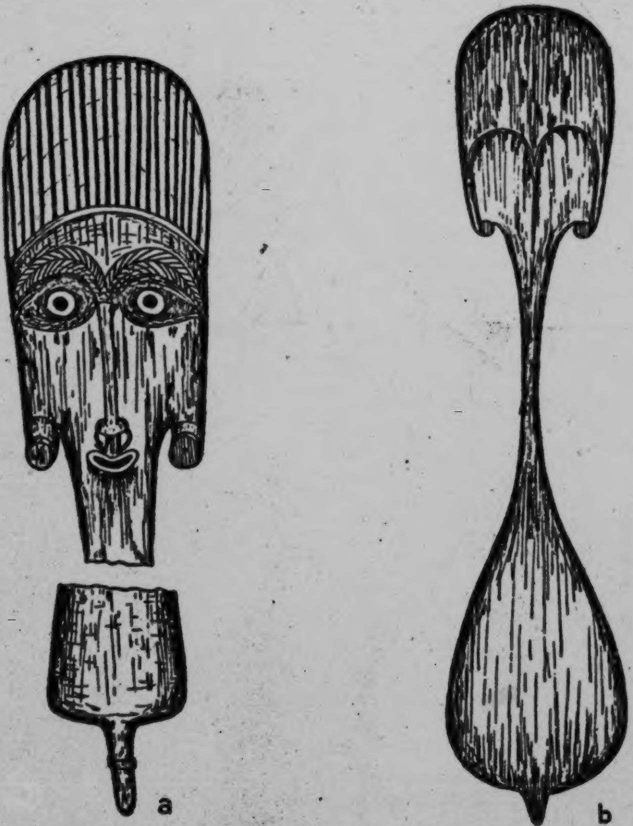


FIGURE 44.—Dance paddles: *a*, *ao*, length 216.5 cm., maximum width 22.6 cm. (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22845); *b*, *rapa*, 75 cm. long (Ratton coll., Paris).

293
532
535

The blades of the *rapa* are obovate and one of them has a pointed tip. Two *rapa* paddles in Bishop Museum have rounded edges and a pointed tip which has been carved to form a kind of lobe on either side; on older specimens the tip is rounded with a slight annular swelling at mid-length; the tip becomes thicker and conical above the swelling (fig. 44, *b*). On all *rapa* paddles I have seen, the face is barely suggested on both sides of one blade. Two raised curves representing eyebrows meet in the center of the blade to form a vertical band representing the nose. On the more elaborate paddles this band extends down to the shaft. The ears are indicated by knobs—the ear plug. In a modern *rapa* made by Tepano the eyes are carved as they are on the *ao* paddle. In one *rapa* in Bishop Museum, the only ornaments are circular prominences representing ear plugs.

OBJECTS CARRIED IN HAND

In the Knoche collection (123, fig. 35) is an object labeled "Head for dance", which is supposed to have been an accessory held in both hands during a dance.

It is a human head resting on two diverging arms and carved from a single piece of wood. The head has the incised eyebrows typical of most Easter Island wooden images; the eyes are made of an inlaid ring of bone surrounding a piece of obsidian; the nose is straight; the traditional goatee is lacking. The arms are short and thin, terminating in a hand with extended fingers. On the skull is a carving which I cannot make out in the photograph. Despite the contrary statement of Knoche, this curious specimen is modern and crude. An identical object is in the Flechtheim collection (45, fig. 150). Though evidently modern this object must be a poor copy of an old prototype of which no ancient specimen has survived: the shape is too unique to be a modern development (the present natives do not create new types); the image strongly resembles a symbol on the tablets showing a head on top of an arched motif.

In Knoche's collection (123, fig. 34) is a poorly carved wooden hand which is interesting only to show that modern specimens may be survivals of ancient types. A wooden hand, similar in appearance but of far better workmanship, was collected by Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 583): 532

> [Mahine] once met a figure of a woman's hand, carved of a yellowish wood, nearly of the natural size. Upon examination its fingers were all bent upwards as they are in the action of dancing at Taheitee, and its nails were represented very long, extending at least three fourths of an inch beyond the finger's end. The wood of which it was made was the rare perfumewood of Taheitee, with the chips of which they communicate fragrance to their oils.

This hand, now in the British Museum, was carved of sandalwood which grew on Easter Island until the end of the last century. Carved hands are frequently figured on the tablets, showing that these hands were in use on the island for a long period. However, no tradition concerning them is available.

In the Forster collection in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, is a fish "... carved out of Casuarina wood and which was tied to a slate plate used as sinker" (139, fig. 3, p. 260). Over the eyes represented by rings in high relief is a ridge corresponding to human eyebrows. Another wooden fish, in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, has the head decorated with circular incised lines.

PETROGLYPHS

532 The petroglyphs on the rocks at the end of the village of Orongo were the first to be studied in detail and reproduced in drawings and photographs (pl. 7, *e*). The basalt rocks that overhang the sea east of the village are covered with carvings in high relief that have been made at different periods. Some are entirely worn down while others are fairly well preserved. The most easterly houses of the village have been built upon carvings, thus giving good evidence that some of the petroglyphs are older than parts of the village.

Most of the petroglyphs represent the fantastic bird-man with the head of a frigate bird, recognizable by its curved beak and pouch, and a human body in a crouching position. With one exception these images are in profile. One is combined with a feather-like appendage. Three carvings show the bird-man holding an egg (fig. 45, *a*). Four small carvings of birds, mentioned by Routledge (194, p. 448), are outlined in the usual style and are real masterpieces of graphic art. The head of one of the bird-men is merged with the face of the big-eyed god, a common motif of the Easter Island petroglyphs (134, p. 212). The big-eyed face was carved first and then transformed into a bird-man. We recorded several other occurrences of the big-eyed face. The bird-man motif occurs about 120 times among the petroglyphs of Orongo. The figure is outlined by pecking the surface around the design so that it stands in relief.

[831 881] A common design at Orongo, especially on a flat rock overhanging the cliffs, is the conventionalized representation of the vulva. This figure is tradi-

connected with puberty rites.

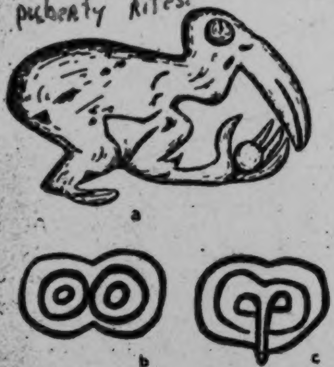


FIGURE 45.—Petroglyphs: *a*, bird-man carved in low relief with egg in hand, 36.5 cm. long (after Routledge, 194, fig. 112); *b-c*, big-eyed figures in Hen cave (from Lavachery, 134, p. 100).

tionally connected with puberty rites. Two wooden crescents (*rei-miro*) figure among the petroglyphs of Orongo (194, pl. 17, no. 6). The fanlike motif that occurs three times is correctly interpreted by Routledge (194, p. 449) as the tail of a bird.

Blocks with the bird-man treated in the style of the petroglyphs of Orongo are preserved in the Museum of Natural History at Santiago de Chile and in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge. There is no indication as to the origin of these stones. An interesting feature is the presence of conventionalized vulvas around the outline of the bird-men. Two bird-men are often shown opposite each other.

One of the main endeavors of our expedition was to record all the petroglyphs that are scattered on rocks throughout the island. We discovered about 300 of them, upon which a report will be published by Dr. Lavachery. Except at Orongo, these petroglyphs are not in high relief, but the outlines are formed by a groove pecked in the rock. Most of the designs carved in the rock represent sea animals, especially tuna (*kahi*). Near Hanga-o-honu we found several beautiful designs of turtles carved with a realistic touch. An octopus with human head is among the most outstanding products of graphic art in Polynesia. Birds are figured on several rocks and on the stone of two ahus.

The most spectacular group of petroglyphs is on a slab near ahu Hanga-o-honu (La Pérouse). It is composed of intermingled motifs, some of which seem to represent boats, though certain features of the design certainly do not resemble the shape or structure of the ancient boats. One of these "boats" is 33 feet long.

A favorite motif is a schematic figure of two big eyes represented by concentric circles like a pair of glasses (fig. 45, *b-c*). These big eyes are identical to the conventionalized figures of the *tiki* in Marquesan art. A few big-eyed figures are associated with a goatee. Heu cave near Puna-marengo was entirely decorated with this motif.

Human figures are rare. Near Vai-tara-kai-ua we discovered a head with a feather headdress carved in the rock. Near ahu Papa-o-pea there is a figure of a man holding in his hand a short club or a *timo-ika* paddle. Near ahu Tonga-riki there is a human figure treated exactly as on the tablets. This is the only instance of a sign of the tablets being reproduced on a rock. This fact is important for, if the signs on the tablets were a form of writing, natives would undoubtedly have engraved inscriptions on the basalt ledges which they so constantly decorated with other designs.

The red ash material from Punapau was incorporated in the platform of ahu Akahanga. It has grooves and hollows, probably intentionally carved, which cannot be interpreted now. The same fanciful and incoherent designs have been incised on the red hats that still lie near the quarry.

532 Native visitors to Rano-raraku have incised on several statues the big-eyed symbol and a mysterious pear-shaped sign that occurs on the tuff walls. A frigate bird is carved near a large statue lying in an artificial cave.

The discovery of so many petroglyphs on the island is of theoretical interest. The style of these designs resembles that of the symbols on the wooden tablets. They show the same skill, the same conventions, and the same remarkable vigor and elegance in tracing the outlines. Some petroglyphs, particularly one representing an octopus with a human head, prove the existence on Easter Island of a fully developed tradition of design.

PAINTINGS

The slabs lining the interior of the stone houses of Orongo were decorated with paintings. Most of these slabs have been removed in the past fifty years and a few have fortunately been preserved in European museums. The colors on those which remain in place have almost faded away. We could identify only one design, representing the big-eyed god outlined in red and black on a white background. The pigments used for paintings were a red and a white ochre and a dark substance, perhaps charcoal.

Several paintings at Orongo, copied by Geiseler in 1884 (87, pls. 7, 8, 12-16), represent dancing paddles (*ao*) with a conventionalized human face, the big-eyed god with a schematic arrangement of the organs of the face, and bird-man facing each other. A favorite motif is the design of European ships under full sail, indicating that the traditional art was still flourishing at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The paintings were generally placed on the wall opposite the low, narrow entrance to the house so that they might be illuminated by a little light and could be enjoyed by those who lived in the house. Birds and ships were also painted on the walls in the cave Ana-kai-tangata but have been destroyed recently. One of these birds has been drawn over the design of a European ship (194, fig. 102; 123, figs. 1, 3).

STONEWORK

STONE IMPLEMENTS

Adzes

412
324 The crudity of Easter Island adzes (*toki*) makes their classification difficult. In Bernice P. Bishop Museum, there are 113 adzes and adz fragments which are classified under two main types, with many slight variations due to the form or the quality of the stone. None of the Easter Island adzes seen is tanged, unless the groove, characteristic of some adzes of type 2, is to be considered an incipient tang.

316

Easter Islanders showed me the quarry where all the stone adzes are said to have been made. It lies half a mile from La Pérouse Bay on the trail to Vai-tea. There are blocks of basalt (*maea-toki*, stone-for-adzes) which have been split and broken, and the ground is covered with flakes.

324
412

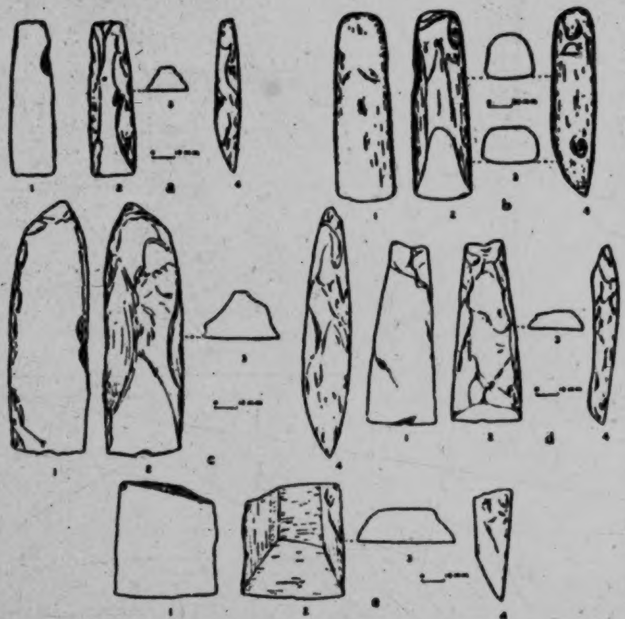


FIGURE 46.—Adzes of type 1 (1, front; 2 back; 3, cross section; 4, side): *a*, roughly chipped, front edges distinct, bevel well ground, 70 mm. long, 23 mm. wide, 13 mm. long (B3843a); *b*, variant with rounded edges, well ground and polished on front, poll surface pecked, triangular bevel merging into back, sections irregular, trapezoidal, 168 mm. long, 52 mm. wide, 42 mm. thick, weight 22 oz. (3590b); *c*, coarsely chipped with long flakes, some protruding edges ground, 111 mm. long, 36 mm. wide, 24 mm. thick (B3483); *d*, chipped, protruding parts ground, short, well-ground bevel with chin, 81 mm. long, 30 mm. wide, 11 mm. thick (B3483); *e*, fragment, well ground, flat surfaces, straight edges, 54 mm. long, 46 mm. wide, 20 mm. thick (B13590).

TYPE 1

All the small and many medium-sized adzes in Bishop Museum (59 in all) belong to type 1 (fig. 46), the characteristics of which are as follows:

The cross section is roughly quadrangular although most adzes are not ground on the sides and on the back. The greatest width from side to side is just above the cutting-edge on the front, from which point the adz narrows toward the poll. The front is slightly

324 convex longitudinally and generally flat transversely. Only a half or a third of the front surface is well ground, but there are a few specimens which are ground from the
412 edge to the poll.

The sides slope toward the back and are coarsely chipped. On a few specimens the sides are slightly ground. The front edges are generally well marked, although they are irregular in many adzes and rounded in some (fig. 46, *b*). The sides and back are roughly shaped in most specimens, for grinding is rare and only partial. Consequently there are no longitudinal back edges. The bevel is the only well ground surface. In some specimens it tends to be triangular but in most adzes the chin is irregular owing to the unground back. Sometimes the chin is ground off. Bishop Museum has fragments of three adzes (B3590a; B3542c, d) which are exceptionally well ground on front, back, and sides (fig. 46, *e*).

Some adzes (B3590a, b, c; B3600a) differ slightly from the type in having markedly round edges (fig. 46, *b*).

Most small adzes of type 1 are made of black, fine-grained basalt.

TYPE 2

Type 2 is the most characteristic of Easter Island adzes. It is represented in the Bishop Museum collection by 29 specimens, of which 13 are fragmentary (fig. 47).

Specimens of this type are rounded in cross section and vary from 135 mm. to 250 mm. long. The front is ground from the edge toward the butt, but the extension of the ground surface toward the poll varies considerably. A groove pecked across the front, slightly below the poll, is present in nine specimens of the collection.

The front surfaces of many adzes of type 2 are convex and have a marked backward slope at the butt. In a few specimens the front surface of the blade is nearly straight. The back is more or less straight longitudinally and flat or slightly convex transversely. In one specimen the butt slopes backward at the poll, making the back slightly concave longitudinally. The sides are curved and there are distinct edges on the back in only a few specimens. The bevel surface is quadrangular and merges into the surface of the back.

Four specimens of type 2 have a narrow cutting edge and consequently almost triangular cross section (fig. 47, *a*). These are a variation of type 2 and not a special type. These four adzes are very thick from front to back as compared with their width from side to side.

A narrow front, a more or less rounded back, and great thickness from front to back characterize one adz (B3605a), but it is exceptionally large, being 330 mm. long, 94 mm. from front to back, and 83 mm. from side to side. It is unfinished and has been only roughly chipped.

The blades of four small, broken adzes (C3927, 3943, 3542, 3607) are well finished and the edges of front and back are well defined (fig. 47, *b*). The front, sides, and bevel are well ground. The adzes were probably used in reducing a surface by furrowing, removing the ridges between with a broad adz.

In most of the specimens the cutting edge is so narrow and so blunt that the carving of wood or felling of trees with it appears impossible. It must be concluded that these adzes were used in finishing the large stone statues or the slabs of the ahus. Moreover, there were no trees on the island large enough to justify the size of these implements. The rounded form of these adzes suggests that they were not hafted but were seized in the hand. The groove on some adzes of this type is too narrow to hold a lashing but gives a good grip to the hand. Suitable shafts for big adzes must have been difficult to find for wood was scarce and natives probably resorted to implements that could be used without a handle. The picks with which they dug and carved the tuff of Rano-raraku were grasped by the hand like the prehistoric hand-axes or *coups de poing*.

324
4/12

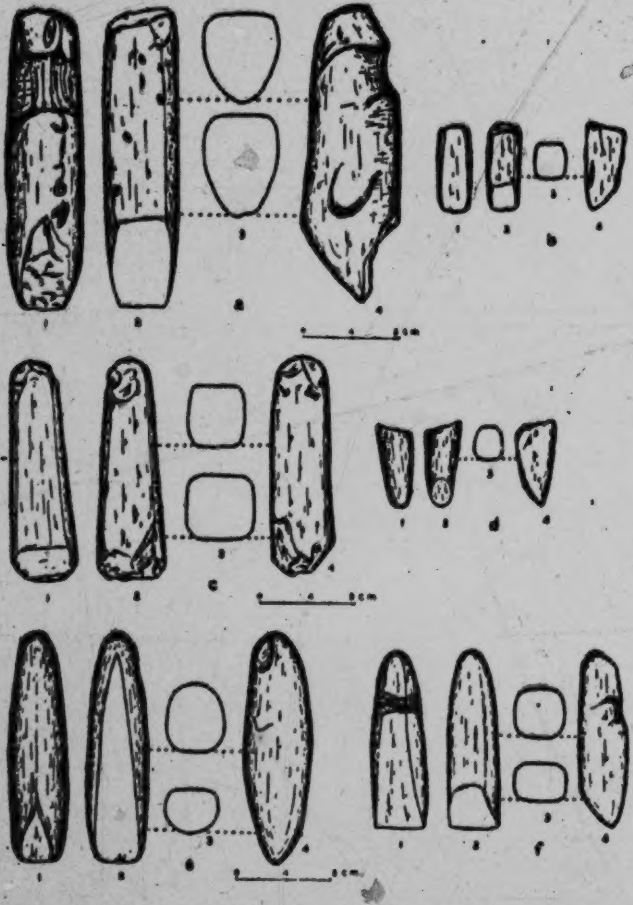


FIGURE 47.—Adzes of type 2 (1, front; 2, back; 3, cross sections; 4, side): *a*, partially ground, narrow cutting edge, 247 mm. long, 63 mm. wide, 84 mm. thick, weight 4 lbs. 6 oz. (B3594); *b*, thick, narrow, sides only partly ground along front edge, 73 mm. long, 28 mm. wide, 31 mm. thick (C3937); *c*, hand ax or chisel, 185 mm. long, 57 mm. wide, 52 mm. thick, weight 37 oz. (B3608); *d*, rounded, cutting edge narrow, 72 mm. long, 27 mm. wide, 32 mm. thick (B3542a); *e*, ground, bevel long, narrowing toward butt and forming edges with sides which continue convexity of front, 32 mm. long, 49 mm. wide, 54 mm. thick, weight 29 oz. (3899a); *f*, front almost flat transversely, distinct edges, transverse groove pecked at two thirds the distance from cutting edge to rounded poll, 148 mm. long, 44 mm. wide, 44 mm. thick (C8367).

UNCLASSIFIED ADZES

324 412 Some specimens in the Bishop Museum collection cannot be included in either of the two types just defined. However, they are too few and too crudely made to be considered as a special type.

Two adzes (C3949, B3600) are decidedly triangular, but they are only chipped, with no trace of grinding. As they are unfinished, their shape cannot be considered distinctive. Had they been ground they would have belonged to type 1.

The adz in figure 47, *c* is characterized by its square cross section and by the more or less equal width of its four surfaces, which are well ground.

In the entire collection there are only three small adzes with a more or less circular cross section (B3542a, C3906, C3950). (See fig. 47, *d*.) Two are broken and, though small, may be included in type 2.

MODERN IMITATIONS OF OLD ADZES

[439] When Easter Islanders discovered the commercial value of the implements left by their ancestors, they increased their supplies of antiques by faking specimens. In the Young collection I picked out 29 adzes which were obviously counterfeit. The bevel of modern adzes is ground on both sides as in European tools and the surface of the bevel is too even to have been obtained by ancient methods. The imitators apparently selected thin plates of stone with the general adz shape when that was possible.

The natives no longer make adzes. However, I was presented with a stone knife of the same material as that used in the old adzes, and I was later told that it had been made during our stay.

HAFTING

In the Bishop Museum collection there are hafts of two adzes from Easter Island (fig. 48, *a-b*). Their form corresponds to that of one hafted adz collected by Thomson (215, pl. 57). Easter Island adz hafts have several distinctive characteristics:

The shaft is continued to meet the front of the foot, as there is no projecting heel. The front of the toe which supports the adz is flat; the back and the sides are convex.

An Easter Island shaft collected by Thomson (Nat. Mus. 129734) has a heel with a longitudinal depression on its upper surface in which the stone blade was embedded (fig. 48, *c*). Another hafted adz in the same collection resembles those in figure 48.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN ADZES

412 171 Comparative study shows that Easter Island adzes are connected with those of the rest of Polynesia. Type 1 is widespread and probably ancient; type 2 was developed locally, though it resembles adzes of New Zealand and the Chatham Islands.

Tangless adzes are found almost everywhere in Polynesia. However, the tanged adz has been adopted throughout central and marginal Polynesia, with the significant exceptions of Mangareva and Easter Island (35). It would seem, therefore, that the Easter Islanders broke away from the rest of Polynesia before the specialization of the adz took place. The adzes of western

Polynesia (Futuna, Tonga, Niue, Samoa, and Pukapuka) are generally tangless. The adzes of type 1 (small and flat, with longitudinal lines converging toward the poll, quadrangular cross section) belong to a class represented throughout Polynesia with the exception of Hawaii.

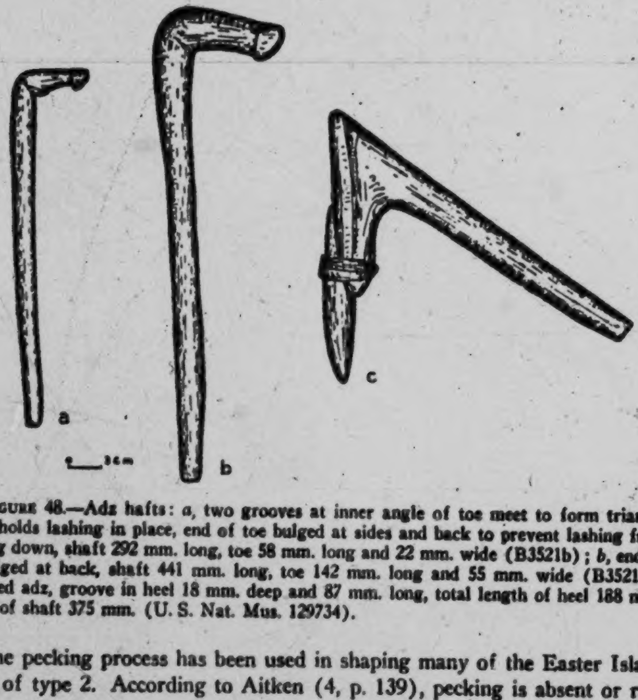


FIGURE 48.—Adz hafts: *a*, two grooves at inner angle of toe meet to form triangle which holds lashing in place, end of toe bulged at sides and back to prevent lashing from slipping down, shaft 292 mm. long, toe 58 mm. long and 22 mm. wide (B3521b); *b*, end of toe bulged at back, shaft 441 mm. long, toe 142 mm. long and 55 mm. wide (B3521a); *c*, hafted adz, groove in heel 18 mm. deep and 87 mm. long, total length of heel 188 mm., length of shaft 375 mm. (U. S. Nat. Mus. 129734).

The pecking process has been used in shaping many of the Easter Island adzes of type 2. According to Aitken (4, p. 139), pecking is absent or rare in Hawaiian, Samoan, and Pitcairn adzes and is present, but rare, in Tongan and Marquesan adzes. Pecking was widely used in Easter Island, Society Islands, Tubuai, Rapa, Cook Islands, and New Zealand. The absence of pecking in Mangareva does not seem significant as most Mangarevan adzes are very crude. Pecking is generally associated with superior workmanship.

Linton (142, p. 235) probably had in mind the thick, rounded adzes of type 2 when he applied the term "Melanesian" to certain Easter Island adzes. However, the oval form of these adzes is due to the rounding of the edges and not to a lenticular or completely rounded shape so characteristic of Melanesia. Some Fijian adzes, though longer and thicker, suggest a link with the Easter Island type 2. However, the Fijian specimens are highly

412
171
polished, more slender, and their general style is little reminiscent of that of Easter Island adzes.

The resemblance between several thick, heavy adzes from New Zealand (22, pl. 9) and the Easter Island specimens is so striking that it would be difficult to distinguish between them if they were placed together unlabeled. The New Zealand adzes, however, are a little more quadrangular in cross section. Some Moriori adzes and chisels (206, pl. 24, *a-c*; pl. 25, *h-o*) can be compared to some varieties of our type 2. The Moriori specimens have a distinctly round cross section, but some of them might have been chisels.

A few Easter Island adzes of type 2 tend to have a triangular cross section, the apex of the triangle comprising the front. Although this type is rare and ill-defined, it shows a remote relationship between the Easter Island adzes and the triangular adzes (*toki kouma*) of New Zealand, Mangareva, the Tuamotus, Tahiti, and the Marquesas.

The groove on the Easter Island adz is a local feature. In other regions (Rapa, New Zealand, Chatham Islands) some adzes have a tang which might have developed from a groove as evidenced by the presence of a knob on the poll. This knob gives to some tangs the appearance of a long groove.

CHISELS

324
412
Distinction between adzes and chisels is based more on function than on form. The adz was used with a swinging blow and was hafted on a knee-shaped shaft, whereas the chisel was driven by direct pressure of hand and arm or by mallet blows and was hafted axially. Only one hafted chisel from Easter Island has been preserved (fig. 49, *a*). The label gives this specimen the native name *kau toki* or *tingi* (strike).

A fragment of a stone tool (Bishop Mus. B3542) has such a curved cutting edge that it is nearly a gouge but the thickness (32 mm.) of the tool makes it more like the adzes of type 2 than like a chisel. Another fragment (Bishop Mus. B3541f) which has been sharpened by grinding on both faces is probably a chisel.

Modern Easter Islanders consider that all small adzes were used to carve the eyes of stone statues. They term *tingi* all specimens they believe to have been chisels. They haft European chisels as they did the old stone adzes, but they also employ chisels with a wooden mallet when carving wooden images. The favorite stone for chisels was an olivine andesite from Mount Otu.

PICKS

Hundreds of picks with which the giant statues were carved are found in the ancient quarry on the slope of Rano-raraku. They are large, roughly chipped stones of the same nature as the lapilli in the tuff. They are generally amygdaloid in form and sharpened at both ends. Some specimens have somewhat rounded ends. It is highly improbable that they were hafted. All the specimens I examined were handy, although somewhat heavy. The volcanic tuff of which the statues were made is easily worked with such picks. Bishop Museum has only one pick from the quarry of Rano-raraku, but it is typical (fig. 49, *b*). 324 412

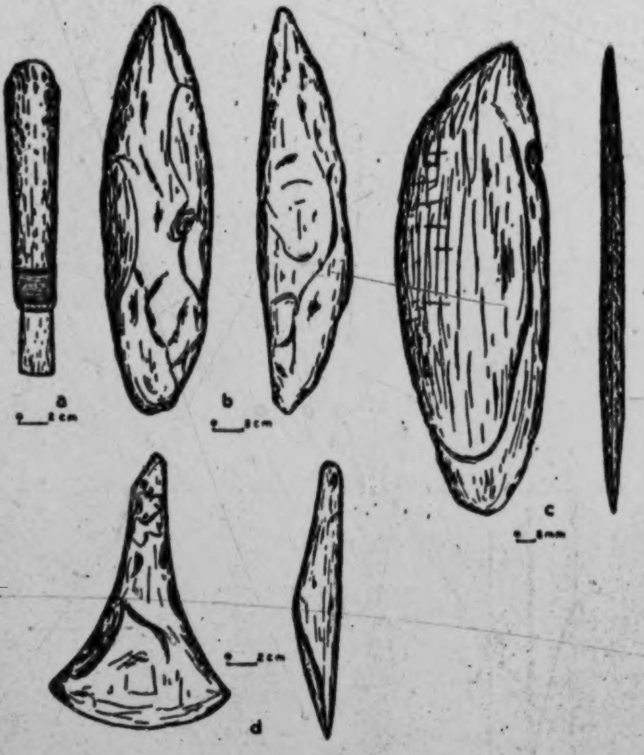


FIGURE 49.—Stone implements: *a*, hafted chisel found in tomb and obtained by Giglioli from Salmon in 1883, handle rough light *hau* wood, 173 mm. long, lashing of twisted *hau* bark, chisel faces straight, bevel approximately same on each side, blade 50 mm. long (Mus. Pigorini, Rome, 949); *b*, roughly chipped stone pick used to carve stone images, sharpened at each end, 271 mm. long, 75 mm. wide, 62 mm. thick (B3597); *c*, stone knife, front curved, back flat, straight edge ground on both sides, slightly polished, 209 mm. long, 67 mm. wide (B3542); *d*, cutting implement, blade ground smooth, bevel merges into blade, 179 mm. long, 116 mm. wide, 20 mm. thick (B3483).

KNIVES

324 412 Stone knives are frequently found on Easter Island, and natives are so well acquainted with their form that they make beautiful imitations of the same material—thin plates of basalt which are found on the surface of the ground and are easily adapted to the desired form.

The knives have a semicircular back and a long, straight cutting edge, which is usually raised at the end and terminates in a point (fig. 49, *c*). Usually one edge only is sharpened but in some specimens the curved as well as the straight rim has been ground into a cutting edge.

The cutting instrument shown in figure 49, *d*, and also Bishop Museum specimen no. B3591 are exceptional types. However, their perfect workmanship suggests that they are genuine. Their form is somewhat similar to the obsidian chisels or planes, but they are less sharp. They may have been used for wood carving, though they seem to be too thin for that purpose. Perhaps they were a specialized form of knife for cutting meat or other soft substances. The best specimen (fig. 49, *d*) has a conical handle produced by chipping and smoothed by polishing. The cutting edge is semicircular and sharpened by grinding. There is no trace of a bevel edge; one surface is flat and ground smooth. The other specimen is cruder. The handle has been chipped on the edges and slightly ground. The bevel is ground on both sides. In the National Museum at Washington there is a similar specimen collected by Thomson.

OBSIDIAN TOOLS

Obsidian (*mataa*), of which spear heads and tools were made, comes from Mount Orito near Rano-raraku. The lower part of the hill is composed of sheets of obsidian and at the foot of the hill is a series of pits from which the material was formerly extracted. Thick layers of flakes surrounding the ancient pits indicate that the raw material was worked there. Among these

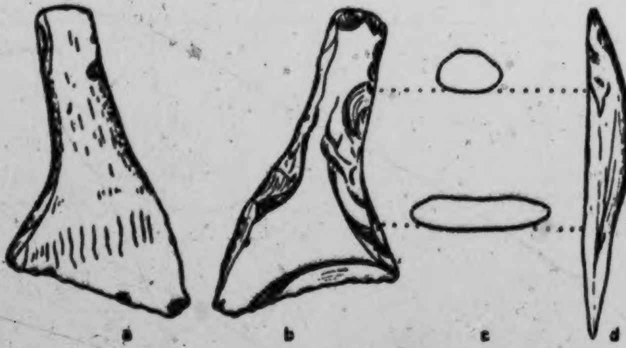


FIGURE 49A.—Obsidian tool (Bishop Mus. B3481): *a*, *b*, opposite surfaces; *c*, cross sections; *d*, side view.

fragments I found some hammers which were used in chipping flakes. They were waterworn boulders of more or less oval shape. The narrowest end always showed traces of usage. One stone in Bishop Museum (B3493) has exactly the same shape as these hammers and was probably found at the same place. It is 193 mm. long and 69 mm. wide.

Obsidian wood-working tools are recorded by Palmer (171, p. 171): "[The natives] were very dexterous . . . carving both wood and stone; chips of obsidian are used for the former material, instead of chisels; they used obsidian flakes for razors and for their javelin head." Most obsidian tools are probably chisels or planes for wood carving. Some of them look like broken spear heads but many details preclude the possibility that they are fragments of ordinary *mataa*. (See figure 49A.)

Obsidian flakes nicely retouched on the borders may have been used for incising wood carvings or tablets, and a few may have been drill points. Some have a narrow edge but others have a sharp point. Their form is closely related to the small flint or quartz points that the Maoris attached to the spindles of their drills. One side is carefully retouched by fine chipping. These implements measure from 40 to 55 mm. (See figure 49B.)

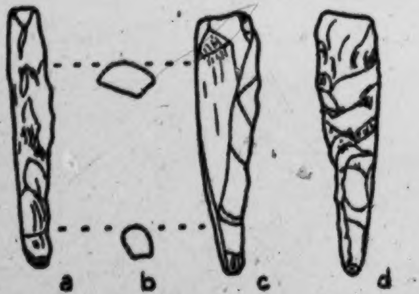


FIGURE 49B.—Obsidian drill or carving tool: *a*, side view; *b*, cross section; *c-d*, opposite sides.

IMPLEMENT OF UNKNOWN USE

In the Bishop Museum collection is what looks like an enlarged obsidian spear head but the tang is of such a length and thickness that it forms an effective hand grasp (fig. 50). It is much heavier than the spear heads and its long curved edge renders it suitable as a cutting implement. It could have been used as a hand weapon or as an implement for cutting up large fish or human flesh.

324
412

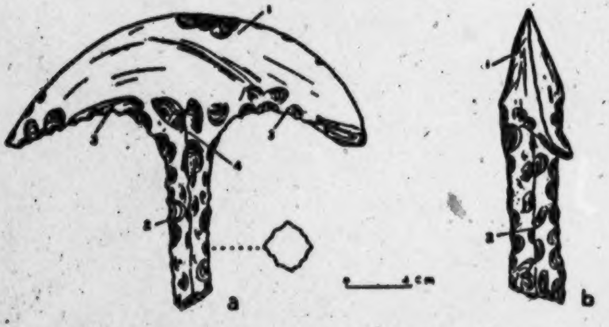


FIGURE 50.—Crescentic implement with prolonged tang (B2195): *a*, front view, crescentic blade (1) 221 mm. wide; greatest thickness in middle line 34 mm.; distal, convex edge sharp throughout, formed by meeting of two inclined planes without secondary chipping; proximal concave edges (3, 3) formed by chipping from both surfaces and leaving median longitudinal edges; tang (2) formed by chipping outward from the middle line from either surface, thus resulting in median longitudinal edges in front and back and also at two sides; width of tang (at point 4) 48 mm., and thickness 33 mm.; width at proximal end 24 mm., and thickness 29 mm.; length of tang (from point 4) 101 mm. *b*, side view, showing sharp edge of blade (1) and thickness of tang (2).

RUBBING STONES

Three stone discs are listed in the Bishop Museum catalog (B3615) as "polishers." A close examination of these disks shows that one or both of their plane surfaces have been rubbed against a hard substance, but this is the only hint as to their former use. The three specimens have almost the same diameter (900 mm.) and two of them the same thickness (45 mm.). The texture of two of these stones indicates that they might have had sufficient abrasive effect for wood working, but the third, a waterworn pebble, is so smooth and of such fine grain that it might have been a burnisher employed to give a final polish to wooden implements.

526 Although these discs are probably polishers, they may be bowling stones similar to those found in Hawaii and New Zealand. Geiseler (87, p. 52) collected stones which were employed in a game and about which he says: "Throwing stone. Name: *mai hekupenga.* It was rolled in a game and was often decorated outside."

A quadrangular piece of pumiceous basalt (Bishop Mus. B3546) designated in the catalog as a "god" seems to have been a polisher. One surface is slightly concave and shows traces of rubbing.

The large slabs on the ahus and the curbs in the foundations of the houses could not have been dressed without some kind of rubbing stones. In the

Young collection there is a lump of coral which would have served this purpose. Unfortunately the origin of the specimen is uncertain. 324 412

One piece of basalt (Bishop Mus. B3553) has parallel grooves on both sides. Judging from the V-shaped cross sections of the grooves this stone must have been used for grinding the cutting edges of sharp instruments, probably knives or small adzes.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN CUTTING IMPLEMENTS

The tanged knives of Easter Island resemble slightly a Moriori flint knife (206, pl. 26, *d*), though the Moriori specimen is cruder. An obsidian knife which is quite similar to the Easter Island spear heads and stone knives with a long cutting edge and a rudimentary tang have been found in the Chatham Islands (206, pl. 26, *g*, *e*). Bennett (19, pp. 63-64) describes a few stone knives found on Kauai in the Hawaiian islands. They are somewhat like Easter Island knives but are far more crude, and lack the semicircular cutting edge characteristic of Easter Island specimens. The stone knife in Polynesia seems to be a culture trait without significance for comparative purposes. 412 171

SANCTUARIES

The funerary cairns or ahus of various descriptions that extend along the coast in an almost continuous succession were probably the sanctuaries of the Easter Islanders corresponding to the maraes of central Polynesia. These structures, which have been used until recently as burial vaults, are associated in the memory of the natives with religious feasts; it was probable only after the introduction of Christianity that their former sacred function was forgotten. Like the maraes each ahu belonged to a distinct lineage. There is still a dim recollection of the ties uniting certain families to specific ahus. In this respect the analogy with central Polynesia is so striking that there is little doubt that the ahu is the equivalent of the marae. 346 778

The study of the ahus constitutes the most important and complex division of Easter Island archaeology. I have published elsewhere a general survey (153) and Dr. Henri Lavachery is preparing a detailed discussion of the ahus, based on his field work. Here it is sufficient to give a general account of their main features.

Ahus are the most common monuments on the island and give it much of its individuality. Most of them are located near the shore, and except on the barren headland of Poike and the steep cliffs of the southwest point, form an almost unbroken line along the coast. They are most numerous around coves and other particularly habitable spots and are generally associated with house foundations. Many ahus have been destroyed and the names of others forgotten. Yet Routledge (194, p. 166) estimated that there were 260 ahus on

346 the island, of which 20 were inland. Lavachery listed only 183 but this is probably far below the actual figure.

778 Ahus may be classified into four types: 1, image ahus which are the largest and most elaborate; 2, rectangular ahus (*ahu-avanga*); 3, ahus with one or both ends sloping toward the center or outer extremities (*ahu-poepoe*); 4, semi-pyramidal ahus (*ahu-paepae*), simplest of the four types. All ahus are essentially mounds of stones. The differences between the various types are in the number of stones piled up and the degree of care taken in their disposition. The ahus are said to have been decorated with white stones, similar to those used on the tapu signs and the hats of stone images. (See p. 300.)

IMAGE AHUS

346 The large image ahus are the masterpieces of Easter Island architecture. The principles of construction are identical with those of smaller ahus, but the workmanship has been perfected, and the primitive heap of stones has taken a definite shape due to the development of retaining walls (fig. 51).

These retaining walls (fig. 52, pl. 4, *A*), made of slabs or of regular blocks carefully fitted, extend on the seaward side of the structure and conceal the coarse central heap of stones and rubble. The central portion of this wall projects outward toward the sea to form a platform or stage on which the statues were erected. This salient corresponds to the body of the ahu and the two lateral walls may be considered the wings. A little below this stage the main body of the construction, made of piled-up stones, slopes inland, extending into a long, slanting surface (*tahua*) which stops at a low row of slabs. The approach to the slope is sometimes paved with big boulders which continue onto the large surface (*tahua*). On some ahus the wings or walls on either side of the central portion are lower than the middle platform. They slant to the ground level, and narrow from the median line toward the ends, thus giving the landward side of the ahu the appearance of a semipyramid. On other ahus (ahu Mahatua, Hanga-o-honu) the wings, though lower than the stages, do not slant to the ground; they are limited by two sloping walls of fitted masonry on both sides of the *tahua*.

In ahu Vinapu the seaward wall is formed of rectangular slabs of lava fitting one against the other, whose surfaces have been perfectly smoothed by grinding with sand and water (pl. 7, *B*). The corners of the central portion are rounded in elegant curves. Usually the seaward wall is made of basalt blocks of fairly regular, square shape. Most of the material is lava which cooled in regular beds. The rectangular blocks are laid in rows of approximately the same depth.

The slab-lined vaults for the dead were sometimes located under the stage but more often under the sloping terrace. Many vaults were probably built while the terrace was being constructed and were left accessible as tombs; others were apparently later additions.

One of the largest ahus on the island is that of Hanga-o-honu near La Pérouse Bay (pl. 4, *A*). The following description is taken from the notes of Lavachery (134, pp. 155-156):

> The seaward wall, 84 meters long and 5 meters high, is made of rectangular blocks of stone. The salient is 30 meters long and 4 meters wide and rises above three steps, which, according to Lavachery, are 1 meter wide and 1.5 meters high. The middle step contains the burial vaults. The slope of the wings, on both sides of the salient, forms a

continuous surface with the back part of the stage. The ahu is delimited on each side by a wall 30 meters long which slopes to the ground. The surface between the two parallel walls is paved with flat stones. On the platform once stood six statues, set on large flat slabs and surmounted by the red stone hats which now lie among the ruins.

The seaward wall of ahu Ohau is made of large rectangular slabs which are finely wrought and perfectly fitted. The salient, which protrudes 3 meters from the wings, is 10 meters long and 2.3 meters high. One wing is 16 meters long and the other 25.5 meters. The greatest width of the ahu measured from the center of the salient down the slope is 7 meters. The wings converge to a point. The landward face of the ahu has the appearance of a solid triangle.

Very close to ahu Ohau is another ahu, 12 meters long and 1.2 meters high in the salient. Three steps of unequal length lead up to the seaward face.

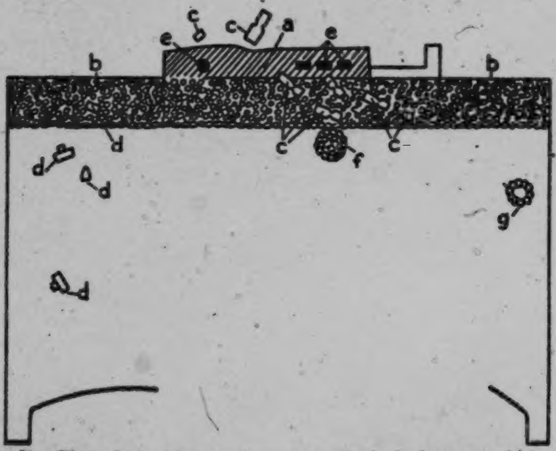


FIGURE 51.—Plan of ahu Hanga-o-honu: *a*, central platform on which statues are erected; *b*, wings of ahu; *c*, statues and fragments of statues; *d*, hats of statues; *e*, platforms for statues; *f*, circle for *paina*; *g*, tapu cairn (from Lavachery, 134, p. 157).

Skottsberg (208, vol. 1, p. 9; quoted in 153, p. 110) gives an accurate description of ahu Te Pito-te-kura near La Pérouse Bay.

Image ahus are mentioned by neither Roggeveen nor Gonzalez although Gonzalez, or some of his lieutenants, must have seen ahu Hanga-o-honu or ahu Mahatua on the way to the heights of Poike, where they set up their three crosses. Ahus are first described by Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 295) and by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 566-567). Both describe the ahus near Hanga-roa Bay which, being near the village, have suffered most from the destructiveness of both natives and white men. Ahu Hanga-roa, nearest the landing place, has been destroyed by Chilean authorities to make the present pier. From the material forming the structure of this jetty, one may see that the ahu was of good workmanship.

[177]

346 Bernizet (130, vol. 2, pp. 257-258), geographical engineer of the La Pérouse expedition, gives the most complete and clear description of an ahu, made when the old culture still functioned. His description is illustrated by a plan, a cross section, and a schematic view of an ahu.

The principal features of the image ahu may be summarized as follows: a platform of loose stones enclosed by a perpendicular wall on the seaward side and a sloping wall on the inland side with a central salient and wings which sometimes slant to the ground. Open spaces in the structure were used as burial vaults.

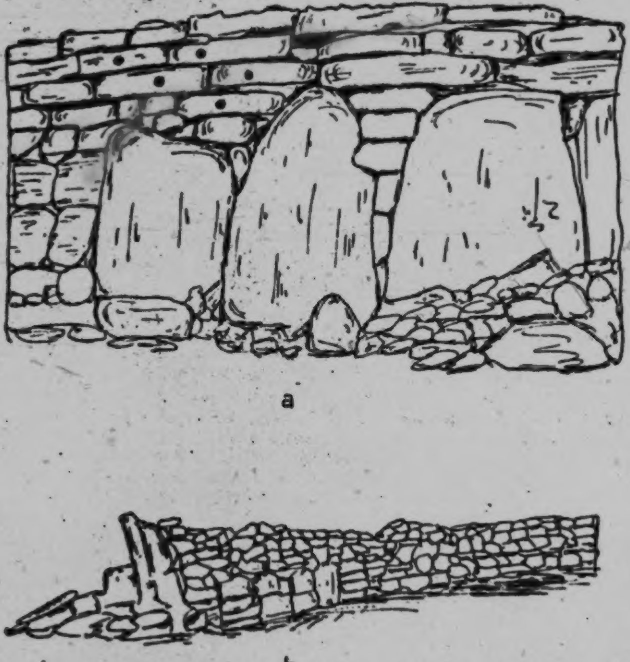


FIGURE 52.—Stone masonry: *a*, seaward wall of Ahu-te-peu, formed of large, upright slabs of lava rock, chinked with smaller rocks, and upper horizontal courses made of flat blocks of basalt, among which are some slabs from house foundations; *b*, platform for exposing the dead, Ahu Vai-mata.

The destruction of the large ahus is not due entirely to the vandalism of the Chileans and present natives. The decay was noticed by Cook. Probably

346

no care was taken of ahus which belonged to a family that had died out; intertribal wars may have contributed to the destruction of the monuments.

SEMI-PYRAMIDAL AHUS

Ahus of the type that Routledge (194, p. 172) calls semi-pyramidal are numerous throughout the island, and I believe that her estimate of 60 structures is quite below the correct figure. The ahus are very simply constructed, being nothing more than large, semi-pyramidal cairns (pl. 4, *B*).

> The form of the structure, although rough, does not differ in principle from that of the large image ahus. The seaward side is more or less perpendicular and the apex of this halved pyramid corresponds to the salient of the image ahus. The two sides are not unlike the wings, and the slope on the landward side presents the same geometrical appearance as on the image ahus. These ahus contain burial vaults. Some ahus are surmounted by fragments of old statues or stones placed like the statues, but most ahus are entirely plain. The largest of the semi-pyramidal ahus are from 30 to 50 meters long and up to 3 meters high. Ahu Atuopuna has a vault 2.5 meters long, 60 cm. wide, and 1 meter deep.

Many of these simple cairns have been erected on the sites of image ahus with material taken from the ruins of the latter. Some of the more elaborate ahus, such as Mahatua and Maitakitemoa, have been rebuilt in the form of simple cairns. However, there is no proof that semi-pyramidal ahus are of a more recent type than the image ahus or that they were all built in recent times. Their form might as well be considered the prototype of the big ahus. Being simpler and more easily made, they might have been maintained by poor families and resorted to when the decadent natives were no longer capable of building more elaborate sanctuaries.

AHU-POEPOE

The name *ahu-poepoe* has been given to a type of ahu structure which resembles a boat in the elongated form and the curved, raised ends which suggest the bow and stern of a ship. Rows of stones along the upper edge probably represent gunwales. As these ahus are few (about 12 in all) we did not destroy them in order to examine their interior construction. Routledge (194, p. 230) has given an excellent plan of the *ahu-poepoe* near Mahatua which she studied in detail:

> It is about 60 meters long and 7 meters wide and its two raised ends are from 3 to 5 meters high (pl. 4, *C*). It contains two vaults just beneath the surface. Near one skeleton were glass beads, indicating that ahus of this type were still made after contact with Europeans. Tradition says that a man, expert in the construction of *ahu-poepoe*, was among the people kidnapped by the Peruvians in 1862.

Closely related to the *ahu-poepoe* is a variety of ahu equally elongated but with straight rather than curved ends. The narrow and high end of such an ahu is toward the sea; the upper surface slopes gently from the high end.

346 These ahus are especially numerous on the north coast, in the region of Hangoteo. One of them, between Hangoteo and Puna-marengo, is surmounted by a low stone pillar. Routledge calls this second class of *ahu-poepoe*, "wedge-shaped" ahus, since their form suggests a giant wedge (pl. 5, *A*). There are six of them on the island.

RECTANGULAR AHUS

Routledge does not include in her classification of ahus a type which, though not common, exists in several places on the north coast. This type is a rectangular heap of stone with burial vaults in the interior (pl. 5, *B*), differing from the "wedge-shaped" variety of the *ahu-poepoe* only in having the upper surfaces flat rather than sloping. Ahu Avanga Vai-porotu, situated on a sea cliff near Vai-tara-kai-ua, is a typical rectangular ahu.

> It is made of large boulders and from afar it resembles a *haremoa* (hen house). It is almost rectangular, although the four corners are slightly rounded. It is 6 meters long, 2.8 meters wide, and 1.3 meters high. The center of the heap of stones is hollowed, forming a big vault 3 meters long, 60 cm. wide, and 65 cm. deep. The walls are not perpendicular but are made up of rows of stones which converge toward the top. In the vault were three skeletons. On the seaward side of the ahu, there are stones placed in the ground in crescentic form.
>
> Another structure of the same type, but in poorer condition, is below the hill of Vai-tara-kai-ua. Its vault is larger and deeper, and it is possible to stand inside. Long slabs close the entrance at the top.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES

778 346 171 Easter Island sanctuaries have numerous affinities with religious structures in other parts of Polynesia (Mangareva, the Tuamotus, Society Islands, and Necker Island in the Hawaiian group). This fact is of primary importance for a clear understanding of the origin of Easter Island culture. The Easter Island ahus are essentially stone platforms; the paved slope of some may be regarded as a sort of court, but in general the space in front of the ahu is not defined by any enclosure or pavement.

The stone platforms of Easter Island are always termed ahu, a word which also means "to swell, a protuberance, a heap." In the Tuamotus and Tahiti the word ahu is restricted to the raised stone platform at one end of the marae. In New Zealand *tu-ahu* is a sacred open place with an erect post, stone, or row of stones at one end (20, vol. 1, p. 288). On Nukuhiva and Uapou in the Marquesas, ahu is used for the religious structure which in the other islands of the group is called *me'ae*. In the Hawaiian islands, the word *ku-ahu* designates an altar or a stone platform at a sacred place.

The word *tahua*, which on Easter Island applies to the paving in front of an ahu, is the equivalent of the Marquesan *tohua* which designates the tribal assembly place at which feasts were given and certain classes of cere-

monies performed. In New Zealand the word *tahua* (courtyard) is a synonym 778
of marae. In the Tuamotus and Society Islands, *tohua* formerly designated
the level ground of the marae and is now used for floor. Linton (142, p. 53) 346
thinks that in southeastern Polynesia *tohua* is the ancient term for assembly 171
place. The use of this word on Easter Island supports his hypothesis.

In the Tuamotus, Cook Islands, Austral Islands, Rapa, and Mangareva, the term marae designates a sacred place. In New Zealand it applies to the village green and has nothing to do with the *tu-ahu*. In Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Uvea, and Pukapuka the word *malae* has the same meaning. Linton (142, p. 50), Emory (78, p. 40), and Burrows (35) have come to the conclusion that the marae, as a religious structure, resulted from the combination of the platform (ahu) with the assembly court which assumed a sacred character. This fusion of the two elements occurred in central or marginal Polynesia after the Easter Islanders separated from the other Polynesian groups. Hence the Easter Island sanctuary remained a platform without a defined court and was called ahu and not marae.

Mangarevan maraes are more similar to Easter Island ahus than to any other stone structures in Polynesia. They have a rectangular platform across one end of an unenclosed court (71). The court face of the platform has one or two steps and the largest maraes, at least, have burial vaults in the platforms. Marquesan mortuary maraes (*me'ae*) are analogous to Easter Island ahus only in general structure, in name, and in the presence of wooden and stone images on the platforms (141, pp. 32-40). Tuamotuan maraes have a platform and rectangular court; upright slabs at the rear of the platform occupy exactly the same positions as the statues on Easter Island ahus (78, p. 22). Although the dead were not buried in the Tuamotuan platforms, the maraes were connected with the cult of deified ancestors. The inland maraes of the Society Islands are very similar to Tuamotuan maraes and hence have affinities with Easter Island ahus (77, pp. 38-40). Maraes of this general type have been found on uninhabited Necker Island, northwest of the Hawaiian group (72, pp. 60-71), and on Sydney Island in the Phoenix group.

The Easter Island ahu is probably a very old type in Polynesia. When the Easter Islanders left central Polynesia the religious platform faced with slabs had been developed, but this structure had not yet become associated with a court (marae). The inland side of the platform which is stepped in Mangareva and the Society Islands became in Easter Island a sloping surface with but one or rarely two steps retained. The striking originality of the Easter Island ahu lies in the two slanting wings which are found nowhere else in Polynesia.

STONE MASONRY

324 333 Cut stones were used extensively on Easter Island. Dressed slabs or blocks are found on most of the big ahus and appear in structures such as wells and underground houses, and in the stone houses of Orongo. Worked curbs, taken from the foundations of thatched huts, were often incorporated into the facings of ahus and wells (pl. 1, *C*).

171 324 333 Apart from Easter Island, there are only three regions in Polynesia where stone cutting was well developed—the Marquesas, the Society Islands, and Tonga. In Tonga the material employed was easily worked limestone (147, p. 5); in the Marquesas, coarse-grained tuff (141, p. 8); and in the Society Islands limestone or tuff blocks and occasionally basalt (77, p. 5). The excellence of Easter Island stone work is due partly to the use of hard vesicular basalt. Though cut stones were not so common on Easter Island as in the Marquesas, they show a more elaborate technique.

The presence of dressed stone masonry in Polynesia has been cited as evidence of foreign contact or of two distinct migrations of people. However, examples of such work are scattered and show no uniform specialization. Generally the dressed slabs are merely trimmed at the edges and smoothed on the face. This is a simple technique which might easily be invented and applied locally. Stimulus for the cutting of stones was the desire to improve upon the slabs so abundantly provided by nature in most Polynesian islands. The lava dikes, the tuff deposits, or the limestone strata, found on the surface of the ground, were ready to be quarried and broken into rectangular slabs.

The facings of a few Easter Island ahus are among the most perfect masonry work in Polynesia. The slabs or blocks have not only been smoothed to evenness, but they have been dressed or selected so as to fit exactly (fig. 52; pl. 4, *A*). The masterpiece of Easter Island stone work is the ahu Vinapu (pl. 7, *B*):

> The seaward wall is made of two rows of marvelously smooth slabs whose edges join with mathematical accuracy. The corner slabs have been rounded. A hole in the face has been patched with a stone carved to fit perfectly. Such a facing resembles the famous walls of the Inca palaces of the Cuzco. Historical connections have been proposed to account for this similarity. However, it must be remembered that ahu Vinapu is unique on Easter Island—an extraordinary achievement carrying to the height of perfection a few simple techniques, applied with less skill in other monuments. Between the Easter Island monuments and the great buildings of Peru the similarity does not go beyond the exact fitting of the stones. The plan and the structure of the Inca ruins are entirely different. There is neither geographical nor chronological link between the two cultures. The wonderful stone constructions of the Peruvians lie in the valleys of inner Peru or on the highland of Bolivia, and are separated from the sea by mountains and hundreds of miles of land. If there had been a historical connection between Easter Island and the interior of Peru, surely there would have been more evidence of the contact than a simple and obvious device of masonry.

Exact joining of masonry by means of jogs was practiced in other parts 171
of Polynesia, for instance in the facing of a marae on Meetia, near Tahiti
(77, p. 118), in the construction of an irrigation ditch on Kauai, Hawaiian 324
islands (19, pp. 105-106), and in the village of Kailua on Hawaii (72, p. 47). 333
However, this scarfing technique was too exceptional to be considered a special culture trait scattered by migrations. It must have been developed locally by patient stone cutters.

The Easter Island retaining or facing walls, made of vertical slabs planted on end and capped with horizontally laid slabs, have a close affinity with several maraes in the leeward Society Islands and with a heiau on the island of Nihoa in the Hawaiian group (72, p. 46). Similar construction was used in the facing of large Mangarevan maraes, in the Tuamotus, in Tongareva (30, fig. 40, *b*), and in the Marquesas where the tops of many slab walls are finished with one or more courses of water-worn boulders (141, p. 12).

STONE IMAGES

The Quarry

The quarry of the giant statues on the slopes of Rano-raraku crater is 316
one of the most spectacular places on the island. The fame of Easter Island
rests mainly on the amazement produced by this quarry and by the unfinished 532
statues in it. Routledge (194, pp. 175-199) devoted most of her time on the island to a study of this quarry and, with the help of Lieutenant Ritchie, made a complete and accurate survey of the site.

Almost all the statues standing on ahus came from Rano-raraku. The only exceptions are: the stone image taken from Orongo and now in the British Museum; the image Pou-hakanonga, from the ahu Ana-koiroroa, which is now in the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels; another basaltic statue at Puna-marengo; and seven or eight statues of the ahu on the headland of Poike which were carved from a local soft rock.

The Rano-raraku was chosen as a quarry because of the suitable quality 316
of the rock. The volcanic cone, situated on the south coast not far from Poike, is composed of bedded ashes derived from the crater. The southern slope of the exterior of the volcano and the southern and southeastern sides of the interior were quarried, probably because the rock was most easily reached there.

The quarries on the southern outer slope of the volcano begin about 50 or 60 meters above the foot of the hill. There the tuff crops out between vertical fissures 10 to 20 meters long. The ledges produced by these depressions differ in width and are responsible for the positions and sizes of some of the unfinished statues. The carvers often had to climb steep walls to reach the portion of rock on which they were working.

316 532 A visit to the quarries of the western slope reveals a helter-skelter succession of unfinished statues, of artificial caves or niches from which statues have been removed or are in the process of being disengaged, of narrow passages leading to an image ready to be launched, or to some incomplete image. In the quarries are 157 statues in different stages of completion. So many images are concentrated in a small area that there is hardly a place where the eye does not discover the outline of one of them, often in the most unexpected positions. Some statues are horizontal, others with the head toward either the foot or the top of the mountain. At each end of the quarry there is a series of images lying horizontally, one above another with heads and feet alternating on each side.

532 Several unfinished statues were executed in the least accessible places as if the sculptors had been afraid to waste any space. One of the largest images in the quarry is stranded with the head broken off in a passage formed by the removal of other statues. The accident probably occurred when the bed of earth on which the statue rested was washed away by rain. The number of empty quarries from which statues were taken is far smaller than the number of the statues on the ahus. Numerous niches were probably destroyed when new statues were to be carved.

The number of statues in process of construction is so great that it is difficult to believe that they were all being carved at the same time. The number of experts could hardly have sufficed for the task. Many statues were evidently left unfinished because of flaws in the material. Sometimes the lapilli extracted from the tuff left depressions on the surface which would have spoiled the finished statue.

A close study of a quarry reveals the technique of ancient carvers. After finding a satisfactory spur or ledge, the sculptor first shaped the face, next the front of the body, then the sides, and last of all the back. I know of only one statue which was detached before the details had been carved. Two unfinished statues show that at a certain stage the image was undermined from each side, leaving the statue attached to the rock below by a narrow flange (pl. 5, *C*). When the workers were ready to cut the flange they placed stone [401] wedges under the statue to support it and to prevent its cracking. Three finished statues rest on such wedges. When necessary passages were cut in the rock on both sides of the statue where the carvers stood to work. When the statue was to be extracted from a perpendicular wall, a cave was hollowed around the statue.

The manner in which the rock was carved is clear. Around the statues, 532 and particularly at the foot of the slope where they were washed by rainfall 412 and landslides, are found blunted stone mallets made of lapilli (p. 278). These mallets, held in the hand, were well adapted to their purpose. The carving was probably completed with adzes though there are few discarded adz blades near the quarry. The final polishing was done with abrasive volcanic stones called *punga*. Though the amount of work involved was probably less than is generally believed, the two weeks allowed by Routledge for the completion of a statue seems to me too short a time. 532 412

Routledge (194, p. 181) suggests that it was never intended to remove many of the statues carved in the quarry. One statue still adhering to the rock is 20 meters long, a size that precludes the possibility of transport. Though the statue is apparently finished, there is no indication of any work to detach it from the ledge of tuff. Another image in the interior of the crater rests on its side with the back overhanging the cliff. It is unlikely that it would have occupied such a position if it was intended to be lowered down. There is further evidence that many of these images were merely rock carvings, "little more than embossed carvings on the face of the rock without surrounding alley-ways" (194, p. 181). Near Anakena we discovered a small stone image on a ledge of basalt. This occupied the same position as the large Rano-raraku images and was probably just a rock carving. 532 483

STATUES ON THE AHUS

There are two classes of Easter Island statues—those which still stand in the crater, at the foot of Rano-raraku, or on the plains, and those which once surmounted the ahus or burial places. Though they are made of the same stone and are of the same general style, there are differences which are worth stressing. 532 [764 778]

The large ahus (p. 284) were all surmounted by *moai* or busts carved from the soft volcanic tuff of Rano-raraku crater. All these have been pulled down with the exception of the base of a statue on the right wing of ahu Tonga-riki. The number of statues which were erected on the ahu depended on its importance and perhaps on other circumstances which we will never know. Ahu Tonga-riki had 15 statues; ahu Akahanga, 13 statues; ahu Vinapu 6; and Hanga-o-honu, 5 or perhaps 6. Five statues was the average for ahus of medium size. Te-pito-te-kura, near La Pérouse Bay, and a few others had only one statue. The images rested on large square slabs which still stand on the higher platforms of most of the ahus. The main characteristics of the statues may be defined as follows:

> The long head is about three sevenths of the total height of the statue (134, p. 182). The top of the head is flat, the forehead narrow. The back of the head is vertical and, with the straight line of the ears, gives to the head a flattened and square appearance. The eyebrows are well marked and overlap elliptic cavities which represent the sockets of the eyes (pl. 6, *A*). The nose is long, the tip slightly upturned and the nostrils expanded. The thin lips of the mouth are pursed, giving the image a scornful expression. The chin has a sharp edge. On both sides the head is framed by conventionalized representations of the ear with elongated lobes. The nipples are sometimes so strongly delineated by the converging surface that the bust has a feminine appearance. When the

navel is figured it protrudes. The arms, slightly flexed, cling to the bust with the hands over the abdominal region at the height of the navel. The fingers of both hands are extremely long and sometimes meet. The raised thumb is curved back as if extended by a long nail. The abdominal region generally protrudes. The back is concave which accentuates the bulging of the abdomen. The largest ahu image, that of Ahu-te-pito-te-kura is 10 meters tall but such height is exceptional; most of the images which formerly surmounted the terraces range between 4 and 5 meters high. The images of the ahus near Rano-raraku (especially on ahus Tonga-riki and Akahanga, and on the ahus near Vaihu) are larger than those on more distant ahus.

The statues on ahu Vinapu were crudely painted. The red color has disappeared from the surface exposed to weathering, but remains on the under side. The statue Haka-nana-ia of Orongo was also "coloured red and white when found" (Palmer, 171, p. 178). The pigment was washed off in its transit to the *Topaze*.

THE STATUES OF RANO-RARAKU

The images of Rano-raraku are the largest on the island and the only ones which still stand. They are all grouped below the quarries—about 40 on the southeastern corner of Rano-raraku and about 20 on the eastern slope of the crater. A few have fallen to the foot of the mountain and others have lodged on the slope. One is said to have been overthrown at the same time as the image called Paro on the Ahu-te-pito-te-kura. Another image shows traces of an attempt to behead it. This is probably the statue called Hiara, that belonged to a powerful clan defeated in war (215, p. 495). The frequent landslides along the slopes of Rano-raraku have covered some statues with soil. Many of them are buried up to the elbows or the neck; of some only the top of the head is visible. Certainly quite a number has been entirely covered by falling earth. Blocks of tuff, crumbled from the cliff on the west side of the volcano, have been carved into statues. There Routledge (194, p. 192) unearthed two images facing the mountain which were said to mark the boundaries between the volcano and the ahu Tonga-riki.

The most striking feature of the Rano-raraku images is the disorder in which they have been set up. Those at the foot of the mountain are scattered haphazardly in groups of five to seven between and along the numerous hillocks under the quarry. Only a few stand on the plain near the foot of the mountain. All these statues have their backs toward the mountain.

The fundamental difference between the images of Rano-raraku and those on the ahu terraces lies in the shape of the base. The Rano-raraku images were originally destined to be planted in the ground for they taper into a sort of peg, whereas the ahu images have expanded bases (194, p. 186).

The eyes of ahu images are represented by elliptical depressions. The quarry images have no eyes; the region of the eyes is delineated only by the eyebrows and by the flat surface of the cheeks below. On the quarry images, the nose is a little longer and protrudes more than on the ahu images. The faces of the quarry images are narrower, the several surfaces of the face are more cleanly cut, and the ears are carved with more care. On the quarry images the elongated ear lobes reach almost to the chin and represent two thirds of the whole ear. The ear plug is either conventionalized or absent. The outer ear is generally outlined by a notch or by an incised line. The anatomical structure of the ear is simplified and usually only the outer edge is indicated. (See fig. 53; pl. 6, *B*.)

The necks of some statues are covered with tattooing designs used on this part of the body by natives in recent times. Undulating bands run vertically around the neck, and on the front of one statue there are volutes (134, p. 191).

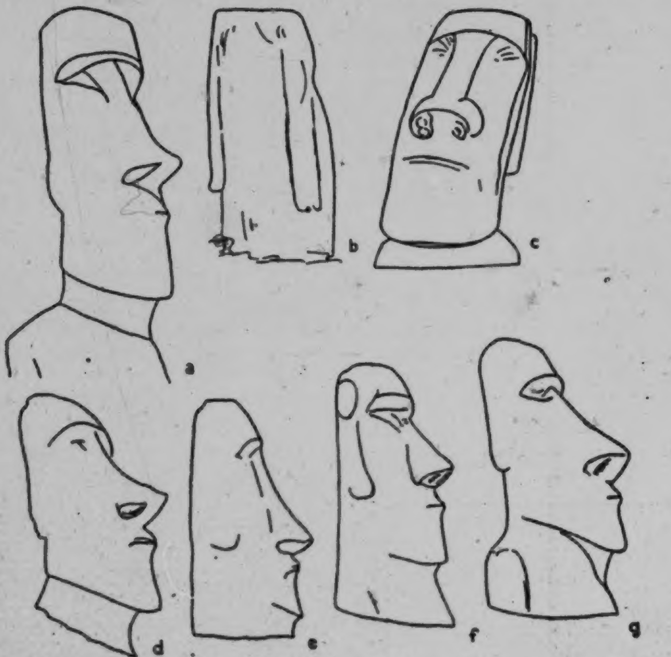


FIGURE 53.—Schematic outlines of standing statues of Rano-raraku showing variations in style.

The backs of a few statues are in almost the same condition as when they were disengaged from the quarry. The back is left rounded and the neck thick, and the ears merge into the nape. Others are more carefully modeled with the ears neatly outlined, the neck differentiated from the back, and an incised line indicating the spine. The effort toward realism is clear. Near the bases of the most elaborate images is a kind of girdle represented by three raised bands. This belt is surmounted by two rings and immediately beneath it is an M-shaped design in relief (194, p. 187). An image on one of the ahus of Anakena has a variation of the same design, in which the girdle is a single band, one of the rings is above it in the middle of the waist, the two others are on the buttocks, and a vertical band descends from the middle of the waist. Many of the small wooden

532 images have the same ornamentation. The statue Hoa-haka-nana-ia in the British Museum also has the rings and the girdle and a vertical band continuing the down stroke of the M toward the base. The girdle with its band stretching down from the back is a conventionalized representation of the *maro*. (See p. 217.)

There is good reason to believe that the backs of the statues were carved after they were set up. First, it would have been difficult to complete this portion of the work while the statue was in its original place in the quarry. Second, the transportation would have been more difficult and the chances of injury greater if the backs of statues had been finished. Geiseler (87, p. 12) heard from the natives that "only after the erection of the image, the back was wrought out, so that the spine was well marked." A dimly remembered tradition collected by Routledge (194, p. 188) states that "the statues were set up to be finished."

Most of the images have suffered little from weathering despite the soft breakable tuff. Some had been slightly impaired by petroglyphs carved on their surfaces. These designs, strewn without any apparent order, are extremely crude and were probably made not by the original artists but by later visitors to the quarry. Among these rock carvings the most frequent motifs are crescentic depressions which may represent boats. On some statues there are carvings of a big-eyed figure.

All the images of the crater had names, though only a few are remembered 532 by modern natives. A great many were recorded by Geiseler (87, pp. 7-10). 552 The few names which were given to Routledge (194, p. 183) were defined as the names of the individual carvers "and some proof is afforded of the reality of the tradition by the fact that the clans of the persons named are consistently given." But many of these names derive from some peculiarity of the image or of the place where it is located. Piropiro (the Stinking), with his upturned nose, seems to be offended by some bad odor, and names like "Dropping-water", "Wry-neck", and Taotao Poki (the Tattooed Man) are purely descriptive. Some images in the interior of the crater have been named after the birds which used to haunt this side of the cliff: "the Kiakia sitting"; "the Kiakia flying" (194, p. 184). One image was called "The Night" (Po).

On the outer slope of Rano-raraku there is a statue called Tai-hare-atua 532 which differs from all the others in that it is clumsily wrought. It has no neck 773 and the ears and arms are fused together. According to tradition, it was the first image carved in the quarry. The natives have a legend about it which was inaccurately recorded by Routledge (194, p. 184). My version follows:

> The image carver lived in Hotu-iti where he made the first image called Tai-hare-atua. When the statue was finished, he did not find it pretty at all because it had no neck. He said to two men, "You go to Apina-nui and ask how they carve the neck of the images. When they tell it to you, come back."
>
> The two went to Apina-nui. They saluted a man, and the man returned their greetings. The young men entered his house and they stayed there. The owner of the house

532 773 lit the oven and put in it chicken and sweet potatoes. In the evening he opened his oven and invited the young men to eat. The owner sat at one side of the house and the young men at the other. They slept. One of the young men said, "This man does not ask questions." Next day the young men prepared to go. The owner of the house asked, "Where are you going?" "We came to see you in order to learn how to make the neck of the images." He answered, "Just go on, the neck of the images is with you." The young men turned back and arrived at ahu Ohau-para. They felt the need to urinate. The younger one went aside and urinated. He looked at his penis and said to the other, "Listen, it was true, the neck of the image is with us, here below." They returned and told the image carver the story. They set out to make other images. This time they made them well. From then on they always carved good statues.

ISOLATED STATUES

Besides the rows of standing statues near Rano-raraku, there are on the island many images which are independent of any ahu. Tradition has it that these isolated statues were in process of being moved and were abandoned for some reason, perhaps when the work in the quarry ceased. The natives, who explain that the images walked from the quarry to the ahus to which they were assigned, say that the isolated ones fell by the way. Routledge (194, pp. 193-199) believes, probably correctly, that the isolated images once stood where they lie today. She bases her hypothesis on the following facts: 532

> Many of the statues lie on the ground intact, others have been so shattered that only a fall from an erect position can explain their condition. Some of them rest on the back, others on the face, a fact which refutes the theory that they were abandoned in transport, for the natives must have had a uniform method of transportation. It is evident that these statutes were imbedded in holes and that they fell because their bases were undermined. The weathering on some of the statues could have been produced only if they were in a standing position.

The officer sent by Captain Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 284) to explore the south coast saw these isolated statues, "some placed in groups on platforms of masonry, others single, fixed only in the earth, and that not deep." He observed several fallen statues, one of which was nearly "twenty seven feet long, and upward of eight feet over the breast or shoulders." According to G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 591) this image was called Mango-toto and stood "in sight of the hummocks, near which we had perceived the greatest number of pillars or statues, from the ship." There is no doubt that the reconnoitering party sent by Cook had reached the cove of Akahanga or even the little hill called Maunga Toatoa. Thus historical records confirm archaeological evidence.

Routledge (194, p. 194) believes that these isolated images formed irregular rows running parallel to wide roads. Ahu Paukura, on the south coast, is approached by an avenue of six statues, one of which is still standing (194, fig. 7). I found no trace of roads but it seems logical that the giant images were carried along some sort of open way. One of the roads surveyed by Routledge (194, p. 194) "was slightly raised over lower ground and depressed somewhat through higher, and along it every few hundred yards lay a statue." Using the isolated statues as guides, Routledge (194, p. 194) traces as follows the direction of the ancient roads which spread over the island from Rano-raraku:

> A road, with 27 images along it, runs more or less parallel to the modern roadway and reaches nearly the foot of Rano-kao. It is connected with the coast by two branches, one leading to Ahu Teatenga and the other to Akahanga Bay. The second road, bordered by 14 images, connects Hotu-iti with the western districts. It crosses the center of the island and forks into two branches one of which leads to Orito; the other goes between the cones around Rano-aroi. The third road, a mile long, runs toward the north. Along it there are only four statues, but one of them is the largest which has ever been moved. Some indistinct traces of a fourth road may be seen on the southeastern side of Rano-raraku.

One very large isolated statue lies on the northern slope of Rano-aroi between Ahu-te-peu and Puna-marengo, and another one at a short distance behind Vai-mata. One statue, found between Vinapu and Mataveri, is now in the British Museum. We discovered on Maunga Teatea a statue made of the tuff of Rano-raraku. The names of a few of these isolated statues are preserved; Hakaoa, Maunga Toatoa, Kava-hehata, Hoahoa. Some of these images may have belonged to ahus which have disappeared entirely. Others, as the natives suggest, may have marked boundaries, or bordered some road or cross section as Routledge believes.

The famous statue called Hoa-haka-nana-ia (Breaking-waves), which is now in the British Museum, was taken from a stone house at Orongo. It stood on a stone slab and like the ahu images turned its back to the sea. It is the masterpiece of Easter Island sculpture; not only do its features equal those of the best images of Rano-raraku, but it has the special merit of having been hewn from hard stone. On its back are incised figures of the bird-man, a dance paddle (*ao*), and possibly a vulva (*komari*). Its back and face are said to have been painted white with red tracings. It is the only statue known to have been connected with a cult. (See p. 336.)

SMALL STONE IMAGES

Small stone images are scarce and differ widely in style from the ordinary Easter Island statues, but they are probably ancient for they were collected before the curio industry was fully developed on the island. These images have an uncarved, sometimes pointed base which was probably stuck into the ground. Their size corresponds to that of the small pillars erected at the entrance of an ancient stone hut of Ahu-te-peu. The stone houses at Orongo had the doorways ornamented with carved heads in a similar crude style. Modern natives carve many statues out of soft rock for the curio trade. Gusinde (95, pp. 352-355) published figures of two Easter Island stone heads which he describes in the following terms:

> These sculptures are of a crude and unsymmetrical workmanship. The height is 12 cm., the diameter 16 mm. The nose is bent, the eyes stand out like flat buttons. The ears are long rectangles. On the eyes there is a prominent ridge like the visor of a cap. The top of the head is sloping, but flat. This surface is occupied by the engraved representation of the vulva.

532

[831]

Routledge (194, fig. 111) purchased a little stone figure from Motu-nui. Two other images of more or less the same type were kept at Mataveri; both came from Orongo and were probably pillars from the two sides of a house entrance. One of these images was removed to Belgium and will be described by Lavachery.

Small stone idols were certainly carved in olden days as evidenced by an image (fig. 54, *a*) procured from a native who found it near Ahu-te-peu. The statue is made of a very light, soft basalt. Either the features of the face were never carved or they have been obliterated. The long ears are well marked. The flexed arms are crudely indicated. Knoche (123, fig. 32) has published an obsidian head which may be authentic. The figure is rather flat and its style closely akin to that of the wooden images. In the Peabody Museum, Cambridge (5359), there is a stone image that is an exact reproduction of the wooden statues of the *moai kavakava* type. The eyes are represented by two white stones inserted in the hollow sockets, the ribs and vertebrae are protruding, and the abdomen bulging. A crude stone statue is in the National Museum, Washington (32645). Though modern natives carve hundreds of small stone images, those which really belong to the old culture are rare and cannot be regarded as a normal expression of the local art.

In Bishop Museum there is a crude stone head, the authenticity of which cannot be doubted (fig. 55, *a*). Judging from its dimensions and style, this figure must have come from Orongo where it was a pillar ornamenting the entrance of a house. The flat, broad nose, carved in relief, forms a continuous level with the forehead. The eyes protrude and there is no mouth.

Several stone heads were purchased by officers of the French man-of-war *La Flore* in 1872. They are now preserved in La Rochelle Museum Lafaille (144) and in the Musée de l'hopital maritime de Rochefort-sur-Mer (45, fig. 61). The image in La Rochelle is said to have been found on a marae on Rano-raraku (144, p. 174), a statement which I doubt. It is carved in a style similar to that of the ahu statues. The pointed base was certainly stuck into the ground. Loti (146, pp. 259, 265) alludes to stone heads and to the eagerness of the natives to trade them. In one of the huts he visited he saw two of these images, one on either side of the door (145, pl. 66). A head of the same type is shown in figure 54, *b*. The nose is narrow and straight and on the same plane as the forehead. The mouth is formed by two parallel raised strips. The oval eyes protrude. The cheekbones are two crescentic prominences. The style of these carvings recalls the conventionalized human

532 features at the end of the ceremonial staffs (*ua*) or on the wooden paddles (*rapa*).

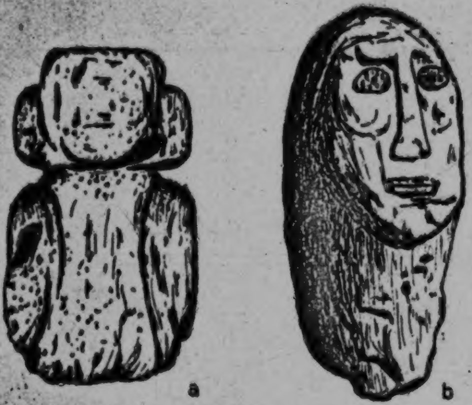


FIGURE 54.—Small stone images: *a*, statue 210 mm. high, maximum width 120 mm. (Trocadero Mus.); *b*, stone head, probably from a pillar decorating entrance to a house (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 20055).

STONE HEADDRESSES FOR STATUES

The heads of many of the statues on the terraces once bore a big cylinder (*hau hitirau moai*), made of red vesicular tuff (pl. 6, *C*). Their dimensions range from 1.2 meters to 2 meters in height and from 1.6 to 2.7 meters in diameter. The top of some cylinders has a knob or boss the length of which ranges from 15 to 60 cm. The lower surface has a slight depression which fitted over the top of the image's head. This concavity is not in the center, but near one side so that the cylinder projected over the eyes (see 130, Atlas, pl. 11). Such a disposition was observed by Gonzalez' men (90, p. 94):

> The diameter of the crown is much greater than that of the head on which it rests, and its lower edge projects greatly beyond the forehead of the figure; a position which excites wonder that it does not fall. I was able to clear up this difficulty on making an examination of another smaller statue from whose head there projected a kind of tenon, constructed to fit into a sort of slot or mortice corresponding to it in the crown; so that by this device the latter is sustained notwithstanding its overlapping the forehead.

Roggeveen (186, p. 16) mistook the hats for baskets, but he observed "flints painted white" heaped on them. These white stones were observed by the Spaniards under Gonzalez (90, p. 93) who mistook them for bones and by Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 225). Natives remember that stones were used as wedges to keep the images in place (194, p. 199). 401

532

Unfortunately the early visitors to the island did not ask the natives for the names for the hats. The present natives call the cylinders *hau hitirau moai*. *Hitirau* is the name of the tuff from which these cylinders are made. The word *hau* (hat) applied to the cylinders was noted by Palmer (171, p. 179) in 1868. Jaussen (115, p. 245), whose information was obtained at an early date, gives the word *pukao* which in Roussel's dictionary means crown. The original meaning of *pukao* is topknot. The cylinder with a knob may have been an attempt to represent the long hair tied up on the head in a big knot (*pukao*), a fashion very common on Easter Island. Balfour (9, p. 371), though he did not know the meaning of the word *pukao*, assumed that the so-called crowns were a crude imitation of bleached hair. He believes that they represented frizzly Melanesian hair and that the forward projection indicated the Melanesian eyeshade. It is not superfluous to mention here that we are by no means sure that the Easter Islanders ever bleached their hair with lime, and they certainly do not have the kinky hair of the Melanesians. Rivers (185, p. 301) thinks that these hats were intended as signs of mourning. He compares Easter Island with the Marquesas where, according to a single authority, a great stone is placed as a mourning sign on the head of the image representing a dead man. The fact that only the ahu images have hats is, for Rivers' purpose, a strong argument as to the funerary significance of these ornaments. He also points out that in Melanesia the members of some ghost societies wear special hats or head coverings. However, the images of many ahus had no hats and the Marquesan symbol is not even mentioned by Handy and Linton, our best authorities on the Marquesas. The interpretations of Balfour and Rivers are based on the unproved postulate that Easter Island was populated by Melanesians. More interesting is Skinner's (204, p. 296) comparison of the Easter Island image hats with the cylindrical representation of the topknot on the heads of ancestral figures in Maori carving. The hypothesis of Im Thurn (110, p. 584) and Lavachery (136, p. 119) that these crowns might have been wigs is pure fancy.

The theory that these crowns were merely a crude attempt to ornament the statues with a structure similar to a topknot (*pukao*) is the most logical assumption. The only problem is the projection which overhangs the eyes. It has been suggested that these cylinders were representations of the conical feather hats worn by the Easter Islanders until a recent date. (See p. 224). This interpretation is not extravagant though it fails to account for the shape of the crowns which are cylindrical rather than conical.

The idea of decorating the images with such ornaments developed long after the islanders started to carve images and erect them on ahus. If both devices had grown up simultaneously, the use of the big hats would have been more general and would not have been restricted to certain ahus or to a few

531 statues on an ahu. These crowns seem to me an attempt to embellish the images and to add an amusing naturalistic touch.

PILLARS ON AHUS

532 764 Near several ahus on the south coast of the island are cylinders made of red tuff. These proved to be hats with the exception of two behind an ahu near Hanga-paukura. These seem to have been supports for a wooden frame on which corpses were exposed. According to Palmer (171, p. 179), some of the cylinders had "flat tops and were cut away on each side as though to make a step or shelf." Palmer's brief description exactly fits a big cylinder behind ahu Hanga-hahave (fig. 55, *c*) except that the upper surface has also been carved into flat compartments. The average height of the pillars is 6 feet.

Behind the ahu Vinapu, Palmer saw a pillar which has disappeared; I did not see it and nobody has mentioned it in later times. He writes (171, p. 179):

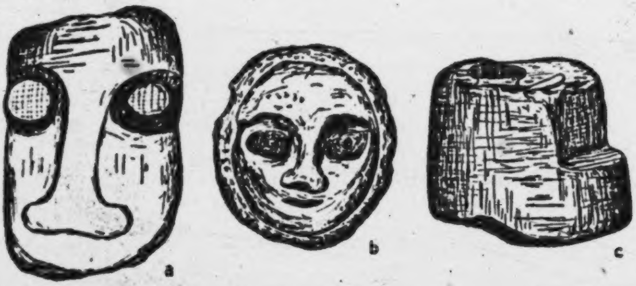


FIGURE 55.—Stonework: *a*, image from door of stone house at Orongo; *b*, human face pecked roughly on boulder, 116 mm. high, 105 mm. wide (Trocadero Mus.); *c*, red tuff cylinder behind ahu Hanga-hahave, probably a support for wooden frame for exposing the dead.

> Again, in a direct line from this, landwards, at about 80 or 100 yards from the platform is one of the low, slanting, saddle-topped pillars used for cremation (burnt sacrifice). It is also of red tuff, but was not more than 4.5 or 5 feet high. The finest I saw was at Winipoo of which I append a description. In a paved area, similar to that of the last described pillar, is a pillar of red tuff 3.5 feet squared and 8.5 or 8.75 feet high. The top projects forwards, and ends in two horns, with a deep saddle-shaped notch between them; each horn has a face traced on it, in low relief—face surmounted with a crown (*hau*), but that to the northwest had crumbled away (from the action of fire). The projecting part is terminated at the breast, and lower down a round projecting navel is marked. Just above, where the pillars join the area, the fingers are sculptured, in low relief, flat, and clasping the hips as in the images.
>
> We were told that *heaka* (victims) were burnt here, and at the foot of one of these pillars at Winipoo we found many burnt bones. The pillars were in number at least one for every image-platform. [See also sketch, 168, p. 284; neither description nor sketch suggests any known monument.]

Palmer's interpretation of the use of the cylinders rests on his translation of the word *ika* which may mean either victim or corpse. In saying that the pillars were intended for the *ika* the natives may have meant that the stones were supports for the platform on which the dead were laid, or that they had some connection with funerals. Thomson (215, pp. 470-472) writes in regard to these pillars: 532 764

> In the rear of some of the best preserved platforms are stones said to have been erected for sacrificial purposes. These altars consist of a single shaft, generally of vesicular lava, but in some cases cut from the material of which the images and crowns were made. They range in height from 5 to 10 feet, squared to 3.5 or 4 feet on each face, and stand in the center of a terrace paved with smooth boulders. The sides and plinth were covered with figures sculptured in low relief, but are now too much weather-worn to be traced. These altars are said to have been designed and used for human sacrifices, but of this a reasonable doubt may be expressed.
>
> The form is inconveniently adapted to the purpose and the stones differ in all respects from those used for the same purpose in the other islands. Evidence of fire on top of the stones was plain enough, but no charred bones were found except those of recent date belonging to sheep and cattle.

I do not remember having seen traces of fire on the top of the cylinders. Dr. Lavachery, who is at present writing on the archaeology of Easter Island, will certainly present more data about these enigmatic cylinders.

THE HAT QUARRY

The quarry from which material for hats was derived is located in a small crater on the side of the volcanic cone of Punapau behind Hanga-roa. There red vesicular tuff, extremely light and easily worked, has been extensively exploited. In the bottom of the crater, a wall cropping out of the grass is the only sign of an ancient quarry. 316 532

Twenty-three hats are strewn about on the outside of the crater and there are a few inside. The quarry is probably in the same state as it was in 1777 when visited by members of Cook's reconnoitering party (53, vol. 1, p. 285). The hats near the quarry are cylindrical but lack the superior knot and boss of the ahu hats and have no depression to fit on the head. As noticed by the first visitors, the hats in the quarry are larger than those on the rest of the island. The largest hat is about 2.60 meters high and 3 meters wide. The ground under one of these hats has been excavated so that a cave is formed where several persons may crouch. All the unfinished stone headdresses are covered with meaningless designs which resemble natural grooves and which are identical to the designs on the stage of ahu Hanga-te-tenga. Some cylinders near the ahus of the south coast are decorated with similar depressions and hollows. These curious motifs were described to Jaussen (115, p. 245) as the proprietary marks (*rona*) of the owners. [422]

TRANSPORTATION OF STONE STATUES

483 773 Modern natives are unable to explain the methods used by their ancestors for transporting the stone images. This break in the oral tradition is perhaps ancient, for soon after first European contact natives had to resort to legends to satisfy those who inquired about the subject. They told Roussel (190, p. 498) that a chief endowed with power (mana) had ordered the statues to walk. "Hearing his words, all the statues set out and picked out the places which were the most convenient to them." Palmer (171, p. 181), who probably heard this legend from Roussel, says that this great chief was Tukuiu (Tuu-ko-ihu). According to Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 128) the mythical being whose power dispersed the statues from the quarry to the ahus was the god Makemake. In a later version (37, p. 29), this achievement is attributed to the priests (*ivi-atua*) who moved the statues at the request of those who wanted them on their family ahus. The huge blocks walked for a distance and then stopped. Each day the priests repeated the charms until the images had reached the spot for which they were destined.

483 More technical traditions about transportation are rare. A native called Haunoko told Jaussen (115, p. 245) that round boulders were put under the images and that the natives pushed, dragged, and rolled them to the place of destination. Geiseler (87, p. 12) was shown some holes along the edge of Rano-raraku crater in which rope tenders stood while paying out rope as the statues slid down hill; they made turns around projecting blocks when the statue had to be belayed. The image was dropped into a hole which had been dug for it.

[401] [171] Routledge (194, p. 189) noticed many stones behind the statues, evidently used when the images were erected. Some statues were left standing at an angle. The natives remember that the hats were put on the heads of statues by erecting piles of stones against an image and then rolling the cylinders over the stones. A similar method was used in placing large stones in Marquesan structures (141, p. 8). I was told that levers (*akaue*) were used for transport and that taro and sweet potatoes were put under the statue for lubrication.

The weight of the Easter Island images has usually been over-estimated. Professor Delacroix, Director of the Laboratory of Geology in Paris, has kindly calculated for me the specific weight of the Rano-raraku tuff. The density of this rock is 2.48. Taking this figure as a basis, Dr. C. K. Wentworth, Associate in Geology at Bishop Museum, has estimated the weight of the average statue transported from the quarry to the ahu. Statues 4 or 5 meters tall weigh at most about 4 or 5 tons. I doubt whether the weight of any of the giant statues which stand near the quarry exceeds 30 tons.

[171] Other Polynesians have carried weights as heavy as the Easter Island

statues. For example, a platform in a dance court of Uahake-kua in the Marquesas includes boulders weighing from 3 to 10 tons (142, p. 7). Two 60-ton vessels, blown inland by a hurricane, were carried back to the sea by Maoris. It is said that one was transported by 2,000 men; the other by only 200. Huge logs for canoes were hauled from the forests by the Maoris; in going down a steep slope the log was lowered slowly by means of ropes (21, pp. 62-73) as in the method described by Geiseler for lowering Easter Island statues down the quarry slopes. The pillars for the famous trilithon on Tonga, weighing between 30 and 40 tons, were quarried near the shore and "were dragged over wooden skids, by means of heavy ropes and the combined muscular power of many men" (147, p. 64). 483 171

The transportation of the images on Easter Island was not so difficult in pre-European days as it would be now, for then the long plain extending across the island from Rano-raraku was covered by high, slippery grass, such as now exists on the islet of Motu-nui. Probably statues were rolled on wooden skids as in Tonga. The large size of many wooden implements (*ua, rapa*) indicates that sufficient wood was available for this. The size of some Easter Island nets made of paper mulberry fibers shows that there was no scarcity of material for making long ropes. Moreover the example of the Maori indicates that there was no need for a great many cables to haul a large and heavy mass. The major difficulty in transporting Easter Island images was not the great weight but rather the fragility of the soft tuff. The moving of statues without scarring them is, in my opinion, the greatest achievement of the Easter Islanders. The statues were dragged on their broad, rough backs; any damages could be repaired after the statue was erected. The statues were probably hauled a bit at a time, possibly by a whole tribe working together as in the Marquesas (104, p. 206). This is also the opinion of Roussel (190, p. 498) who writes: "We may believe that on occasion of a feast all the tribes gathered and each one took its family gods and dragged them with hau ropes to their respective districts." The largest images, weighing from 20 to 30 tons, were not carried far from the quarry, but were set up at the foot of the hill. The farther one goes from the quarry the smaller the statues become. This indicates that resourcefulness and man power were limited. Along a rocky portion of the north coast near Hango-teo there are no image ahus, and the only image found there is of basalt carved on the spot. 483 [171]

It has been suggested that the Easter Islanders transported their images on rafts. However, this is absurd, for there was not enough wood on the island for the construction of sufficiently large rafts and the rocky coast near Rano-raraku affords no good landing place. The smaller statues might have been carried on wooden litters, a method much used in the Marquesas (142, p. 10).

483 153 That modern natives should have forgotten how the statues were transported is strange but understandable. First, we are not sure how thoroughly they were asked about this problem and second, they have a disconcerting way of forgetting the past. There is not a single native on the island who is able to explain the use of the stone adzes which are daily found on the ground, though these implements were manipulated by their great-grandfathers or even by their grandfathers. Solely because in 1868 the natives could not remember the technique of hauling statues, we must not conclude that the carving and transportation of the images ended many centuries ago. It is possible that only a few generations ago a war exterminated the expert stone carvers at Rano-raraku and thus interrupted the tradition.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STONE STATUES

182 532 201 The true significance of stone statues is not known. There is no direct evidence that they were ever worshipped. Roggeveen's statement (186, p. 15), so frequently quoted as proof of an ancient cult of the images, is certainly too vague to allow any such conclusion: " . . . we noticed only that they kindle fire in front of certain remarkably tall stone figures they set up; and thereafter squatting on their heels with heads bowed down, they bring the palms of their hands together and alternately raise and lower them."

The members of the Gonzalez expedition (90, p. 94) noticed that the natives appeared to "hold them [the images] in great veneration," and were "displeased" when the Spaniards approached to examine them closely. However, this fear might have concerned the ahu itself rather than the images. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 296) collected the names of various statues and heard the natives use the word *ariki* in connection with certain of them. On this association Cook and Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 375) base their opinion that the statues "were monuments erected to the memory of some areekees, or kings."[15]

Later inquirers (Palmer, 171, p. 174; Jaussen, 115, p. 245) were told the same things by natives raised in the pagan traditions. One of the Easter Islanders kidnapped and sent to Peru assured Gill (89, p. 213) that these statues had not been worshipped within the memory of man. Jaussen's informants conveyed to him the impression that these statues were merely to decorate the ahu. The only image that is traditionally connected with a cult is the statue Hoa-haka-nana-ia or Taurarenga now in the British Museum. The image called Pou-haka-nonga (now on exhibition in Belgium under the name Hanga-oneone) of the ahu Ana-koiroroa at the bay of Hanga-roa is supposed to have been put there by some king to indicate to the fishermen the best place to catch tuna. Several statues were pointed out to Routledge (194, p. 193) as landmarks indicating boundaries.

---

[15] Transcribed phonetically the names collected by Cook and Forster are: Ko Tomoara, Marapate, Kanaro, Ko Uaituku, Matamata. The only names of statues recorded by present natives are: Hanga, Vehu, Titahe, Kere-mata-pea-ka-ngaru-ki-hiva.

The name *moai-te-atua* given by modern natives to some statues does not necessarily imply that they represent gods (194, p. 301). The term may be modern, for a statue symbolizing a god would have borne his specific name. Neither is there evidence that the standing images of Rano-raraku were the images of the successive bird-men, as suggested by Routledge (194, p. 264). 182 532

Moerenhout (162, vol. 1, p. 461) and Gill (89, p. 213) make the strange suggestion, eagerly accepted by Rivers (185, p. 306), that these images marked the limits of earth and sea and were believed to prevent the encroachment of the sea. Balfour (10, p. 72) rejects the interpretation on the ground that the very position of the Easter Island statues excludes the idea of any connection with the sea.

Geiseler (87, p. 14) says that these images were believed to be endowed with power and that both the standing and the unbroken prostrate ones were alive. This is probably not true as no objection was made to the removal of an image from Orongo by the *Topaze* Expedition or to the decapitation of an image on the ahu of Hanga-roa.

Thomson (215, p. 498), perhaps on his own authority, declares that these images "were designed as effigies of distinguished persons and intended as monuments to perpetuate their memory." I was told that the statue called Paro, of Ahu-te-pito-te-kura, was erected by a widow to her dead husband.

If the statues are deified ancestors, they may be compared with Marquesan statues of deified ancestors who had become tutelary tribal deities. The desire for display was certainly a predominant motive for the carving of these giant statues, but it is questionable whether this was sufficient to provoke as much energy as that required for the transportation of enormous statues. On the other hand, to assume that the motive for making the images was entirely religious is to underestimate the tribal pride and competitive instinct of Polynesians.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN STONE IMAGES

The carving of human images from wood and, less often, from stone is one of the culture traits which distinguishes eastern and marginal Polynesia from western Polynesia, where carving of human figures is less developed (35). Large stone images were carved only in the Marquesas, Raivavae, and Easter Island. In these three regions tuff is abundant and is easily worked. In New Zealand the Maoris carved two human figures representing gods from the rhyolitic tuff deposits of Lake Rotorua. 171 532

As pointed out by Linton (141, p. 88), everywhere in Polynesia wood carving seems to have preceded stone carving. Several features of Easter Island stone images, such as the flat surfaces, the treatment of hands, and outline of chin, are reminiscent of wooden images there. However, there is more resemblance between the Easter Island stone statues and the Manga-

171 532 revan wooden images than between the wooden and stone images of Easter Island. Mangarevan images share with the Easter Island stone statues the typical pursed mouth, but the differences are numerous.

Balfour (9, pp. 361-371), overlooking the Mangarevan parallels, stresses the similarity between the Easter Island stone images and canoe-prow gods and other representations of human form from New Georgia, San Cristoval, and other parts of the Solomon Islands. The proposed analogy strikes me as unconvincing, for the only similarities between the two types of image are the overhanging brows and the long upward-curving nose.

Comparative studies of the religious structures in eastern and central Polynesia reveal a remarkable analogy between the position of the Easter Island statues on the ahus and the uprights on the religious platforms of the Tuamotus, Society Islands, and Necker Island. Detailed research has convinced Emory that the uprights at the back of Tuamotuan ahus, bearing the names of ancestors, were either backrests for the gods or memorials to deified ancestors. In the Tuamotus and in Tongareva the unrights were sometimes trimmed. In the Tuamotus the shaping is often a crude attempt to express the human form. On Necker Island the small stone images of the gods rested against the slabs set on the platform. Between a carved upright and a statue, transition is logical, and it seems to have taken place on Easter Island. The development of the slabs into statues was facilitated by some knowledge of carving which the Easter Islanders already possessed when they settled on their isolated island. On some Easter Island ahus, pillars take the place of statues. At Mataveri such a pillar has one surface carved like the back of a statue.

174 532 The first immigrants to Easter Island probably came from eastern Polynesia and were acquainted with the carving of human figures from wood. Lacking wood in their new home, they applied their skill to the Rano-raraku tuff which is more easily worked than stone. Stimulated by the abundance of tuff and the ease with which statues could be transported across the open country, they created larger and larger statues until stone carving reached there a development greater than in any other part of Polynesia.

RELIGION

177 771 Easter Island religion was more deeply affected by the several catastrophes which befell the people than any other phase of their culture. Roussel (190, p. 424) says that the downfall of the religion took place long before the arrival of the missionaries and that "there remained only a few tapus of which they made little ado" (190, p. 495). Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 128), in 1866, found no ceremony or religious cult in honor of any deity; the premissionary decadence of religious beliefs facilitated conversion to Christianity. Even the feasts had lost much of the ancient character, and had become "but

entertainments and debauches with competitions between parties from the different bays" (230, vol. 6, p. 125). Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 69), who lived many years among the islanders, declares that he never saw any outward expression of religion. 177 771

Now that three generations have passed since the Christianization of the island, almost nothing is remembered about the beliefs and rites of paganism. My attempt to reconstruct some of the pattern of ancient religion rests on bits of evidence taken from several sources. These I checked as best I could.

GODS

Not even a summary classification of the ancient deities can be expected from present-day natives of Easter Island. The word *atua*, which formerly designated pagan deities is now applied to the Christian God. All supernatural beings are classified today under the name of *akuaku*, or more frequently *tatane* (derived from the French satan), or sometimes *varua* (from the Tahitian word meaning spirit). Though memory of the great Polynesian gods and heroes had faded, Routledge (194, p. 236) in 1915 obtained the names of about 90 *akuaku*, lesser gods or spirits. Now, even the old men remember only 30 names. 776

It is likely that the various lists of *akuaku* contain the names of gods who were worshipped by certain tribes or lineages and whose influence was restricted to a definite district; Makemake who, beyond any doubt, was the greatest functioning god of the island has been relegated by the pious natives to the file of *akuaku* or *tatane*.

Easter Island gods, like those everywhere in Polynesia, must have belonged to two classes. The first class included the great figures of creation and major gods like Tangaroa, Tu, and Rongo; the second class embraced an infinity of deities who ranged probably from the sons of the great gods to deified ancestors or simple spirits. The place of a god in one or the other of these two categories did not correspond to his actual importance in religion and in the sentiments of the worshipper. Makemake, who seems to have been the principal god of the islanders, does not figure in the pantheon of the major gods, though he has absorbed many an attribute or power originally invested in the major gods.

The gods of Easter Island, like other Polynesian gods, could be embodied in objects and animals. This power of incarnation is shown most clearly by the bird-man cult and by numerous representations of the god Makemake as a human being with a bird's head.

MAJOR GODS

The most striking feature of Easter Island religion is the unimportance of the great gods and heroes of other Polynesian religions. Seldom is there a

776 definite reference to Tangaroa, Tu, Hiro, Rongo, or Tane—the most prominent characters of mythology throughout Polynesia. However, these gods were not entirely unknown; they seem to have had a purely academic existence and, as in Mangareva (28, p. 418), they were recorded only as legendary figures or as divine ancestors heading genealogies. The only definite evidence that Rongo and Tangaroa were known is their mention at the beginning of the genealogy of the king's family.

HIRO

The name of Hiro appears in a very old invocation for rain (p. 330). A
776 stone near ahu Mahatua on the northeast coast is named Pu-o-Hiro (the
823 Trumpet-of-Hiro). It is pierced by a natural hole and it is said that when the
northwest wind blows, a sound like that of a trumpet is produced. The stone
[831] is covered with carved representations of the vulva (*komari*). An ahu on
the south coast is called Tangaroa-Hiro. Hiro in the Society Islands is the
protector of thieves. The Easter Islanders had a god invoked by those who
had committed a larceny in order not to be caught. Presumably this unknown
patron of thieves was Hiro.

TANGAROA

776 The kings of Easter Island, like those of Mangareva and other Polynesian islands, traced their origin back to Tangaroa. The exalted position of Tangaroa at the head of the genealogy of kings might be interpreted as a sign that he was one of the gods. As in Samoa and the Society Islands a month name of the local calendar (November) is called after the god (Tangaroa-uri). On Easter Island there is still a myth about a King Tangaroa who came to the island and manifested his supernatural powers in many ways. Although modern natives maintain that this Tangaroa was merely a human invested with mana, there is little doubt that he was originally a god. One informant told me that his name was Tangaroa-mea, the name of one of the great gods of Mangareva. As my informants had heard of the god Tangaroa of Mangareva, the analogy between the two names may be due to recent borrowings, but the tale itself was given to me as being purely local. Simon Riroroko, the last descendant of the kings, and Tepano, who told me the tale, insisted that King Tangaroa came from Mangareva.

776 The king, Tangaroa-mea said: "I shall enter the water like a seal and go to a country
773 where I shall be king." The king, his brother, said: "You will die, it is a distant country,
you cannot go quickly. I can go there and return the same day."

539 They quarreled. Victory was Tangaroa's and he went to Easter Island. His mana
was over the sea, in which he was like a seal. The mana of his brother was over the
land.

He landed at Tonga-riki, and he was seen by the people. The clamor resounded: "People of the land, a seal has landed at Tonga-riki." People said: "He has seal's feet,

> seal's hands, but a man's face." They wanted to kill him. The king, Tangaroa, said: 776
> "I am the king, Tangaroa, I am not a seal." The people said: "No, he is a seal with
> a voice." 773
>
> They assaulted him with stones. They shouted: "Haul him to the shore." They
> carried him to Pito-kura. They dug out an oven, put Tangaroa inside, and closed it 539
> with stones. Later they opened the oven, but the meat was still raw. They covered the oven again and they stayed there waiting. They opened the oven again, and the meat was not cooked.
>
> The people said: "It was true, he was really a king, he was Tangaroa and not a seal. Therefore he is half raw."
>
> The brother of Tangaroa, Teko-of-the-long-feet, saw that his brother did not come back in one month. This king of a foreign country cried for his brother. He went to search for him. He landed on the islet. He put his foot at Retu (near Vai-tea). He was looking for his brother. He lifted his foot and stepped on Poike, but he did not see his brother. "Where is Tangaroa, the king?" he asked at Rano-kao, again at Retu, and at Pui. The men of the land were afraid. He lifted his foot again at Puku-puhipuhi, the place Where-Teko-planted-his-digging-stick. He again lifted his foot beyond Poike. He asked again, "Where is Tangaroa, the king?" He asked for the last time for the king, Tangaroa. He turned back, he disappeared to the foreign country. His feet trampled on the earth, but his head reached the sky. He was always asking about Tangaroa, the king.

It is highly significant that in this myth Tangaroa appears in the form of a seal. In the Tuamotus, Society Islands, and Samoa sea animals are the favorite incarnations (*ata*) of this god, for throughout Polynesia, Tangaroa was a sea god. The character of the deity is evidenced by the passage of the myth telling of Tangaroa's mana (power) over the sea and his brother's over the land.

RONGO

Rongo is mentioned in the kings' genealogy after Tangaroa and is given 776
as the son of Tangaroa. There is no evidence that the site of Orongo was named after Rongo.

MAKEMAKE

The greatest god of the Easter Islanders was Makemake. He is the only one whose memory has been preserved until the present day. The first allusion to Makemake is found in the early account of Gonzalez expedition (90, p. 100):

> I observed that on the day on which we erected the crosses, when our chaplains went 776
> accompanying the litanies, numbers of natives stepped forward onto the path and offered
> their cloaks, while the women presented hens and pullets, and all cried *Maca Maca*, 782
> treating them with much veneration until they had passed beyond the rocks by which the track they were following was encumbered.

This passage proves that in the middle of the eighteenth century Makemake was so important in religion that the natives were convinced that the god of the foreigners could be none other than Makemake. The offering of clothes and chickens indicates that such gifts were regularly presented to

776 Makemake. Later missionaries confirm the statements of the Spaniards. The [782] information given by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, pp. 117-131) is especially valuable:

> Among the gods and goddesses of their mythology, our Indians acknowledge one they call the Great God, Etua, who they say is superior to all the others. Ko Makemake was his name. He rewarded the good and punished the bad. Our islanders apparently do not suspect the existence of an evil spirit and no proper name in their language expressed such a concept. In order to designate the devil, we were obliged to add to their vocabulary the word *tiaporo* (devil).
>
> However Makemake gave orders to the men through priests, male and female. [782] These imposters, very able ventriloquists, pretended that the great god spoke through their mouths and asked sacrifices of chickens, sweet potatoes, fish, etc. Of course everything [798] was to the advantage of the representatives of the so-called divinity.
>
> What was more horrible was to see sometimes small children disappear: Makemake had required victims, the priests said. But as a matter of fact they had themselves killed, roasted, and eaten the sacrifice. "How happy we are," some poor mothers told us. "We are no longer afraid that our children will be taken away as formerly."
>
> Makemake manifested his anger by thunder. We were told when we came of a bad man who had been killed by lightning.
>
> The great god had no wife. As for the others I counted ten of them who lived with families as our Kanakas told us.
>
> I did not observe that our Oceanians attributed vices to the supreme god. As to the atrocities committed in his name they either did not appear as such, because of the superstitions maintained by the priests, or they were attributed to the priests whom they blamed for not being the true interpreters of the god's will.
>
> Through the will and work of the supreme god, the first man and the first woman came from the earth more or less as the plant that springs up from the soil. They had immortal souls as had all their descendants. (See also Palmer, 171, p. 774.)

Geiseler (87, pp. 31, 33) gives the following details about Makemake:

> Their religion is poor. Their principal gods are Makemake, the creator, and Hana. To these deities they offered the first products of the soil.
>
> Makemake is represented by the eggs of the birds of the island of Motu-nui on the southwest side of the Rano-kao crater and they are fetched in July, August, and September. During all the other months they are tapu. Makemake is worshipped in the form of sea birds carved in the rock or painted.
>
> Makemake is the most feared god. He kills and eats the souls of the dead when they have been bad when alive. He protects the souls of the good which under his protection after death sleep on the island . . .
>
> The principal god Makemake is not directly worshipped, but receives honors through a series of wooden images which are carried around at the feasts in honor of the god.
>
> They [the natives] do not seem to have legends or ideas about the creation of the world, the origin of the natural phenomena. Makemake made everything—the earth, the sun, the moon, and the stars. They do not know apparently any more.

776 The myth transcribed below explains the origin of Makemake who was born from a skull:

773
539

> There was a priestess watching over a skull on a rock in the bay of Tonga-riki, in front of the ahu Tonga-riki. The spirit Puna of the ahu was always looking at the priestess. One day a wave came and took the skull that was watched on the rock in front of the bay of Tonga-riki. The wave swept away the skull from above; it floated. The eyes of the priestess saw the skull. She leaped to take it, she swam behind the skull which floated ahead. She arrived in the middle of the sea, she was tired, she landed

on the island of Matiro-hiva. Haua saw this woman who was a priestess. He asked: 776
"Where do you come from?" "I am pursuing my skull." Haua said: "It is not a skull,
but the god Makemake." 773

The priestess stayed. Haua fished a *mahore* fish for her to eat. They stayed all their days. One day Makemake said to Haua: "What would you say to our driving 539 the birds to the country I have come from? For that purpose I came here. Let us go." Haua said to Makemake: "It is good, tell the old woman priestess so that we may all three go together so she will pronounce our names and say to the people that when they take the cooked food into the house they must pronounce our names: 'Take for Haua, for Makemake.' Say that to the old woman so she will warn the people of the interior above the earth." Makemake told this woman to teach what she had heard Haua say to Makemake.

Makemake went back and said to Haua: "Let us go drive the birds to the country." Haua said: "Let us go." They both went and they drove the birds. The old woman was with them. The birds went and landed. Makemake looked for a nice place. They left the birds at a place called Kauhanga. They stayed three years. The birds were eaten by men, women, and children. Makemake came back with Haua. They chased the birds again and left them at Vaiatare. They waited again for three years. They saw that men ate the eggs. They again drove the birds to the island of Motu-nui. The birds remained in the place where no men were, therefore all was good for them.

The tale turns back to the old woman. She stayed in a house at a place called Vaimaho. She taught the people when they took the food out of the oven and when they brought the basket with sweet potatoes into the house that they must say: "Take for Haua, take for Makemake." For sugar cane, fish, eels, tuna fish, and all the foods, they pronounced the names of Haua and Makemake.

The tale goes back to the birds of the island. The men went to the island and saw many birds and eggs of the *manu-tara* (sooty tern). They turned back and landed ashore, they talked to the men, the women, the children. All the tribe went up and built houses at Orongo. They stayed there and celebrated the feast of the house, the feast of the finished house; they pronounced the names of Haua and Makemake. Time passed. The season for the sooty tern eggs arrived. The men went up to Orongo and stayed there. The servants went to the island, the masters remained at Mataveri. The *manu-tara* laid their eggs. The servant found the first egg of the bird, he took it, he went keeping his hand on the first egg, returning from the island. Therefore another feast of the egg was made after the first one when the birds were driven by Haua and Makemake.

This legend reveals three important beliefs concerning Makemake, first 776
of which is his origin from a skull or his incarnation into a skull. The order 773
of incarnation will always be obscure because the legend is incomplete. The association of the god with a skull suggests the possibility that he is the supernatural being represented so frequently in rock carvings, which depict a human face with huge eye sockets. The large orbits may be a conventional pattern such as that used in the Marquesas for figuring a human head, but it is equally possible that the Easter Island artists wished to represent a skull. The connection that I am trying to establish is purely hypothetical, but it is supported by many bits of evidence. The images of the bird-man at Orongo, which even in early days were interpreted by the natives as symbolic of Makemake, are closely associated with the big-eyed head.

The second piece of important information embodied in the legend is the linking of Makemake and Haua. No mention has ever been made of Haua

776 773 except in connection with Makemake. The formula which accompanies an offering to Makemake always includes Haua who appears in the myth as the god's companion.

The third revelation of the myth is the connection between Makemake and the birds of the bird cult of Orongo. The numerous accounts of this cult do not designate which god was honored by all the ceremonies. The legend of Makemake suggests that the man who discovered the first *manu-tara* egg was perhaps an incarnation of Makemake. The rock carvings at the end of the village of Orongo show the man with a bird's head holding an egg in his hand. The islanders called these figures Makemake. The form of the beak on most of the image heads shows clearly that they did not represent the features of the tern (*manu-tara*) whose first eggs were so eagerly sought in the annual race at Orongo. The beak most often recalls that of the frigate (man-of-war) bird. If the rock carvings were representations of the bird-men it is to be supposed that the artists tried to figure the *manu-tara* which had a prominent place in Easter Island mythology.

Makemake is frequently regarded as a supreme justice which may have been suggested by Christian influence or by some mythical connection of the god with the hereafter or mansion of the souls. Thomson (215, p. 482) regards Makemake as "the great spirit of the sea." The fragments of tradition which were obtained by the missionaries allude to Makemake as creator of mankind, whom he made out of earth. I collected the following legend which confirms these statements:

> Makemake looked for a calabash filled with water. He masturbated in the water of the calabash. Red flesh sprouted out. It was no good. He tried again with a stone, he masturbated with a stone. It was no good. He tried with earth. He molded and masturbated with it. There was a bad odor. Then were born Tive, Rarai, Hova, and the old woman, Arangi-kote-kote.

776 773 171 In this fragment of myth Makemake, as creator of mankind, plays the part assumed by Tane or Tiki in the mythology of central and marginal Polynesia. The theme of the multiple copulation of Makemake is paralleled by the various matings of Tane in New Zealand and Tiki in Mangareva and the Tuamotus. In the Maori mythology Tane begat by Hine-ahu-one, his wife, the eggs of a bird from which have sprung all the birds of the air. As Makemake also produces birds, I shall consider Makemake the local Easter Island name for the old god Tane.

776 773 Makemake and Hina-kauhara, the first woman born from Tiki (p. 315) and Hina-popoia (Hina-the-heaped-up), are mentioned together in an obscure and garbled myth, which was told to me as a story concerning Makemake. Hina-kauhara or Hina, undoubtedly a woman, becomes a man who wants to be mistaken for Makemake. The short chant in the legend is per-

haps the only genuine element of the myth. The rest of the tale seems to have been built up to explain this chant whose original significance is lost. 776 773

> There was red water. Hina-kauhara looked at the woman and fell in love, he took her, they slept together, they stayed in their house. In order that the girl should not fall in love with another man he filled red water, he went to a *koro* house. He made a hole in the ground and Hina-kauhara told another young man to go up onto the roof of the *koro* house and to pour red water while Hina-kauhara sang below in the *koro* house. So the young man on the roof poured the water from above while Hina-kauhara chanted: "O Hina shed your red urine, O Hina shed your red urine, O Haua, O Makemake, shed your red urine, O Hina."
>
> He went to another *koro* house, the same thing happened. When he came to the other *koro* house he made the same recommendations to his comrades: "When I weep, come you to the place and shed water as you did before, in the first *koro* house, I will make Makemake of you, I will make Haua of you so that people shall not recognize you." The other young man said: "It is all right, it is good."

TIVE AND HOVA

Roussel (190, p. 495) states: "The Rapa-nui have a great many gods, the most powerul, those who are the origination of all the others are: Hiva, Makemake, and Tive." Tive and Hiva (Hova) are mentioned in the creation myth (p. 314) as the first beings created by Makemake out of earth. The importance given in the Easter Island mythology to gods whose names are unknown in the rest of Polynesia shows that the emigrants who settled on the island substituted for some of the principal Polynesian deities lesser gods who took their rank and attributes. 776

RUANUKU

Ruanuku, who is a god of central Polynesia and of Mangareva, appears in Thomson's long list of kings and in the creation chant under the garbled form of Kaunuku or Kuanuku, certainly a misspelling for Ruanuku.

ATUA-METUA

Atua-metua (God-the-parent) is mentioned three times in the creation chant, but no other memory of him has been preserved. He must not be confused with the Mangarevan Atu-motua whose name means the Father-lord or the First-lord (28, p. 418).

TIKI

Although Makemake absorbed his personality, Tiki, the first man or the creator of mankind, is mentioned several times in the creation chant. As in the mythology of other islands, he mates with Hina-popoia (Hina-the-heaped-up), whom we recognize as the woman that Tiki made for himself out of a heap of sand (*ahu-one*). Later Tiki copulates with his daughter, designated here as Hina-kauhara.

OREOOREO

776 Geiseler (87, p. 16) was told that the name of the human figure with conventionalized big eyes, painted on a slab at Orongo, was the god Oreooreo. This is the only mention of such a god in Easter Island traditions.

LESSER GODS

Most of the lesser gods are mere names to us. We do not know even the customary residences of some of them, although all the *akuaku* of high rank were supposed to haunt a particular spot on the island and maintain connections with the people living near by. They were supernatural beings who belonged to a certain district or family. A few of them were real gods, others were demons or nature spirits, and others were spirits of deified dead. [775] All lesser gods are now grouped under the general term *akuaku,* which is applied also to the spirits of the dead when they appear as ghosts. Minor gods are still designated by a name and given residence and some of them by a personality defined in myths or tales. But any separation of minor gods from spirits and ghosts based on defined personality is artificial and may be imposing a clarity of distinction which never existed. Likewise it is difficult to distinguish between minor gods who were worshipped and legendary characters who were endowed with superhuman power but who never functioned as actual gods. *Akuaku* figures, mentioned in tales, who have no apparent connection with religion and who probably have no independent existence outside of myth, are given elsewhere (p. 318).

Akuaku were both male and female. They were often represented as human beings, who might have been mistaken for ordinary creatures had the story teller not classified them as *akuaku* or *tatane*. They married ordinary men or women, had children by them and died. They could even be killed if their adversary was strong enough or sly enough. At times their supernatural power manifested itself in the ability to fly through the air and change rapidly from one place to another.

774 776 Some *akuaku* were embodied in animals, in natural or artificial things, or in phenomena. Generally the animals were considered as supernatural beasts rather than as spirits transformed into or embodied in animals. Spirits embodied in things or phenomena bear the names of their material representation and probably were believed to have no existence independent of their apparent form. Thus, Te Emu is a "Landslide"; Mata-vara-vara "the Rain-with-heavy-drops"; Paepae-atari-vera "a House."

776 773 Men are indebted to the minor gods or demons for many important discoveries and improvements in their culture. The art of tattooing was introduced by the sons of two *akuaku*—Vie Moko (The Lizard Woman) and Vie

Kena (The Gannet Woman). The female *akuaku,* in the form of birds, taught men to extract dye from turmeric (*Curcuma longa*). The first bone fishhooks were made by Ure, a capricious and strange character of Easter Island folklore. An *akuaku* bird (the frigate) brought a new kind of yam as a gift to a man called Rapu. 776 773

Not all *akuaku* were well disposed toward men. In remote times the island was full of mischievous and murderous demons. Thirty of them were destroyed by a man called Raraku in a temporary fit of madness. The general slaughtering by Raraku did not relieve the land from all its devils, for tales describe monsters, like the Woman-of-the-long-arm, who were constant menaces to men until they were killed. Some demons proved helpful in difficult circumstances. Hiva-karere (The-flying-foreigner), Mata-mata-vara-vara-ahu-Raai (The-rain-with-large-drops-of-the-ahu-Raai), and Paepae-a-Tari-vera (Stone-house-of-Tari-vera) saved a famous warrior (*matatoa*), whose soul (*kuhane*) was kidnapped by another spirit. 776 [774]

Through old Viriamo, some information has come to us about the relations between men and *akuaku.* The spirits or gods of Viriamo's district were Tare and Rapahango. Rapahango was also the family name of my informant, Victoria, who claimed for her ancestors some association with that *akuaku.* Rapahango and Tare were especially well disposed toward the Tupa-hotu and brought their friends in this tribe food they had stolen from other people. In exchange, the *akuaku* received an offering each time an *umu* (earth oven) was opened in a house they favored with their visits. Before starting the meal, the host or some important guest would say: "This is for such-and-such an *akuaku* . . . " I understood that a small portion of the meal was presented to the god or the spirit; but Routledge (194, p. 237) got the impression that "the invitation to the supernatural power was purely formal, or restricted to the essence of the food only." 776 264 782

The spirits had long talks with men or women who succeeded in winning their confidence. They foretold the future, announced impending dangers, and revealed secret things. I was told by Viriamo's son that in her youth Viriamo had been seen at night speaking familiarly with the two spirits, Tare and Rapahango. The voices of these spirits were always high-pitched and recognizable. When the *akuaku* were in a house, those who wanted to have an interview with them or make offerings to them had to crawl into the hut backwards. 776

776 Following is the list of *akuaku* whose memory has been preserved and the available names of their residences:

Name of akuaku	Residence
Hitirau	Punapau
Nuku-te-mango (Nuku-the-shark)	Punapau
Rarai-a-hova	?
Vairapa	?
Heke-ma-kau (The-swimming-octopus)	Vaihu
Toki-te-ate (The-stone-adz-of-ate)	Hanga-paukura
Pepehu	Akahanga
Turu-te-akaviri	Tonga-riki
Puna	Tonga-riki
Rai-ko-puku	Rano-kao
Mataveri-o-tai	Mataveri
Vie Keu-tea	Mataveri
Mangamanga-oraki	Mataveri
Ura-metometo	Mataveri
Kahu-ma-hau (Cloth-of-hau)	Tahai
Mokomoko-puapua (The-beating-lizard)	Tahai
Moko-piki (The-climbing-lizard)	Tahai
Turu-te-akaviri	Tonga-riki
Mohevaheva	Apina
Verenga or Rerenga-uka	Hanga-roa
Mata-kurakura (The-red-eye)	Ovahe
Manu-mea (The-red-bird)	Angoteo
Mata-mata-pea (The-tattooed-eye)	Region of the Tupa-hotu
Hiva	Region of the Tupa-hotu
Rapahango	Region of the Tupa-hotu
Tare	Region of the Tupa-hotu
Hiku-nene-motoi-pua	Rano-aroi
Toitoi	Motu-nui

Toitoi is mentioned in a chant in connection with Makemake:

Ka amo tuau kahi	He loaded his tuna fish
Ka iri e tavarangi,	He went up crying,
"Aaku e mo te atua	"I [bring it] for the god
Mo Toitoi ma Motu-nui	For Toitoi of Motu-nui
Ka Makemake."	For Makemake."
Ka iri, e Mati e,	Go up, O Mati,
Ki te vai uutu	To draw water
Papa hirohiro.	From fissured rock.

SPIRITS AND GHOSTS

776
775 Lower in rank than the individualized spirits were multitudes of nameless ones—possibly spirits of the dead, small nature demons, or genii. The natives were vague about their origin and the same uncertainty probably existed even when the ancient conceptions of the spirit world were still held. Roussel (190, p. 495) writes that the soul or spirit was conceived as "something elusive, a sort of ghost without a head or provided only with ribs."

These spirits were sometimes amiable and well disposed toward certain 776
men. Natives told both Routledge (194, p. 237) and me of a man whose
spirit dug his potato field for him every night. Magicians, especially sorcer- 775
ers, were served by spirits who were their familiars. The servant-spirits 754
would enter a man whom their master wished to kill or would leave their
victim if ordered to do so. They would unveil the future, and foretell the
issue of wars or the results of the annual egg races at Orongo.

Probably most of the spirits were mischievous and fond of playing tricks 776
on men. Routledge believes that they were kind or harmful depending upon
whether or not they were well fed. However, offerings of food were prob- 782
ably made only to well-known gods or to spirits having distinct personalities.
Probably the tempers of the minor demons were unaffected by the conduct of
men toward them.

The name *akuaku,* now used indiscriminately for lesser gods and spirits, 776
must have meant originally only ghosts or spirits of the dead, although it is
not found elsewhere in Polynesia with this meaning. Desmedt (59, p. 135) 196
considers the Easter Island term *akuaku* cognate with the Mangarevan *akuaku,*
which means "thin, speaking only of men and women." This parallel is sup-
ported by the Easter Island idea in which ghosts resemble emaciated men.

Akuaku entered the *niuhi* which were ferocious, half-legendary sharks or 776
other dangerous sea animals. In this form they killed people. My informant
probably rationalized this old belief by telling me that only bad men were 825
prey of shark spirits. The *akuaku* also caused diseases and were expelled by 753
priests to save their patients.

Spirits of the dead had all the features of the living, but they were 775
emaciated, had protruding bones, and their bowels could be seen in their
sunken abdomens. In a word, they were prototypes of the famous wooden 787
images of Easter Island. Such was the appearance of the two *akuaku* whose
images and culture hero Tuu-ko-ihu fixed forever in wood (p. 260). Such is
still the aspect of the dead when they manifest themselves in dreams. A girl
whom we knew well told us that in a nightmare she had seen her grand-
father nodding to her. When he turned his face toward her, she noticed that
he was half-rotted and that his bowels, in an advanced state of putrefaction,
were visible.

Ghosts were especially terrifying and Roussel (190, p. 495) writes: "They 775
seemed to fear very much the haunting souls. Very often they came for me to drive away these malignant spirits of their fathers or mothers who frightened them and tore at their bowels." Even now the *akuaku* interfere in the daily life of Easter Islanders. A girl who was attending our camp and who had been to the well to draw water came back shivering and white, telling us that an *akuaku* had taken the pail she had left on the edge of the

775 well. Actually one of us had carried it home. Tepano told me with the
greatest seriousness that an *akuaku* had stolen his waistcoat with his watch
and that he never found them again, although he was sure that nobody was
near the place where he had left his clothes and where, he added, his cousin
had died. Every man on the island will tell you that he has at some time met
an *akuaku*. Of course South American superstitions have influenced the
[177] natives and they see ghosts under the guise of the Christian devil, a black
fellow with fiery eyes.

The cats which roamed around our tents at night were considered spirits,
[825] and they were greatly feared. When their cries were heard too near or were
too dismal, the terrified natives resorted to prayers and spent the night reading sacred books.

CREATION CHANT

533 A creation chant collected by Thomson in 1886 is supposed to give a list
of gods and goddesses who mated and produced most of the natural objects
539 known to natives. This chant was obtained from old Ure-vai-ko, who recited
773 it as the text of a tablet. Unfortunately the spelling of many native words is
inaccurate and inconsistent. A translation made by Salmon is equally free, as
776 he assumed that the procreators were all gods whose names were meaningless,
and thus misunderstood the true nature of the chant. The text given here
is based on Thomson's and corrected by natives, but many verses are not intelligible.

Atua-matariri ki ai ki roto ki a te Poro, ka pu te poporo.	God-of-the-angry-look by copulating with Roundness (?) produced the *poporo* (*Solanum nigrum*).
Himahima-marao ki ai ki roto te Kihitupu-henua, ka pu te kihihi.	Himahima-marao by copulating with Lichen-growing-on-the-soil produced the lichen.
A Oevai ki ai ki roto Kava-kohe-kohe, ka pu te kohe.	Oevai (?) by copulating with Fern produced the fern.
Matua-anua ki ai ki roto ki a Pipiri-hai-tau, ka pu te miro.	The Parent-mother by copulating with Pipiri-hai-tau produced wood.
A Ngingi-e-ai ki ai ki roto ki a Humu-toti, ka pu te mahute.	Dryness by copulating with Humu-toti (Tattooing-of-the-leg) produced the paper mulberry.
He Ti ki ai ki roto ki a he Ta, ka pu te ti.	Ti by copulating with Ta [Tattooing] produced the ti.
A Tura ki ai ki roto ki a Tei, ka pu te mauku-uta.	Elevation (?) by copulating with Highness produced the inland-grass.
A Hau [or Heu] ki ai ki roto Vava, ka pu te tureme.	Hau tree by copulating with Vava (?) produced the *tureme* (*Dichelachne sciurea*).
A he Kai ki ai ki roto He Peue, ka pu te mataa.	Sharpness by copulating with Adz produced obsidian.
Viri-koue ki ai ki roto Aringa-rehe-uru-arero, ka pu te rona.	Twining by copulating with Beautiful-face-with-penetrating-tongue produced the morning-glory plant.

Atua-Metua ki ai ki roto kia Riri-tuna-rai, ka pu te niu.	Parent-god by copulating with Angry-eel produced the coconut.	533
Atua-Metua ki ai ki roto ki te Vuhi-atua, ka pu te toro-miro.	Parent-god by copulating with Vuhi-the-god produced the *toro-miro* tree.	539
Atua-Metua ki ai ki roto ki te Puhovao-atua, ka pu te moana.	Parent-god by copulating with Puhu-vao-the-god produced green-leaves.	773
A he Uru ki ai ki roto te Tumu, ka pu te marikuru.	Grove by copulating with Trunk produced the ashwood tree (*Sapindus saponaria*).	776
A te Veke ki ai ki roto Pohuhutu-hutu-tere-vai-mangaro, ka pu te veke.	Dragon fly by copulating with Bug-that-flies-on-fresh-water produced the dragon fly.	
A Hahamea ki ai ki roto Hohio, ka pu te takaure.	Stinging-fly by copulating with Swarm-of-flies produced the fly.	
A Ukia ki ai ki roto More-manga, ka pu te ngarava.	Branch by copulating with Broken-crotch produced the beetle-living-in-rotten-wood.	
Vie Moko ki ai ki roto kia Tea, ka pu te kena.	Goddess Moko by copulating with Whiteness produced the gannet.	
Te Reheue ki ai ki roto Vie Raupa ka pu te raupa.	Reheue (?) by copulating with Goddess-leaf produced the leaves.	
A he Roe ki ai ki roto Uuhipura [or Nuhepura], ka pu te roe.	Ant by copulating with Uuhipura [or Nuhepura, Glowworm?] produced the ant.	
Te Hatu ki ai ki roto kia te Api-ai-raro, ka pu te toa.	Hard-soil by copulating with Covering-below produced the sugar cane.	
Ira-pupue ki ai ki roto Ira-kaka, ka pu te pia.	Irrigation by copulating with Leaves produced the arrowroot.	
Mangeongeo ki ai ki roto he Rake-rake, ka pu te kape.	Acridness by copulating with Bad-taste produced the arum.	
A Hue ki ai ki roto Pana, ka pu te hue.	Calabash by copulating with Pana (?) produced calabash.	
He Hina [He ima?] ki ai ki roto kia Rui-haka-ma-rui, ka pu te raa.	Moon (?) by copulating with Darkness (?) produced Sun.	
Huru-au ki ai ki roto Hina-oio, ka pu te moa.	Feather by copulating with Hina-oio (?) produced the fowl.	
A Hikua ki ai ki roto Hina-oio, ka pu te uraura.	Tail (?) by copulating with Hina-oio produced the crayfish.	
Tingahae ki ai ki roto Pararарara-hiku-tea, ka pu te niuhi.	Killing by copulating with Flat-one-of-the-white-tail (the sting ray) produced the shark.	
A Hikue ki ai ki roto Hina-oioi, ka pu te taoraha.	Tail (?) by copulating with Hina-oioi (?) produced the whale.	
Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Hihohiho-ki-te-turu, ka pu te paroko.	Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Running-and-flowing-down [water] produced the rockfish.	
Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Hina-popoia, ka pu te Hina-kauhara.	Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Hina-the-heaped-up produced Hina-kauhara.	
Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Maea, ka pu te herahera-kiko-mea.	Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Stone produced burning-red-meat (?).	
Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Rurua-tiki-te-hatu, ka pu te Ririkatea.	Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Rurua-tiki-the-lord produced (king) Ririkatea.	
E timo te raemea [amura he ki te aro] mo tunu te ika, mo hangai i te ariki.	He taught that the brook fish . . . were to be cooked and given as food for the king.	

533 Takoua ki ai ki roto Tukouo, ka pu te poopoo.	Takoua by copulating with Tukouo produced the poopoo-fish.
539 E Toto te uhi no kino no naroko no nga oreno, no nga tokotoko rua papa.	(Thomson's translation: "E Toto discovered the sweet taste of the yam and made it the principal food of the people.")
773 776 E puoko te maika no Tupa-iti[18] no Tupa-nui[18].	The head of the banana is for King Tupa-iti and King Tupa-nui.
Uku ki ai ki roto kia Rori, ka pu te ngaatu.	Uku (?) by copulating with Undulation produced the bulrush.
Kuhikia ki ai ki roto Taurari, ka pu te ngaatu.	Kuhikia (?) by copulating with Wetness produced the bulrush.
Kuhikia ki ai ki roto Rupe-roa, ka pu te turi.	Kuhikia by copulating with Pigeon produced the sea-gull.
Taaria ki ai ki roto Taaria, ka pu te tau-eehu.	Small-thing by copulating with Small-thing produced the imperceptible-thing.
Hainge (?) ki ai ki roto Hatukuti, ka pu te evea.	Hainge (?) by copulating with Hatukuti produced the wind (?).
Pauaroroko ki ai ki roto Hakukuti, ka pu te tae-rongo-veteve.	Pauaroroko (?) by copulating with Hakukuti (?) produced the free-ones-who-do-not-obey.
Hini-rere-rere ki ai ki roto Kanoho-tata-poro, ka pu te poporo.	Delaying-to-run (?) by copulating with Staying-until-tomorrow produced the poporo plant.
Numia a Tangaire turu herohero te toto o te o kovare.	It runs red, the blood of the *kovare*.
Ka mau te kovare, taratara te kovare.	Abundant the *kovare*, rough the eels.
Turu ki te ua manau (?) manavai roa.	The rain falls in long drops.
Ruanuku [raituahe a ana kihorou eaa e toe tua tanu to tana moko] eaha hangai e toe e uhi, e kumara.	Ruanuku . . . . . . what was left to be fed on the yams and the sweet potatoes.

539
773
776
The value of this version of the chant is impaired by uncertain spellings, arbitrary translations, and the unintelligibility of the last part of the text which seems to have no connection with the first part. All attempts to discover the original sequence and meaning of the words failed despite the assistance of the natives. Though some parts of the text remain obscure, the general character is obvious. It is a typical Polynesian procreation chant patterned after the genealogical recitals stressed in eastern Polynesian society. The scheme of the chant is simple and monotonous. It consists of the enumeration of a series of natural objects, such as plants, animals, and celestial phenomena, represented as offspring of progenitors, some of whom are gods and others personified natural objects or abstract qualities belonging to the object supposed to have been produced by their union.

The names which could not be translated may refer to deities, but probably this will never be proved. The parents who are unmistakably gods are: Atua-Matariri (God-of-the-angry-face), whose name suggests the god Tu in New Zealand; Atua-metua (God-parent); Matua-anua, a name translated by Easter Islanders as "God-mother", a doubtful interpretation as he is a male. Motua-anua bears great resemblance to Anua-motua, the name of a Mangarevan legendary character who is said to have colonized the island of Mataki-te-rangi. This transposition would not be unusual in the Polynesian language. 539

---

[18] Tupa-iti and Tupa-nui are certainly proper names. Salmon makes Tupa synonymous with king. "King Tupa figures in Easter Island and in Mangareva, where he is said to have introduced various plants." This linking of the names from two areas is purely hypothetical.

773 776

Tiki-te-hatu is the famous Tiki, the first man or the creator of the first man in central and marginal Polynesia. Tiki copulates with Hina-the-heaped-up and begets Hina-kauhara, who is connected in a legend with the great god Makemake (p. 314). Throughout Polynesia Hina is the first woman made of a heap of earth and generally the wife of Tiki; in the Tuamotus she is the daughter of Tiki. Rurua-tiki-te-hatu is probably a daughter of Tiki. In the Tuamotus we find also Tiki under the name of Rua-tiki, which is the equivalent of Rurua-tiki-te-hatu. The copulation of Tiki-te-hatu with stone (*mara*) is a striking allusion to the procreative act performed by Tiki with different objects (Tuamotu, Mangareva).

Te Ririkatea, probably a legendary ancestor, as his name appears in the genealogy of the kings, is said to have been a king of Marae-renga, the homeland of the Easter Islanders. Vie Moko (the Woman Lizard) is a popular character in the folklore of the island and also a spirit (*akuaku*) associated with Vie Kena (the Woman Gannet). It is not by chance that in the chant she is the parent of Kena. But here there is a strange inconsistency; Vie, the first part of her name, expresses a female, yet in the chant she occupies the place of the male parent and probably mates with Tea (Whiteness), the gannet.

Of extreme importance is the mention of Riri-tuna-rai as the female being who, with Atua-metua, conceives the coconut (*niu*). Here is a faint suggestion of the widespread Polynesian myth of the origin of the coconut which grew from the head of an eel (*tuna*), the lover of Hina. A version of this myth is present in Mangareva, but as fresh-water eels do not exist in these islands, Tuna is considered there as Man. On Easter Island there are no fresh-water eels or coconuts, and the name *niu* is given to the fruit of the *Thespesia populnea*, but the chant has retained the traditional association of the eel with the coconut.

Vuhi-atua and Puhavao-atua, who were impregnated by Atua-metua and produced the *toro-miro* and *moana* (green leaves), and Hina-oio, who is given three times as the mother of different water animals, may be deities or legendary characters of the same order as Riri-tuna-rai. As these words could not be translated by the natives, they may be proper names.

Many parents of the natural objects are themselves natural objects, personifications, or individualized qualities of the objects supposed to be their offspring. Usually things related to each other are closely associated. Thus, Kihi-tupu-henua, the ground lichen, is the mother of Kihikihi, the ordinary lichen; the *kava-kohekohe*, a species of fern, is the mother of the fern *kohe*; the *pohuhutuhutu*, an aquatic insect, is a parent of the dragon fly; the sting ray is a parent of the shark; and so on. The parts of an object may be its progenitors; for instance, trunk (*tumu*) produces the ashwood tree. The genealogy of an insect is based on its habitat—"Branch by copulating with Cut-crotch produces the beetle-living-in-rotten-wood."

Typically Polynesian is the device by which an object is made the offspring of its personified qualities. Thus acridness and bad taste produce the *kape*, a tuber which is extremely bitter when not well cooked. Sharpness and adz are the parents of obsidian, from which knives and spearheads were made. Killing is the father of the dangerous shark (*niuhi*).

Sometimes one parent has the same name as the progeny. Thus, the ti by copulating with the ta produces the ti; the dragon fly (*veke*) by copulating with the *pohuhutuhutu* insect produces the dragon fly. As the grammatical form is not identical for parent and offspring, the author of the chant probably differentiated between the two words.

Sometimes the choice of parents seems to be based on alliteration: for instance Ti and Ta produce Ti; Ka-noho-tata-poro is mother of Poporo, and Poro is one of the parents of Poporo. The function of certain objects has led to the choice of these parents. Thus, Ta (tattoo) has been selected as the mother of Ti probably because charcoal made of ti leaves was used for tattooing.

539 If the end of the chant were not so garbled, it might give a hint as to its practical
773 value and the circumstances in which it was recited. The last verse stresses the importance
of the yam (*uhi*) and sweet potato (*kumara*), which were the staple foods of
776 the island.

PRIESTS

793 Our knowledge of the nature and organization of the priesthood is so slight and so confused that no clear distinction may be made between the high priests and the ordinary magicians or sorcerers. It is not possible to ascertain whether the ancient priesthood was always loosely organized or whether the original institutions were forgotten after the Peruvian raid of 1862 which crushed the native civilization of the island.

Undoubtedly the gods were attended by priests, although Geiseler (87, p. 33) and Routledge (194, p. 239) declare there were no priests, and Thomson (215, p. 470) affirms that native priests were simply wizards and sorcerers. However, Roussel (190, p. 360), our best authority on Easter Island, says: "There were priests and priestesses. Their functions were reduced to very few things: to preside at the rejoicings on the occasion of the birth of a child and to drive away the bad spirits of a sick man." Priests also composed and recited chants in honor of the dead. Such limited activity does not tally with the exalted social position of the priests; according to Roussel they were next in rank after the king.

793 We have already seen (p. 312) that Makemake manifested his will through
787 male and female priests. These servants of the gods were inspired by the
deity who entered their bodies and spoke through their mouths. The offerings
782 of chickens, fish, and sweet potatoes were received by these priests, who also
demanded human sacrifices. This information, although scant, shows that
on Easter Island the power and duties of the priests did not differ very much
from the general Polynesian pattern.

793 My informants and those of Routledge always attributed the performance of the religious and magic rites to the *ariki-paka*, who were noblemen of the Miru tribe (p. 129). While it is very likely that the chief priests were recruited from the royal or aristocratic families, it is doubtful that all the *ariki-paka* were fit for these functions.

171 The close association between nobility and priesthood is a common feature
in Polynesian culture, many instances of which have been recorded on other
793 islands. The tapus surrounding the *ariki* were, in many respects, analogous
to those of the priests. The sacredness of kingship and nobility linked the
ariki very closely with ceremonial life. A hint of the priestly nature of certain
ariki functions is to be found in a statement made by Geiseler (87, p. 33)
on the authority of Salmon: "In early days when the kings enjoyed important
power and respect, they functioned as priests and they started and they led
the religious festivities."

The term *ivi-atua* (lineage of the gods) is interpreted by the present population as magician or sorcerer, and they use the same word for a charm or a spell. 793 171 The *koromaki* (the one who violently desires something) were also in the category of priests. Usually the word *koromaki* was followed by the mention of the thing wanted, as rain, fish, and so on. These *koromaki* were expert in casting spells and had the power to kill enemies or to benefit people who resorted to them. Apparently their function was similar to that of the *ivi-atua*. Here again is manifest the tendency to represent all the ancient priests as wizards.

In Mangareva the general term for priest is *taura*; Laval gives it as *tahura*. The name *tahura* on Easter Island is applied to the servants of the king, but as *tahura* may also mean "expert", the fact that the king's attendants were *tahura* does not imply that they were priests.

Divine Possession

It is evident from the allusions of the missionaries that in Easter Island, 787 as in all of Polynesia, the gods were supposed to take possession of the priests and to use them as mediums between themselves and the people. The present 786 natives remember that when a priest was possessed by a god, he spoke in a shrill, high-pitched voice. In the legend of the young men who pretended to be Makemake, it is said that " . . . they made their voice like that of a god (*hakaatua i te reo*)." The word used in Easter Island, as in most of Polynesia, to mean possession by a god was the verb *uru* (to penetrate, to enter). To express the action of the priest Uru-a-rei, who tried to exterminate the Miru by means of religious rites, my informant used the word *uru* and translated it "to make sorcery." The story tells that the priest was dizzy because he turned round and round (*mimiro*) in order to make his *uru*.

SORCERERS

Sorcery seems to have been practiced on Easter Island to much the same 754 extent and in much the same manner as on other Polynesian islands. Inspirational priests (*ivi-atua*) or sorcerers (*tangata taku*) had at their service familiar spirits through whom they cured or killed people or accomplished difficult tasks (p. 319). There were numerous charms connected with every action. There was even a spell to make people hurry.

A person who wanted to get rid of an enemy called in a sorcerer, to whom he presented food cooked especially for the purpose. The magician dug a hole in the ground and in it he buried a white cock with head turned down. The place was trodden upon, and after a few days the cock's death was followed by that of the person against whom the magic rite was directed. Such procedure was known as *taku mo mate* (charm for death). This typical prac-

754 tice of black magic has its counterpart in white magic in the *taku mo ora* (charm for life) which was performed by an old man to prolong some person's life. I was told that, according to the rules of sympathetic magic, the cock whose death provoked that of a man could be eaten by the sorcerer, but the desired effect would be postponed.

The usual way to exert a supernatural influence or to facilitate any activity was to pronounce a spell (*tarotaro*). A native, Charli Teao, gave a sentence which he claimed was a spell to make someone ill: "Ka oho, ka uru ki roto ki te kokoma manava—ka taviri, ka tavara" (May it go, enter the intestines, the bowels—he is staggering, he is falling). When asked what thing or person was to enter the victim, the informant said that the formula alluded to signs on the tablets. Every sign was supposedly endowed with magical power and a sort of independent existence which made possible the sending of one sign (*rona*) when need of it was felt. The animal or object represented by the sign acted according to the will of the enchanter. This statement must be accepted with great caution, as the man who made it is young and could not have known very much of the past. But it is not unlikely that the signs of the tablets were credited with supernatural virtue after the real significance of the tablets was forgotten. At any rate, the association of the symbols on the tablets with "devils" who have independent activities and personalities throws some light on the primitive conceptions regarding magic on Easter Island.

A curse pronounced by a priest was expected to have an immediate effect and consequently was greatly feared. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 71) aroused violent feeling among the natives and was almost considered an evil sorcerer for having said to a chief, Torometi, "You shall die." As soon as these words were uttered, Torometi was struck as by lightning. He was seized with violent shaking and his features and gestures expressed anger and terror. The audience was greatly agitated and everyone shouted, "The Father said: E pohe oe!" The missionary had no intention of cursing him but only wanted to remind him that he was mortal and should fear another life in which he was
578 to pay for his sins. Natives resent as a deadly insult the expression *vai hakari* (body full of water) which they explained is the equivalent of a curse. It is applied only to people who have beautiful fields or are proficient in some activity. Such people are said to die young.

OMENS

787 Dreams occupy in the imagination of the present natives the same place as they had formerly. The islanders are convinced that most dreams are significant and that they foretell future events. When looking for antiquities, the natives attributed great importance to any hint that they obtained in their sleep. Most of their dreams at the end of the year are concerned with the

coming of the Company ship or of the *Baquedano*. Winds and the mewing of cats are considered bad omens. A frigate bird (*makohe*) circling over a house foretells death for one of the inhabitants. 787

TAPU

The persistence of the fear of tapus and of the precautions taken against infringing them indicates the importance of tapu in ancient religion and social organization. The violation of a tapu was an insult that could be avenged only with bloodshed. In fact, the missionaries found that the tapu belief was the only strong religious conviction against which they had to fight. They vitiated the power of the tapus by walking over sacred ground and pulling down tapu signs (230, vol. 6, p. 129). The most daring of the natives who were devoted to the missionaries did the same with no ill effects. An anecdote reported by Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 130) reveals the earnestness with which the natives observed the tapus and the psychological effects produced by the sense of guilt after trespassing: 784 784 152

> The tapu affected several kinds of food and particularly a big fish called kahi, that is caught only during the four summer months. The eating of this fish was especially prohibited to women and children: some disease would have been the punishment of their audacity. In order to destroy this superstition we used to eat kahi in the presence of the people, but this was not a successful argument since the natives considered us as being tapu. Therefore after having given the example we would encourage the spectators to imitate us. To distract their minds from the fear that might have made them sick, we tried to amuse them in several ways. This method was very efficient. However, once they came to tell us that at the Pupuranga there was a boy, a Christian, called Reone (Leon) who was feeling very ill after having eaten kahi. I went to see him and I found him seized with convulsions. But, instead of taking his illness seriously, I made fun of him and twitted him with his ridiculous superstition. The other children laughed with me, then I told him to go play with them. He did as told and recovered.

Scattered throughout the island may still be seen tapu signs consisting of small piles of stone "like balls in a park of artillery" (130, vol. 1. p. 79). Originally the top stones were painted white, but this has been washed off by rains (pl. 3, *C*). Such tapu signs, called *pipi hereko*, were noted by Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 296), La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 70), Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 225), Geiseler (87, p. 28), and other more recent visitors, though it is not always certain whether they refer in their descriptions to the tapu signs or to the semi-pyramidal ahus. Routledge (194, p. 232) believed that these cairns were memorials to the dead and that the tapu for the dead extended to them. However the cairns were the ordinary symbols for any tapu. Isolated cairns may have indicated boundaries of spots defiled by some impurity or sanctified by the mana of a chief or priest. 784 778

Modern natives feel the sacred significance of the piles of stone and remember that they were erected to put the surrounding land under an interdict

784 (*tapu-peera, rahui*). These tapu cairns vary in size, some being as much as 1.5 meters high and others consisting of a few stones piled up. (See 171,
778 p. 174; 87, p. 28.) Now Easter Islanders connect the cairns with funerals, the only reason for a tapu that they clearly remember. That tapus were not associated with death alone is indicated by other customs and fears which have survived. Tapu beliefs are displayed in the precautions surrounding a child's head; in the belief that stomach aches are provoked by sexual intercourse with *ariki* women; and in the sacredness of spots where navel cords have been buried. Certain places on the island—among them the strip in front of the ahu—were considered tapu, and thus dangerous for people who stepped on them. According to Geiseler (87, p. 28) not only the statues and the ahu were tapu but the island of Motu-nui upon which no one was allowed to land except in the months of July, August, and September. Early visitors (90, p. 95; 83, vol. 1, p. 568) observed that the natives were sometimes displeased when they walked over the paved area of the ahu or on the pedestals of the statues, or even when they examined the stones of the monuments. However, the islanders must have thought that the foreigners were not subject to the same tapus as themselves and that they had nothing to fear from the gods, since they did not seriously attempt to keep them away from monuments.

643 The king (*ariki-mau*) was highly tapu because of his mana, and the bird-
784 man, after being designated by the god Makemake, was considered tapu for a year and lived in seclusion. Several foods were prohibited to the king and
778 other *ariki*, but other foods could be eaten by the common people only after
262 they had been presented to the king (p. 132).

784 Both the words *rahui* and *tapu-peera* refer to temporary and arbitrary prohibitions laid on a piece of land by a chief or some influential proprietor. This measure prevented trespassing or reserved the produce of the land for the individual or for some special occasion. The sign of the *rahui* was a branch hung near the tapu place or a pile of stones erected on it. All crops were under a royal tapu until the first fruits were offered to the king in a ceremony before the harvest. Roussel (190, pp. 259, 428) writes: "Woe to the man who
[688] dared to violate the tapu. He payed for it with his goods and even with his life." Death inflicted by beating with a club was the penalty for such a crime. Routledge (194, p. 232) says that the spot marked by a tapu could not be approached in daylight. The owner of a piece of land on the coast could protect his rights to fish or collect mollusks on the shore along his estate by
[423] setting up a *rahui*. "This *rahui* consisted of three piled up stones on land contiguous to the portion of the sea he wanted to reserve for his own use" (190, p. 429).

RELIGIOUS RITUAL

There will always be doubt as to whether the old religious ceremonies on Easter Island were of the same complexity and importance as those of other Polynesian islands. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 69), who stayed on the island for a long time, never saw any ceremony connected with the ahu or any other sacred place and never saw the natives in an act of religious worship. If the Orongo feasts were performed in honor of Makemake, as I believe, they are the only evidence of the god cult about which data are available. However, the ceremonies at Orongo occurred only once a year and did not represent the ordinary method of worship. 796

OFFERINGS AND SACRIFICES TO THE GODS

The gods, especially Makemake, received offerings of food and tapa cloths, presented by the people through their priests. Before every meal an offering of food was made to some god, generally to Makemake and Haua, occasionally to some lesser god. According to the legend I collected, this custom was introduced by Haua and Makemake themselves (p. 313). Estella (79, pp. 29-30) records the following tale which may be a variant of the myth I obtained or it may be the result of Estella's combined ignorance and fancy: 782 773

> Atua Makemake took a man of the island who was called Peku-angoohu. As this man did not offer to the god any *umu* (earth oven) or any sacrifice, he transferred him to a far away island named Motu Matiro-hiva to punish him for his lack of religiousness. There he was obliged to look after the fish left by the tide on the shore.
>
> When the punished man did not come back after several months, his father became very sad. A man of the island went in search of Atua Makemake. As he knew that the god had gone to the island of Motu Matiro-hiva, he set out for this land. Instead of finding the god he found Peku-angoohu. "What are you doing?" he asked. "I am undergoing the pain imposed on me by Makemake." "I am looking for him. What is the reason for your punishment?" "It is because I did not offer him *umu*." "You are stupid, why do you not prepare an earth oven full of chickens, bananas, sweet potatoes, and the other things you have? You will offer them to Atua Makemake and he will have pity on you."
>
> Peku-angoohu did as he had been told and the god accepted his offering. He appeared suddenly and spoke in a friendly way with the two men. He forgave the punished man. The other one, who was good, asked the god to teach him how to make houses and implements and requested Makemake to give him horses, cows, sheep, and other things. Atua Makemake agreed to his request and the two happy men went back to Easter Island.
>
> The father of Peku-angoohu was greatly pleased to see his son again and they lived peacefully together never forgetting to make an offering of *umu* to the god.

HUMAN SACRIFICES

Under very serious circumstances, probably in times of emergency or on the occasion of an important ceremony, Makemake asked for human sacrifices. The victims were children kidnapped by the priests, prisoners, or persons who had incurred the displeasure of the king. (See 87, p. 31; 215, p. 473.) 782

782
Direct evidence that the corpses of the victims were eaten is given by Zum-
782 bohm (230, vol. 6, p. 117) and Geiseler (87, p. 31) who writes as follows:

> 266 The oldest people remember, and still recall, that war prisoners were eaten. When many of them were caught they were shut into huts built for the purpose in front of the stone idols and they were kept in them and fed until the time of festivities of the victory feast. On occasion of such ceremonies the prisoners were killed in honor of the gods and eaten.

Ceremony to Invoke Rain

782 A faint memory has been preserved of ceremonies performed to invoke
rain from the god Hiro. When a drought threatened crops the people resorted
643 to various magic rites and to the *ariki-paka* (noble priests?) who addressed
793 prayers to the god. According to Routledge (194, p. 242), the people anxious
789 to obtain rain first asked the king for help. The king then sent to the scorched
fields a younger son and another *ariki-paka*. No reference to this special
choice was made by my modern informants, but Estella (79, p. 21) was also
told that the king acted as an intermediary between the people and the priest.

793 The *ariki-paka* who presided over the ceremony were painted "on one side
red, on the other black with a strip down the center" (194, p. 242). They
782 went to the top of a hill, taking seaweed (*miri-tonu*) and pieces of drift
coral (*karakama*). The magical significance of this offering of things soaked
789 with sea water is obvious. The priest addressed a prayer to Hiro to obtain
rain (*he ako ki te ua*, he sang for rain). A fragment of this prayer is still
remembered by the natives:

E te ua, mata-vai roa a Hiro e,	O rain, long tears of Hiro,
Ka hoa mai koe ki raro,	You fall down,
Ka rei mai koe ki raro,	You beat down,
E te ua, mata-vai roa a Hiro e.	O rain, long tears of Hiro.

The natives told Estella (79, p. 31) that the priest remained on the hill where he had made the prayer until rain came, even though he might wait a long time. When the water fell, he descended the hill and ran about so that the rain would follow him and benefit all the land.

Private Rites

382 Certain rites were observed in behalf of a household or an individual. A
new house could not be occupied until suitable rites had been performed and
793 special food eaten in it. The food prepared for this purpose was cooked in
643 a special earth oven and served to the priest in a corner of the new house
where he ate alone. There is some evidence that the same duty was likewise
incumbent on the king.

789 Rites for fertility of the fields required priests to bury or spread pieces
of coral or seaweed on the plantations. Such charms had a favorable influence
793 on the crop.

Easter Islanders who wanted to increase their poultry so that they might 789
celebrate a feast (*koro*) had the *ariki-paka* make a charm which contributed 793
to the rapid increase of chickens. When invited to eat chicken meat, the
priests received the rump (*huahua*) of the bird.

BIRD CULT

Until the second half of the nineteenth century the annual feast of the 796
bird man (*tangata-manu*), held at Orongo, was extremely important to Easter
Islanders. The rites performed were not only connected with the cult of the 776
greatest god of the island, Makemake, but were endowed with special social 554
significance, since ideas of prestige and economic privileges were closely associated with these ceremonies. The ostensible purpose of the ceremony was to obtain the first egg of the *manu-tara* (*Sterna hirundo*, sooty tern), the quest for which was entrusted to servants (*hopu*). The chief whose servant discovered the first egg received the envied title of bird-man (*tangata-manu*). This title, surrounded with tapus, brought to its holder and to members of his lineage certain material advantages and vast moral and religious benefits.

The far-reaching significance of the bird cult is illustrated by the extensive [172]
remains at Orongo, one of the most interesting archaeological sites on the
island, and by the frequent use of bird and bird-man motifs in all forms of [532]
Easter Island art—tablets, wooden images, petroglyphs. The importance of
birds in Easter Island culture and the use of birds as the basis for a religious [136]
cult are undoubtedly due to the poverty of the island fauna in which birds were the only conspicuous creatures. Not only were they the most interesting living thing next to man, but they contributed thousands of eggs for food.

The bird cult did not die out until about 50 years ago, long after the intro- 776
duction of Christianity. Almost all recent visitors to Easter Island have 796
studied the bird-man cult. Consequently there is a mass of contradictory material. Routledge, realizing the essential part this cult must have played in the ancient religious and social life, devoted much attention to it, and interviewed the last man who had participated in the ceremonies at Orongo. My information was gained mostly from Tepano, who was well acquainted with some details because his uncle was one of the last bird-men. The information he gave substantiates that gathered by Routledge and adds a few more details.

ORONGO

The ceremonies and feasts connected with the bird cult were performed at 796
Orongo, on the slopes of Rano-kao at the southwest point of the island. The
village of Orongo lies on the narrow ridge separating the sea from the crater 361
lake. It was temporarily occupied at the time of the yearly feast and deserted the rest of the year.

ISLANDS OF THE BIRD CULT

361 136 222 The picturesque site of Orongo was chosen because of its position opposite the islands Motu-nui, Motu-iti, and Motu-kaukau. Two of the islets are almost inaccessible, and it is possible to land on Motu-nui only when the sea is calm. Hundreds of thousands of birds make temporary abode on these solitary rocks, some of them coming for the winter and others for the summer. (See list of birds, p. 18.) The *manu-tara* (sooty tern), whose eggs were the principal objects of the *tangata-manu* feast, arrive from August to October. When I visited the island in November, it was covered with birds nesting on rocks and in the high grasses. Frightened by our arrival, they took flight, swirling around our heads in dense clouds. The natives who had [262] accompanied us gathered in one hour more than a hundred eggs which they ate on the spot.

222 342 On Motu-nui there are several caves which were occupied by the *hopu* (servants) while they awaited the coming of the *manu-tara* and while they searched for the first eggs.

[357] 342 532 On the wall of the largest of these caves, which is about 6.5 meters long by 4 meters wide and 2 meters high, there is an incised image of an *ao* (dance paddle) which is 2.4 meters long. With Dr. Lavachery, I discovered another image which figures a *rei-miro* (breastplate) ending in two cocks' heads.

Besides this large cave, the entrance of which is visible, there are other smaller caves with narrow mouths. On the walls of one cave were some incised figures, among them that of a bird now in the Trocadero Museum. From the mouth of the bird protrudes a flame-like design, composed of many lines. This appears to be a conventional representation of the deafening cries of the birds. Another drawing, also taken from this cave and preserved in the Museum du Cinquantenaire at Brussels, shows a man with long ears.

The most spectacular of these caves is entered by a narrow passage descending at a sharp angle. Routledge (194, p. 275) saw five skeletons there, but I noticed only two; they were untouched and lying on a bed of boulders. Over them hung a big red head, carved in the hard mud of the ceiling, more than 500 mm. long and crossed in the lower part by horizontal lines. It resembled the god with big eyes figured in many petroglyphs on the island. Two small heads were seen in the same cave. A double-headed bird, carved in relief, had been partially destroyed by natives or by visitors hunting for curios. Fortunately another bird in the same cave was reproduced by Routledge (194, pl. 17). Neither Routledge nor anyone in our party was able to get information about the unusual presence of skeletons in this cave, which was probably not intended for a burial vault. The ornaments which covered its walls preclude such a possibility. These carvings are coated with red ochre and stand out from a white background which seemed to me to be natural, although Routledge believed it had been painted.

Another of the caves on the islet was believed by Routledge (194, p. 275) to have been transformed into a sepulchre, but the bones must have been thrown out, since I found none there. [423] A statue presented to the British Museum by Routledge is said to have been removed from one of these caves and to have been called Titahanga-o-te-henua. It is purported to have marked the boundary between Tuu and Hotu-iti.

MATAVERI

796 The third place closely associated with the ceremonies of the bird cult was Mataveri on the northern slope of Rano-kao, where now stands the house

of the English manager of the company which owns the island. At Mataveri the people who were to participate in the ceremony gathered for some time (Routledge says for a month) and spent their leisure time feasting and dancing. A big hut was built there, and great uprights were planted like columns in the ground. One of them is still standing, another has fallen which has one side carved like the back of a big image. Other such blocks and a huge basin stand in the Residence garden. 796 [345]

FEAST OF THE BIRD-MAN

The feast began in the austral spring (probably September or October), when *manu-tara* were nesting on Motu-nui. Only dominant, victorious tribes took part in the quest for the egg and the attendant ceremonies, for the privileges at stake were too important to be vested in an inferior or defeated group (*mata-kio*). The victorious warriors (*mata-toa*) who were entitled to live at Mataveri while awaiting the coming of the *manu-tara* were frequently referred to under the collective name of *ao* (*ka oho Mataveri ki te ao*; go to Mataveri to the dominant group), which means victory and consequently designates those who had obtained power over others through a successful military expedition. The word, in this sense, probably has no connection with the dance paddle, *ao*. 796 554 619

Routledge (194, p. 258) says that "only those belonging to the clan in the ascendancy for the time being could enter on the quest." That is, there was only one tribe who, for political reasons, had the privilege of performing the rites of the bird cult. The envied position was retained by this group for years, unless it yielded its rights to another friendly tribe. The jealousy provoked by this monopoly must have led to quarrels and even war. (See 194, p. 258.) However, it seems to me more likely that several powerful lineages participated in the egg race and the ceremonies. Roussel (190) clearly mentions a rivalry between several parties, and Routledge (194, p. 258) says that sometimes "clans" took part in the quest. [578]

Routledge (194, p. 259) states that the preliminaries for the feast began almost a year before the discovery of the egg. She probably confused the time sequence and placed at the beginning activities at Mataveri which I believe occurred at the end of the feast. I was told that the feast began no earlier than January and perhaps even later. Possibly those attending the feast stopped at Mataveri on their way to Orongo. As my theory is supported only by my own reconstruction I will retain Routledge's scheme in the following description. 796

The people who were to take leading parts in the festivities left their villages to reside in Mataveri with their wives and children. There they lived in a big house or several houses, which were not destroyed until the second half of the nineteenth century. The long months of waiting were made joyous

796 by a continuous round of festivities and banquets. Possibly a certain significance is to be attached to the statement by Gana (86, p. 33) that while the
786 people were gathered at Orongo "the men and the women appeared entirely
535 naked in public dances, making indecent and immoral gestures." If this is
true we may suppose that erotic dances were performed at Orongo as in the
831 Marquesas, in order to favor fertility in nature.

266 The name of Mataveri is associated in the minds of the natives with cannibal meals. Both Routledge and I were told that the *mata-toa* (warriors)
796 who gathered at Mataveri, both before and after the principal feast at Orongo, were then more prone than at any other time to indulge in human flesh. Quite near Mataveri is a cave called Cave-of-the-cannibal, Ana-kai-tangata, where
532 tradition says that the victims were devoured. On the vault of this cave are painted birds and Routledge saw the sketch, now crumbled away, of a European boat.

796 In January (according to Routledge, July) all or part of the people who had been in Mataveri ascended to the stone village of Orongo by way of a
787 special path which still exists and is called "the road of the ao." Generally the contestants in the race were named by priests (*ivi-atua*) who had dreamed that a certain *mata-toa* would become a bird-man (*tangata-manu*). After the race a disappointed contestant might accuse the priest who had named him as bird-man of being a liar or he might hopefully defer his prophesied victory to a later year or to one of his descendants.

796 Generally the actual search for the first *manu-tara* egg was entrusted to men called *hopu* who supposedly acted as servants of the contestants. Usually each competitor sent only one *hopu*. However, instances are recorded of one *hopu* serving two employers and of one contender having two *hopu*. Both Routledge and Tepano say that there might be more than one bird-man. Probably there was one supreme bird-man and several supernumeraries whose *hopu* had found eggs after the first one. In the race held four years before the custom was abandoned, four tribes took part and there were ten winners. Two *hopu* had two employers each, while three contestants hunted their own eggs, one acting also for another man. Routledge regards this as a sign of decadence. However, so little is known about the cult that it is dangerous to speak of degenerate forms in reference to it. Tepano was quite firm in his statement that the competitors themselves sometimes looked for the eggs. The early missionaries and travelers who described the egg race were of the opinion that the candidates to the title acted on their own account and that it was their courage or their skill which was rewarded. Thomson's (215, p. 483) version may have some validity:

> The race for the distinguished honor of bearing the first egg was an occasion of intense excitement. The contestants were held in check at Orongo until the auspicious moment arrived, and the scramble commenced at the word "go" pronounced by the king,

> who was about the only able-bodied man on the island who did not participate. It was decidedly a go-as-you-please-race, every man selecting his route to the sea by the circuitous paths or directly over the face of the cliff, and many fatal falls are recorded as the result. 796
>
> The swim to Motu Kau Kau was a trifling matter, the chief difficulty being to return with an egg unbroken through the general scramble.

The *hopu* swam over to the island, supported by big bundles of reeds used as floats (*pora*). Carefully wrapped in the mats of the *pora* were provisions of all sorts which were "still hot when they landed on Motu-nui." To cross the 2 kilometers between the main island and Motu-nui was not an easy sport. The waves are generally high and often sharks haunt these waters. 796 481

On the islet, the *hopu* were provided with food which was cooked by the people gathered at Orongo and taken over to the island by servants who used *pora* for transportation. When the weather was stormy communications between Motu-nui and the main island ceased. Those who were provident dried banana and sweet potato skins in the sun to be eaten in case of emergency. 796 [261 251]

Whilst the *hopu* waited on the islet for the first *manu-tara* eggs, their masters and the members of the *ao* performed various rites at Orongo to propitiate the gods. Dances were held in front of the houses, and chants were sung for the gods by the *rongorongo* who occupied the houses at the end of the stone village, near the carved rocks. The dual political division of the island was reflected even in the abodes of the narrators during the feast. [619] Those from Hotu-iti dwelt in the western group of houses, and those from Tuu in the houses to the east. Sometimes the king went to Mataveri to call on the people gathered there, but he never ascended to Orongo. At least that was the custom adopted by Nga-ara who was probably following an old tradition. [782] Offerings and prayers were addressed to the gods Makemake and Haua who had created the birds and established the cult in honor of themselves. Makemake designated the man to be *tangata-manu* and thus incarnate the god. Routledge (194, p. 260) mentions *vie* Hoa and *vie* Kenatea among the deities who were worshipped at Orongo.

Tepano stated repeatedly that at Orongo there were many old men (*korohua*) who were sorcerers; they recited charms for the success of the competitors and had long talks with the gods, who entered some of the houses of Orongo. [887] When a god was thought to be in a house, only the priest could enter and inquire about the contestant's chances of winning. [793] While the priests tried to make the deities favorable toward those who resorted to them (*hatu o te manu kia Haua, kia kia Makemake*), the young people were busy making earth ovens, the contents of which they distributed lavishly among the priests or sent to the *hopu* on the island. Some of the food was set apart by the *ivi-atua* and consecrated to the gods with the traditional formula, "Ka too ma Haua, ma Makemake . . . " Tepano's reference to the sharp voices of the priests when they spoke to the gods is probably a personal memory of some

796 individual who assisted at the feast. At night the people at Orongo retired
into the houses of their respective lineages. During the feast, if a group
wanted to remain for a while in the house of the god, they had to put a circlet
on the head of the statue Hoa-haka-nana-ia (p. 298) which stood outside, and
the people who had been there earlier left. (This rite as it is recorded here
is meaningless.)

As September approached, the *hopu* on the islet paid increasing attention
to the birds and spent all day reciting prayers or incantations. When they had
reason to think that the birds had begun to lay eggs, they rushed out from the
caves to look for them.

The *hopu* whose master was not designated by Makemake would step on
an egg without seeing it, whereas the *hopu* of the candidate selected by the
gods would see it immediately. As soon as he discovered the egg, he jumped
on a stony prominence called Rangi-te-manu and from there he shouted, "So
and so, puoko te varu (shave your head)." This announcement was heard by
a man who kept watch in a cave below Orongo, called Haka-rongo-manu
(Listening-for-the-birds).

796 Before returning to Orongo the unsuccessful *hopu* waited for the winner
lest the crossing of the channel be unsafe. The winning *hopu* put his egg in a
482 little basket which he dipped into the sea, and then tied to his forehead. The
778 man with the sacred egg was always the last to leave the island. Being blessed
by the gods and having with him an object overflowing with mana, he had
little to fear from sharks, and his supernatural power gave protection to his
fellow contestants. The magical properties of the egg, together with the protection
of the gods, made the winning *hopu's* swimming not only safe but
extremely fast.

796 At Orongo the *hopu* handed the egg to his employer who had in the meantime
shaved his hair, his brows, and his eyelashes. A priest (Routledge says
302 a *rongorongo*, which is very unlikely) tied a strand of red tape and a piece
784 of sandalwood (*ngaungau*) around the bird-man's arm which was tapu from
having received the egg. The priest recited a special incantation during the
ceremony.

796 The relatives of the bird-man sang and danced (*hokohoko*), celebrating
their victory. The bird-man held the egg on the palm of his hand wherein
792 lay a piece of tapa (*haka epa*). He walked down the slopes of Rano-kao
toward Mataveri, dancing and chanting. Tepano still remembered the tune
[533] of this chant, but unfortunately he did not know the words. It sounded
like tremulous weeping, and my informant said that the bird-man cried and
"behaved like a god." He gave me the description as it had been given by the
old men. "The men had dancing paddles (*rapa*) in their hands and they
jumped with them. They wore on their heads wigs of women's hair, tapa
headdresses or wreaths of *toro-miro* leaves. Tufts of women's hair hung be-

hind. Everybody else carried *ao* (dance paddles) and they shook their bodies." 796

Early information gathered at Tahiti by Admiral de Lapelin (129, p. 110) 792
describes the bird-man as he came down from Orongo after the finding of the egg:

> The man who was lucky enough to find the first egg or the first small bird hurried to show it to all the other competitors. They shaved his head, his face was painted in red and black; all those who had found eggs after he did constituted his retinue. These warriors distributed eggs to those they wanted to keep near the king who was elected for a year, without any lack of regard for the king who reigned by right of primogeniture. 796 792 302 643
>
> Each with an egg on his hand and the new majesty with a bird hanging on his shoulders walked about in the surrounding places singing and dancing. The new king designated two or three persons who must be sacrificed for the prosperity of his reign. It was the choice of the victims which caused a war among the tribes every year.

The new bird-man went to Rano-raraku where he remained in seclusion 792
in a house whose foundations may be seen at the foot of the volcano, close to the giant statues. Other houses on the slope of Rano-raraku and near ahu Tonga-riki were designated to Routledge as having been used by bird-men. More likely, although no proof may be produced for or against it, seems the tradition that there were houses for *tangata-manu* in most of the larger settlements which had important image ahus. Routledge (192, p. 351) considers this multiplicity of *tangata-manu* houses to be a modern development. She was also told that the bird-men of the western tribes took up residence at Anakena.

The *manu-tara* egg was emptied after three days, filled with tapa, and 792
hung up inside the bird-man's house. It was credited with great magical 778
virtues and the natives believed that it made the food supply more abundant. The deep-sea fishing season opened with the coming of the first *manu-tara*. Routledge (194, p. 262) says that " . . . till their arrival all fish living in twenty or thirty fathoms were considered poisonous."

The seclusion of the bird-man lasted one year, during which he was under 792
strict tapu, especially during the first five months. Routledge (194, p. 248) 784
says that he could not leave the house, "sleeping all the day, only coming out to sit in the shade." He was not allowed to bathe himself or to eat food other than that which was prepared for him in a special oven. His wife might go to Rano-raraku, but she could not "enter his house and he hers, on pain of death." The *tangata-manu* was attended by an *ivi-atua*, who, according to Routledge, was not an ordinary priest, but a poor relative of the hero. This attendant or priest remained in the same hut which was divided in half by a partition. He prepared the food for the bird-man and himself, cooking his own in a separate oven. Clark (52, p. 145) heard that the bird-man did not wash or cut his hair or nails during his year of seclusion.

Thomson (215, p. 482), Routledge (194, p. 264), and I were all told that 792
gifts of food were brought to the *tangata-manu*. He was entitled to the first 688

792 sugar cane. To refuse to contribute food for the maintenance of the bird-man
688 was an offence which could be punished by the burning of one's house. The
bird-man dropped his old name and adopted a new one, mysteriously revealed
[551 to him; it became also the name of the year. Thus the bird cult was the basis
805] for a convenient system of chronology.

All those who, like the missionaries, were on Easter Island when the bird
792 cult was functioning, stress the violence which inevitably followed the selec-
554 tion of the bird-man. They imply that he had temporal powers similar to
those of a chief. Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 256) states that the bird-man had
643 "tyrannic power." "The defeated are shamefully relegated to a corner of the
661 island where they starve and die because of cold. With the installment of
the new power, burnings and plunderings start. Woe to the man who owns
some sweet potatoes or chickens. The chief [bird-man] with his followers
will fall upon the houses like birds of prey."

Gana (86, p. 33) was told, probably by the missionaries, that the bird-man was an "important chief whose functions last a year" and whose attributes were of a military nature. Roussel (190, p. 427) writes that the bird-man had authority for daily and nightly marauding and the fooling of the people and for "spending the year in continuous childish and wanton feasts." During the harvest feasts "the *mata-toa* [bird-men] left their caves of the Mataveri mountain," and swooped down like vultures upon everything which suited them (190, p. 428). Rarely did these feasts pass without trouble, since the *mata-toa* quarreled about the booty. The man who was designated by Makemake as bird-man for the year was entitled to a large share of the food distributed at feasts.

792 Routledge gives no hint of the military sway of the bird-man, such as
implied by missionary accounts. Perhaps there is some connection between
661 the acts of violence recorded by early observers and the statement by one of
Routledge's informants that those who did not contribute food to the bird-man were punished by having their houses burned. Perhaps the bitterness of the defeat or the insolence of the victorious group led to serious arguments and even war. Evidence given by the last of the surviving contenders or by witnesses of the bird cult stress the dread consequences these contests had on the peace of the island.

The old men who informed Routledge gave her 86 names of bird-men;
792 probably most of these names were also those of the years when each man
173 was made *tangata-manu*. Routledge (194, p. 226) remarks that "chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to the final celebration at Orongo. In addition to the bird-name, the name of both winner and *hopu* were ascertained, with those of their respective clans." When Tepano's paternal uncle, Rue, became *tangata-manu*, he gave his bird-name,

Rokunga[17], to his nephew. Tepano was born during the year Utupiro, thus 792
named by a bird-man called Pua-arahoa, who chose the name Utupiro for 173
himself and for the year. Tepano's account confirms Routledge's statement
(194, p. 260) as to the nomination of the bird-man which she says "might
be taken up at once or not for many years; if not used by the original nominee,
it might descend to his son or grandson."

Tangata-manu were buried in a special ahu called Orohie which was not 766
far from the house where the bird-men were secluded. The ahu, like all of
this section of Rano-raraku, is in poor condition now. It was (194, p. 264) 792
"a low rough wall built into the mountain, the ground above it being levelled
and paved." When a *tangata-manu* died, five cocks were tied to each of his
feet. People of all the tribes came with cocks, and *tangata-manu* of other
years were present at the feast. They stood a little apart, not mingling freely
with the other people, and untied the cocks attached to the dead man's feet.
Presents of cocks were received by the son of the *tangata-manu*, but he could
not eat them. The cocks which had touched the ground of the ahu where
his father lay were especially tapu.

The tapus which surrounded the bird-man extended to the *hopu*. During 792
the year following his discovery of the egg he could either go to Orohie or 784
reside in his own house where he was obliged to live in a corner separated
from the other people by a partition. The hand which touched the egg was 778
so sacred that he could not use it in eating. His sacredness was contagious to
his wife and his children who were also secluded and were not permitted to
join other people.

The bird-man relinquished his retreat after one year, and the new bird- 792
man took his place. He either concealed the old egg in a cranny of Rano-
raraku, threw it into the sea, or preserved it to be buried with him. No tapus 778
upon a *tangata-manu* after his seclusion have been recorded.

According to Routledge (192, p. 349) there was another search for eggs,
several weeks after the first quest, entrusted to the *ao* who had settled at 796
Mataveri. They went to Motu-nui to get the young *manu-tara* known as *piu*
and to gather many eggs. These were put in baskets, tied to the foreheads of
the swimmers, and thus brought to the land. They were taken around the
island and, according to one account, as far as Orohie. Routledge (192, p.
349) writes:

> It was not until the *piu* had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the eggs, [262]
> the period of commencement being known as "Toro", and they were then consumed by
> the Mata-kio only, not by the Mata-toa; the first two or three eggs, it was explained,
> were given to the god, to eat them would prove fatal.
>
> Some of the young *manu-tara* were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied around the wing and leg and they were told: "Ka oho ki te hiva." "Go to the world outside;" there was no objection to eating the young birds.

---

[17] Rokunga, according to Routledge (192, p. 351), was the name of the last bird-man. The last [554]
feast was performed at Orongo in 1866 or 1867. To gain prestige, Tepano has probably applied to
himself what he heard about the past.

796 It is impossible to determine whether this rite was performed by a tribe who had not yet participated in the race or whether it was independent of the bird cult. De Lapelin (129, p. 110, note 2) speaks of the gathering of young birds as well as of eggs. Probably this second egg hunt occurred only occasionally or else was undertaken for economic reasons.

In the preceding descriptions of the bird cult, significant contradictions appear in the data brought forward by early sources and the evidence gathered by Routledge. Although Routledge must take precedence over other authorities because of her systematic investigation of the ceremony, the testimonies of missionaries, who were eyewitnesses and the victims of the events, cannot be treated as irrelevant. It is possible to reconcile all these discrepancies and to reconstruct in a harmonious scheme all the rites of the bird cult.

Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 67) and Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 256) name September as the month when the feast was at its height and the competition in progress. Gana (86, p. 32), on the authority of Roussel, places the feast at the time when the birds were nesting, and Thomson (215, p. 483) names July. The election of the bird-man occurred in September when the conflicts between the groups started. The duration of the feast was, according to Eyraud, two months; according to Gana, one lunar month; and according to Thomson, only a short period in July. There is no contemporary evidence for such a long span of time as that given by Routledge, and it is unlikely than an entire population should move for a whole year to a place where there were no fields and little comfort.

For the feast, I should propose the following schema: In July, probably until the end of the month, groups gathered at Mataveri and Orongo and performed the first ceremonies to procure the favor of the gods in the race. In August the *hopu* went to Motu-nui and stayed there awaiting the coming of the first *manu-tara*. In September the first eggs were found, the bird-man of the year selected, and great feasts held at Orongo. Jealousy or excesses committed by the bird-man's group brought about strife on the island. Later the bird-man, under a heavy tapu, retired for his year's seclusion.

796
792
The importance of the bird cult cannot be denied in the face of the Orongo ruins and the numerous images of bird-men carved on the rocks. Traditions, testimonies of early missionaries, and records of travelers confirm the exceptional importance of the cult ritual as well as the social order built on this annual competition. Williamson (228, vol. 1, p. 406) suggests that the contest was, at least at an early period, for the secular kingship. His chief argument is the trifling privileges of the bird-man as compared with the complex emotionalism of the feast. He is inclined to identify the bird-man with those kings who exercised a temporary power and were dismissed or killed when their physical force decreased. The function of the bird-man was also similar to that of the divinized kings, symbolizing vegetation or the god of vegetation,

who reigned without taking part in the civilian government. Such an explana- 796
tion would be quite natural if there were in Polynesia any other example of an 792
institution of this kind, but in no Polynesian community is there the slightest
hint of such a custom.

One should keep in mind that the feast was in honor of Makemake and 796
Haua, the first being a bird-god. He probably derived this attribute from
Tane with whom he has some characteristics in common. Images of a being 792
with a bird head and a human body, sometimes holding an egg in his hand, are 776
representations of the god Makemake. It follows that the bird-man was an incarnation of the god. Probably, according to the Polynesian way of thinking, he was the receptacle of the god. The race would thus have no other purpose than to give Makemake an opportunity to designate the man into whose body he wished to enter. I suppose that the bird-man, because of his highly sacred character, was authorized to plunder and to avail himself of the goods of other natives. His seclusion may well have been a result of the strong tapu attached to him as a consequence of his contact with the god. Even explained in terms of Polynesian culture, the institution of the bird-man recalls that of the temporary kings, principally those of Siam. Possibly the evolution of culture traits has created a cultural complex superficially akin to others, probably having an entirely different basis.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN CULTS

The complex of the bird cult as it is reconstructed from second-hand 171
information has no parallel in the rest of Polynesia. Of course, incarnation
of gods in animals is a fundamental character of Polynesian religions, but 532
nowhere else were there open competitions resulting in the election of a 776
sacred man. Figures of a man with a bird's head occur elsewhere only on the 792
island of Lanai in the Hawaiian group. There Emory found petroglyphs representing a man with a bird head, and suggests (75, p. 120) that it is not by chance that the bank on which these petroglyphs are carved is called Kaneapua, the name of a bird-man, and that a heiau near the bank bears the name Halulu, a mythical bird. The common motif of Maori art called *manaia* has been described as a fantastic being with a bird head. Actually it is probably a derivative of the traditional representation of the human figure.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Disease was treated by priests (*ivi-atua*) and was probably connected with 758
religion as in Mangareva. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 70) says that the natives merely removed the sick from their huts during the day and returned them at night. My inquiries contradict Eyraud's hasty statement; it is likely that magic beliefs and scientific conceptions were closely intermingled with practical treatments.

755 757 The first part of the most common treatment consisted of steaming the sick man, a practice which may have had a magical significance. A ditch, as long as a man, was dug in the ground. Heated stones were scattered in the bottom and covered with a thick layer of banana leaves and grass upon which the patient was laid. Heat and steam were believed to have a favorable action upon his health. After the steaming, the *ivi-atua* completed the cure. First he entered the sick man's hut and stayed there for a long time, trying to learn which spirit had entered the patient. He then held a mysterious conversation with the god or demon who had taken possession of the man's body. This interview was considered very beneficial to the patient. If the demon proved reluctant to leave the sick man, the *ivi-atua* conducted a violent expulsion. The hut was closed; sometimes it was covered with a net. The *ivi-atua* chased the demon and, taking up the clothes of the sick man, he shouted, "Light a fire." Holding the object in which the demon was supposed to be, he ran toward the fire and threw his bundle into it. He remained beside the hearth until everything was burned; then he returned to his patient and said to him, "Now you are in good health." In a severe case the *ivi-atua* might burn the house. He stayed near the fire trying to capture the demon or to keep it in the flame. If, despite all his efforts, the patient died, death was attributed to another spirit (*akuaku*) who had taken possession of him. The *ivi-atua* received food and carved objects of wood as reward for his services.

757 The medical art included much knowledge and many practices which were efficient aids in healing, and probably was far richer than our present information shows. Massage was used on tired people. Thomson (215, p. 571) tells that during his trip around the island he fell down completely exhausted several times. He yielded " . . . to the dexterous kneadings and frictions and palmings and pinchings of those skilled in the treatment," and adds that " . . . the hardfisted native is by no means gentle in the operation, but with palms and knuckles vigorously tests every muscle and tendon, as well as every joint of the vertebrae, until the exhausted patient sinks into a state of oblivious somnolence." A most popular method of removing stomach pains, especially those produced by starvation, was to bind a cord tightly around the waist. 846 Another method was to pile on the stomach a large heap of stones. This treatment is similar to that practiced by Easter Island women after childbirth in which they pressed their wombs with stones to prevent the formation of folds (121, p. 660).

276 The Easter Island pharmacopoeia was probably small. The flora of the island is extremely poor and I doubt if there are many plants with medical virtues. The present natives, when asked about their local drugs, mentioned only the introduced bamboo (*kohe*), which is said to be good for toothache when boiled or roasted and placed on the aching tooth. Thomson (215, p. 471) writes: "The thistle is bruised and applied to sores and ulcers, arrow-

root is used for burns, and a species of nightshade is used as a vulnerary remedy." Sea water is drunk as a purgative. The introduced verbena (*puringa*) is used as a remedy against leprosy. Knoche (123, p. 195) mentions a decoction of ti as a remedy but he does not say for what it is used and modern natives know nothing about its medicinal use. They rely mostly on European remedies. 278

RECREATION

FEASTS

Modern Easter Islanders rely entirely on feasts to break the monotony of their lives. Formerly, frequent wars gave a thrill to existence, and when peace reigned festivities were continuous, according to Eyraud. Every lineage or village considered it a duty to entertain in turn the other villages or lineages. As soon as a feast was finished in one place a new one began at another point of the island. 574 527

The general name for feast, used in tales, is *koro* which applies also to the big house erected for festal occasions. Whatever the real meaning of *koro* might have been, the feasts were named according to their purpose, their nature, and the time of the year when they were celebrated. The main feasts which have been recorded by missionaries or mentioned in traditions are the *paina*, the *are-auti*, the *tangata-manu* (feast of the bird-man) at Orongo, and the ordinary *koro*, including feasts to honor a parent and those given at harvest time by rich landowners. "When the crops were ripe, every plantation, whatever its products were became the subject of a feast for a village or even for several villages. Everything depended on its extension and the importance of the owner" (190, p. 428).

At every feast there was a great display of food, especially of chickens. Food was piled on stages or conical towers. It is said that feasts were often disturbed by quarrels among warriors (*mata-toa*), who demanded large contributions of food and fought for shares (190, p. 498). 578

PAINA

The exact purpose and form of the *paina* feast is rather vague. Various visitors have collected widely differing accounts. But the *paina* apparently celebrated the memory of a dead parent, generally a father, and was an indirect part of the funeral duties of a son. The feast could be held soon after the death or several years later. It was always celebrated in the summer, and the right time for it was indicated by the position of the three central stars in Orion. The entire family of the deceased, especially the brothers and cousins, contributed to the expense of the ceremony. Over a period of years they raised chickens, planted extensively, and probably stored food to 769 574

769 574 gather enough provisions to entertain a large crowd of guests. The guests also brought food for distribution in order to add to the abundance and gaiety of the feasting.

My informant Tepano was at first firm in his assertion that the *paina* was given for dead men only; later he said it could be held to honor a living father as well, and described the ceremony as similar to a *koro* feast. This last is the version collected by Routledge (194, p. 233) who was told that a *paina* might honor "a father, or possibly a brother who might be either alive or dead." However, Routledge probably confused *paina* and *koro* feasts.

769 574 778 The feast and the *paina* ceremony were held on the ahu where the honored dead relative was buried, and the ceremony was directed by an *ivi-atua* (priest). A huge image of a human figure made of rods and reeds and covered with tapa was erected on the landward side (front) of the ahu. *Paina* images have been variously described. The present natives remember them as follows:

> The framework rods were sufficiently strong to hold the weight of a man. On the perpendicular poles were fastened 11 or 12 rings of "reeds" (?), the diameter of each ring decreasing toward the upper part of the pole. Tapa cloth was sewn onto the conical framework and painted. The head was made separately, and consisted of a framework of wood and reed covered with tapa cloth. The mouth was left open so that the man who climbed into the figure could see and speak. The top of the head was surmounted by a circlet of frigate bird (*makohe*) feathers. The eyebrows were made of black feathers; the eyes were painted and the balls were represented by black shells (*pure uriuri*) surrounding a white disk cut from a human skull (*ivi puoko*). [According to Routledge's informants (194, p. 233) the eyes were open so that the man inside could see out.] The nose was a piece of tapa stuffed with reed. The body of the *paina* was stained yellow with turmeric dye. Perpendicular lines on the neck symbolized a man, [531] but dots on the forehead and a black triangle on the cheeks (*retu*) indicated that the *paina* stood for a woman.

One of Gonzalez' officers (90, p. 95) writes:

> They have another effigy or idol, clothed and portable, which is about four yards (*varas*) in length: it is properly speaking, the figure of a Judas studded with straw or dried grass. It has arms and legs, and the head has coarsely figured eyes, nostrils, and mouth: it is adorned with a black fringe of hair made of rushes, which hangs halfway down the back. On certain days they carry this idol to the place where they gather together, and judging by the demonstration some of them made, we understood it to be the one dedicated to enjoyment, and they name it Copeca.

Sixteen years later, M. de Langle of the La Pérouse expedition saw another *paina* which he describes as follows (130, vol. 1, p. 81):

> We found near the last of them [ahu] a kind of layman or effigy of reeds, representing a man ten feet high, and covered with a white manufacture of the country; the head of a natural size, the body thin, the legs pretty exactly proportionate, and a net hanging to its neck in the shape of a basket covered with white cloths, and apparently containing grass. By the side of this sack was the figure of a child two feet long, with the arms crossed and the legs hanging down. This layman, which could not have stood there many years, was perhaps the model from which statues are now erecting to the chiefs of their country.

The *paina* figures were not destroyed but were carefully preserved to be 769
used in some future ceremony. The hea[illegible] especially received great care.
Stuffed tapa images, which may have been small *paina* or models of such 574
images, are preserved in the Belfast and Peabody Museums (figs. 30-31). 778

Gonzalez (90, p. 95) gives *kopeka* as the name for the "clothed idols." The exact meaning of this word, generally combined with *ati* (*ati kopeka*), has been translated differently by various natives, but it always refers to a slain man and implies the idea of vengeance. Routledge (194, p. 233) says that the *paina* was put up "on a special spot, where for example, a man has been killed." Since the *paina* seems to have been a feast celebrated in honor of a dead parent, it is not impossible that special rites were observed or allusions made to his fate when he had been slain by an enemy.

Near all the large ahus there are circular depressions having an average diameter of 3 or 4 meters on which the *paina* image stood. These holes are particularly conspicuous on the Ahu-te-peu where there are five of them near the stone slope of the ahu. They are slightly excavated and paved with stones. No other ahu has so many *paina* holes. Perhaps it is because of this number that the natives told Routledge that no more than five *paina* might be celebrated in one season. "The *paina* was kept in place by four long ropes, one of which passed over the ahu" (194, p. 233). The chickens raised for the feast by the host and his family were placed at the feet of the image and distributed among the guests.

The details of the *paina* ceremony have been forgotten. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 66), who must have attended one, describes superficially what must have been a decadent or at least an exceptional performance:

> The *paina* are held in summer, and they attract all the population. Every participant takes his food for the time of the feast and especially for the last day which is the day of the banquet. All these rations, placed on the same line and covered with branches, formed the principal element of the feast. After having run for many days and after having performed all sorts of evolutions according to all the rules of the ceremonial, then comes the final clearing up. They swallow all the sweet potatoes and then put together in bundles all the branches which covered them, and they set up a sort of column or mast. That is the meaning of the word *paina*.

It is remembered that the son of the deceased, who was the host, climbed inside the image with a chicken in his hand. He passed his head through the mouth of the *paina* and delivered a long speech to the crowd thronged in front of the ahu. He spoke of the dead, exalting his virtues and praising his memory, and afterwards boasted about himself for having organized the feast. The relatives of the dead, on hearing the speaker's panegyric, started the funeral laments: *Aue tatu ue* . . . At a given moment or during all his speech, the host stretched his arm to show everybody the chicken or chickens he was holding.

Koro

574 431 554 The feast for honoring a living father, mother, father-in-law, or mother-in-law is called *koro*; it has survived until very recent times. I was told that the *koro* is still celebrated but I believe that the traditional *koro* has been displaced by a more familiar feast, also called *koro*. The *paina* and *koro* are very similar; some sources maintain that they are identical, differing only in the fact that the first was intended for a dead parent and the second for a living parent. But, since modern informants may have attributed to the *paina* some of the features of the more familiar *koro*, reservations must be made.

My principal informant, Juan Tepano, believed that the last *koro* was celebrated about 1886. But Victoria Rapahango, 36 years old, described to me the *koro* of her brother, at which she assisted when she was a young girl. The word *koro* means "feast" and I suppose that Tepano had in mind the old pageant festivities when he spoke about the disappearance of the *koro*. But *koro* also means "father" and is employed as a reverential term when speaking to an older man (*e koro e*).

574 431 602 554 A man celebrating a *koro* for his father presented himself on a fixed day before his relatives and friends with 200 or 300 fowls tied in groups of 10 to a long rope. He handed a fowl to his father. The father received it and picked out other fowls which he gave to each of his brothers, sisters, or cousins, both male and female. Sometimes the father presented fowls to some of his good friends. After this first distribution the father bestowed the remaining fowls upon his most beloved brother who was called the *motuha* and who ritually carried the fowls on his shoulders. This brother did not keep the birds, but presented them to his wife who passed them on to her brother. The brother gave them to his wife, and she in turn gave them to her brother and he to his brother-in-law. If brothers were lacking, the fowls were given to a sister or to a cousin, male or female on either the mother's or the father's side. If the wife of the *motuha* had no brother or cousin, she gave the fowls to her father or mother. The fowls were eaten when they had been given away five times. Then everyone wanted to have them and shouted, "ma aku, ma aku!" (for me, for me!). The man who gave a great *koro* was honored with the title of *tangata honui* (great man, generous). My informants and Roussel (190, p. 428) stress the fact that the man honored in a *koro* did not keep the food he received for himself or at least very little of it.

A return gift of fowls was made to the host of the *koro* on a later occasion through the same series of presentation. If the wife of the brother of the wife of the *motuha* received fowls from her son, the man who made the first *koro* would eventually get them. The following definite examples, given to me by informants, illustrate the preceding statements:

Years ago, the father of Victoria made two *koro*, one in behalf of the father-in-law and the other in behalf of the mother-in-law of his son, Miguel Rapahango. He wanted to make his son "big" (*haka honui taana poki*). The brothers and closest relatives and his other sons and daughters each contributed fowls or some kind of food. All these presents were to be returned some day. The fowls given by the brothers were delivered to the brothers and cousins of Miguel's father-in-law, Emilio Paoa, who received the *koro*. The other fowls were given to Emilio who bestowed them upon his brother (*motuha*). 574 431 602 554

The feast was celebrated in the house of Victoria's father and there were more than 250 fowls bound to two ropes. In the same place there was a big earth oven or food gift (*umu parehaoga*). The *motuha*, on the same day, made another earth oven in his house and brought the food to the house of Victoria's father. The food gift of the *motuha* was called *umu motuha*. He gave the food to Miguel Rapahango, who presented it to his own father. The food taken out of the earth oven of the *koro* giver was delivered to the father-in-law and to the people who helped.

Victoria remembered quite well that Miguel's wife untied one fowl and gave it to her father, Emilio Paoa, who took the other fowls presented by the brothers and sisters of his son-in-law and distributed them among his relatives of the Paoa family. The other fowls, with the exception of 20, he delivered to his brother. The brother distributed the fowls among his family and friends because he had no wife or other brothers. Emilio Paoa gave some fowls to his *tumu*, who is a neighbor, a man of a tribe living close by.

If the *koro* was celebrated for a mother-in-law, she gave the fowls to her brother, he to his wife, the wife to her brother, and so on. During the feast the people sang this song: [533 539]

I o te korongo mai nei	Here is the feast sung
I Moana-vera-vera-ra-tahai	In Moana-vera-vera-ra-tahai (name of a place)
Rima turu, turu.	Hands raising, raising.

I asked Tepano to imagine that Beatriz, who was the wife of his son Jorge, made a *koro* for him. Tepano said he would give the fowls to his brother, Pakomio. Pakomio would present them to his wife and she to her brother. A cousin of Pakomio's wife could make a *koro* and the presents would come back in the same way. Sometimes a brother of the father-in-law of the *motuha* might give fowls to his brother, who in turn gave them to his wife; she delivered them to her daughter, the *motuha's* wife. The *motuha*, Tepano's uncle, would give the fowls back to Tepano.

As a rule one never made a *koro* for his brother or his cousins, but if one were an orphan he sometimes celebrated a *koro* for an elder brother. The present made in a *koro* was called *mee ravaa* (?) or *mahia*. A *koro* could be celebrated in honor of a dead father (*koro puoko mate*, feast of the dead skull of the father). The paternal uncle received it for the dead. The son who offered such a *koro* was assisted by his brothers, his cousins, and his friends.

There were no *koro* in winter because the earth ovens of the *koro* are "finished" (*umu koro huri*). The man who presented a *koro* during the month of July made a special earth oven which was called *umu anakena*. In it he cooked some fowls which he gave to the *motuha*. Tepano informed me once that the *motuha* could keep 5 or 10 fowls. They were called *haokuku*. The *motuha* brought to the feast from 20 to 50 fowls which he delivered to his

574 brother who in his turn gave them to his son. Sometimes they were given to
431 the wife of the man who made the *koro*; she passed them on to her brother or her father.

602 I was told that the son could give 5 or 10 fowls to his father on the
554 occasion of the *umu anakena*. The father distributed them among people who had helped him when he was hungry (in time of famine for instance). This present was called *moa haka kio* (to reward with fowls; literally, "fowls made prisoners").

During the feast of the *koro* the father or the mother praised the generosity of the son:

[539]

E poki	koro	nui	e mooku mo	te matua e	(e nau e)
Son	of feast	great	for me	for the father	(for the mother)

If he had already made a *koro* for one of the parents the formula would be a little different:

[539]

E poki	koro	nui	mo	maua	ko	nua e
Son	of feast	great	for	me	and	for your mother

431 The *koro* is closely related to a custom which is now prevalent in Easter
602 Island and which obliges the men to make presents to the brothers or the cousins of their wives. Generally it is only one brother or one cousin who receives these presents. I was told by all my informants that "the brother-in-law who is chosen is the best-liked one, and sometimes the others become jealous." A husband must also make presents to the sister of his wife. Every one who receives a present must make a return gift on a later occasion, and if he has self respect he will give more than he has received. The *mahia* or present to a brother-in-law or a cousin cannot be something made by one's self; it must be a gift obtained from a parent or a friend. As Tepano told me, "The one who gives you fowls, he only is your brother, only the fowls have value." That is, the symbolism of the gift stresses a close personal relationship between the giver and the cousin chosen as recipient. The *mahia* may also be a circulating present which passes through many hands according to the old *koro* system.

KORO HOUSE

345 In connection with the *koro* is always mentioned a big house, also called *koro*, where young people spent their time playing various games. This house was the material symbol of the generosity of the *koro* giver. Tradition has preserved descriptions of *koro* houses which were several hundred feet long and more than 20 feet high. Materials for the construction of the house were often provided by relatives or friends who aided the giver of the *koro* in his expenditures. Tepano said that *koro* houses were intended for young

people, both boys and girls, who resided in them for months, generously provided 345
with all sorts of delicacies, but tales seem to indicate that adults also
could enjoy the careless life of the *koro* houses. Certain tapus seem to have [784]
been enforced on the *koro,* and definite rules were observed in them; no religious
ceremonies are mentioned apart from the consecration of the house by
an *ariki.*

The host, whose own house was near the *koro,* supervised everything and 574
enjoyed the sight of all the people having a good time. Food was distributed
in abundance, and sometimes more than 10 earth ovens were cooking at the
same time. The sweet potatoes and chickens which were served during the
feast had been accumulated by the owner of the *koro* over a long period of [431]
time, and his relatives or friends contributed presents of food, given to him under the condition that some day he would help them on a similar occasion. The last day of the feast was especially gay, and when the rejoicings were over the *koro* house was pulled down with the aid of wooden carved lizards. (See 194, p. 234.) The poles which had been used in the *koro* construction were carefully guarded to be used for the next celebration.

The *koro* houses were supposed to be kept clean. Tradition tells of a *koro* 574
house to which the *ariki* Tuu-ko-ihu was invited and which he left because he
saw in it the excrement of a child: 514

> They built a *koro* house in Ahu-a-pepe. They made a very long house. They had 539
> yams, sweet potatoes, and chickens. They lit the oven, they threw the food into it and cooked it. They sent a message to Tuu-ko-ihu to call him to this new *koro* where food was ready. A child defecated in the house. The king came and went in and spoke to the owner of the *koro,* "Now take out the food for the king, put in the sugar cane." The head of Oroi was hanging down in the house. Tuu-ko-ihu noticed it and recognized it, "Here is the head of Oroi," he said, "Rest here, your teeth used formerly to eat turtle meat in the foreign country of Marae-renga."
>
> They gathered bananas in the house. Tuu-ko-ihu saw the excrement of the child. He could no longer eat sugar cane, banana, sweet potatoes, chicken, or fish. He got sick because of this excrement. Tuu-ko-ihu took the hanging head and went to his home. The people in the *koro* house said, "The king does not eat the food. Who took the head which was hanging down?" The owner of the *koro* saw the excrement and said, "That's why the king did not eat. Stinking is the excrement of the child." He noticed then that the head was no longer there and that the king had taken it with him.
>
> The owner of the *koro* gathered chickens, fish, tuna fish, and eels, and enlisted the workers to help him to recover the head. They removed the stones, they dug the ground until they reached the house of Tuu-ko-ihu where the head had been buried. They dug everywhere, even under the seat of Tuu-ko-ihu. There they found the head and took it from the king.
>
> The owner was working in a banana plantation. He saw a rat, chased it and digging in the hole of the rat found the skull (again).

AREAUTI

The *areauti* feast, held in fall and winter, was probably similar to the 574
koro. For both feasts a special hut was erected, and both were given at the 345

574 345 expense of a man wishing to enhance his prestige by a show of lavishness. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, pp. 66-67) describes the *areauti* as follows:

> The *paina* is succeeded by the *areauti*, in which there are no more big races, no complicated evolutions, and no palatable sweet potato banquets. On the grounds of the feast are built big houses, I should say huts higher than the ordinary ones. When the houses are finished, people gather in groups, placing themselves in two lines to sing. And what they sing! I must confess that this poetry is very primitive and not very varied. The event which has most struck the imagination is generally the subject of the chant. If a new disease has been introduced, let us say smallpox, it will be sung at the *areauti*. On the occasion of one of these feasts, they took my sheep and roasted and ate them. The roasted sheep have been sung about for I know not how long. Please do not think that they compose a poem for the occasion. They are well satisfied with repeating, in different tones, the matter itself, sometimes the name which expresses it. This continues from the beginning of the feast to the end.

PUKE

574 222 [787] This feast has not been recorded previously. According to my informant, it was always celebrated in the month of August (*horaiti*). Five children went to the shore to pick up *tari* (a seaweed). My informant insisted that each child took ten seaweeds, but such precision may be doubted. The children started to run as fast as they could, and adults tried to hit them with the seaweed collected by the children. A child who was hit by the *tari* was supposedly destined for a premature death, those who escaped without having been touched by the seaweed could expect a long life. The *puke* were organized by the entire village and were occasions for feasting.

KAUNGA

574 535 The *kaunga* was a feast reserved for young people and its chief feature was a dance performed by boys and girls on a narrow place paved with pebbles. Routledge (194, p. 234) claims to have seen four such strips; I saw only one, but Tepano mentioned two, one at Vakahipo and the other at Hangoteo. The young people danced in Indian file, each girl preceded by a boy. The dancers held dancing clubs (*rapa*) in both hands and advanced and retreated gracefully. When a father decided to have a *kaunga* dance performed, all the other families sent their children. The parents sat as mere spectators of the dance.

574 I never heard, as did Routledge (194, p. 284), that this feast was in honor of a mother. The *kaunga* feast has been frequently confused with the seclusion of young people for the purpose of producing fair complexions before being exhibited at feasts. However, the feast was probably an opportunity for the *neru* or the *huru* girls (those who had been secluded) to display the whiteness of their complexions. Marriages were frequently decided upon at this feast.

7

THE FEAST OF THE BOAT

574
533

Near Vaihu there is a mound, called *miro-oone* (the earth-ship). A feast which consisted in imitating the activities, postures, and language of a ship's crew used to be celebrated over it. Some of the natives were the *mataroa* or sailors and others the officers. The last of these shows was given not long ago, for the father of the present catechist, Timoteo Pakarati, is remembered as having played with great success the role of a captain. On this occasion songs were sung, one of which I transcribe below. This song was also considered an improvization to welcome a man by the name of Toorangi of the Eapaea lineage who came from Chile as a sailor.

[539]

E Toorangi a Eapaea e,	O Toorangi of Eapaea,
A te kapu mai hiva e,	He that came from abroad,
Ka hakaava ro	They are pushing forward
I te kaukau hakarava	The horizontal poles (the yards),
E Toorangi a Eapaea e.	O Toorangi of Eapaea.
Ka hakatata haro	They make incline
I te kaukau hakarava	The horizontal poles (the yards)
O Toorangi o te miro,	Of Toorangi of his ship,
Kahu aava.	The sail is inflated.

First Tepano assumed that this ship represented the big canoe built by Tuapoi, a legendary character (p. 382); then he said that it was Captain Cook's ship. The feast is no longer performed, but on the first day of the year the natives dress in navy uniforms and perform exercises which imitate the maneuvers of ships' crews.

Routledge understood that these dances commemorated Captain Cook's visits and that Cook and his English sailors were deified by the natives who erected big houses to celebrate his cult (*hare-a-te-atua*). This does not seem likely, for if the natives really had worshipped the Europeans why should they have chosen Cook, who was the third visitor to the island and who stayed on it a shorter time than the Spaniards?

The *hare-a-te-atua* mentioned by Routledge were probably big houses built for the feasts in which ceremonies and dances may have been performed. The feast of the ship, possibly very recent, was associated with ordinary feasts. My native informants stated that the *hare-a-te-atua* generally had nothing to do with the *miro-oone* or earth-ship.

GAMES

SURF-RIDING

526
857

Surf-riding (*ngaru*) is the only ancient Easter Island sport which has survived. As soon as days become warm, children go out to the surf with small planks on which they lie and let themselves be carried to shore by the

526 waves. Today grown men swim only when necessary and never indulge in
[857] surfing. The many volcanic rocks scattered along the coast make this sport
extremely dangerous and it can be enjoyed at only a few places.

Owing to the scarcity of wood, the natives formerly used conical bundles of rushes (*pora*) instead of surfboards. Any construction for surfing was described by the phrase *papa mo hakaeke te ngaru.* Provided with rafts (*papa*), the young men went into the surf and awaited a big wave (*he irimai te vave nuinui*). When the wave reached its peak (*te iri mai te vave rahirahi*), they turned (*te tieve*) to catch the wave, stretching their legs straight behind them. With their hands they seized the *papa* and propelling the board with their feet, they let themselves be swept in to the shore.

Tales refer to young men who had surf-riding contests before big crowds gathered on the beach to admire their skill. Ordinary surf-riders catch the breaking waves, but strong young men of old went far away from the shore into a heavy surf, where they caught great unbroken swells.

A song still popular on the island is supposed to have been chanted at
526 surfing contests as a spell to make opponents fall, but it is also connected with
533 a string figure.

537 E Pua e, e Pua te Ohe Ohe e pua.	(A place near the beach of Hangaroa where the children go surf riding.)
Te na nia he tama	There on the top [of the board] is a youth
Tera Hiro rangi [Te raa, hirorangi]	[The sun, the foam (?)]
Paku, paku	The tide is low
Ruahie hati mai a hati pu.	Ruahie [a place near Hangaroa], the (wave) breaks and spends its force.

SLIDING

524 There is a vague tradition that in olden days the boys used to slide on the
857 slopes of the numerous volcanic hills scattered over the island. They sat on
banana or ti leaves and slid down tracks on which they had urinated to make
514 the path more slippery.

CONCEALING AN OBJECT

524 Estella (79, p. 25) describes a game which may be ancient. The players crouch or sit in a circle and secretly pass around some object. One player in the center of the circle tries to find the object; and while he is looking for it, he is abused and struck by the rest of the group. If he succeeds in getting hold of the object, he sits in the circle and the person who was discovered takes his place. During the entire game the players in the circle recite a monotonous chant. This last detail seems to indicate the antiquity of the game.

SHAM BATTLES

The sham battle was one of the favorite entertainments of children. 526
Divided into two sides, they threw at each other spears tipped by pieces of 857
gourd shell in the shape of obsidian points (*taua pahera*). Legend states that children frequently discovered and substituted obsidian points for their harmless spear points (p. 376). Sham battles (*tuna*) in which either adults or children threw stones was another form of training for wars.

At feast gatherings, young men displayed their athletic skill in running, 526
spear throwing, and other feats of dexterity (215, p. 468) 574

THROWING GAME

Knoche (123, p. 202), describes a throwing game which was probably 526
introduced from Tahiti or Mangareva. I never saw the game and the islanders [177]
never mentioned it to me.

> A small groove 150 mm. long is traced on level ground. Across the groove they put a little stick 50 mm. long. The players have thin sticks 550 mm. long that they introduce under the small one to throw it as far as possible. The winner is the man who throws the piece of wood farthest.

TOP SPINNING

Spinning tops (*makoi*) were popular toys. They varied in type according 524
to materials used. The most common top was a capsule of the *makoi* (prob- 857
ably *Thespesia populnea*), pierced through the middle by a round pin with
two sharp, fire-hardened points. *Makoi-oone* were made of a clay found in [824]
craters. Children mixed it with water and sugar cane juice and left it to bake in the sun. A clay top is preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22838). It is a hard, red clay ball, 28 mm. in diameter with a wooden handle 135 mm. long inserted through it. This object is listed in the catalog as a tattooing hammer, but its form makes such a use very unlikely.

Stone tops are said to have been large and were thrown without the use of a string into a stone basin, where they kept spinning for a long time.
While the tops were spinning, children used to sing the following song: [533
539]

Kanini te makoi nau opata.	Spin the top [made of *makoi* capsules] from the cliff.
Ka tuu te makoi miro rakerake;	The wooden top does not stand up well;
Kanini koe te makoi oone o te Rano-kao.	Spin the top made of the clay of the Rano-kao.

KITE FLYING

Kites, called *manu hakarere* (flying birds), were made of tapa cloth and the head of a bird was painted on each of them. They were flown by children.

STRING FIGURES

524 533 Only thirty string figures (*kaikai*)[18] are remembered. The only woman who knew them all was Amelia, the daughter of Tepano, who learned them from her father when she was a little girl. He had meanwhile forgotten them. A few simple string figures were more widely known. Each figure has a special chant which accompanies it. These chants are very popular though most people do not understand their meanings and are generally unable to make the corresponding string figures. All named string figures supposedly represent some object—part of the body (hair, penis), a spearhead (*mata*), a mat, an ahu with stone images, a bay, and so on; some represent characters in a legend, and the accompanying chants are narrated as if spoken by the character at a critical moment.

524 533 867 177 The natives state that string figures were used to memorize popular chants and to recall tales. I was told that children were taught to make them and were obliged to memorize the accompanying chants before they were instructed in the sacred lore of the tribe and the art of carving tablets. A few string figures with chants have been introduced recently from Tahiti. Their foreign origin was always pointed out by the natives.

INTRODUCED TOYS

524 177 526 Bows and arrows were introduced as toys either by Father Roussel or by Easter Islanders returning from Tahiti. The natives call them by a Tahitian name (*fana*) and consider them quite modern. The islanders were acquainted with slings only after their contact with Tahitians. Father Roussel is said to have taught the children to jump rope.

GAMBLING

525 The men of the island are passionate gamblers. They play mostly Chilean card games or gamble with pieces of money following the rules of a widespread South American game. Islanders gamble most at the end of the shearing season when they have been paid by the English Company.

MUSIC AND POETRY

INSTRUMENTS

534 Before contact with Europeans the Easter Islanders had only two musical instruments, the percussion plate and the shell trumpet (*pu*). Existence of the shell trumpet is attested only by Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 48). The name *pu* is included in the early Easter Island vocabularies, though the present natives assert that it was introduced from Tahiti. A stone with a hole in it

---

[18] Twenty-eight original string figures have been collected and will be published separately with their corresponding chants.

(p. 310) is called Pu-o-Hiro (the Trumpet-of-Hiro). The percussion plate 534 was made by digging a hole about 3 feet deep and 1 or 2 feet wide. A large gourd, half filled with tapa or grass, was placed in the hole, which was covered with a thin stone slab. A man stepped on the slab, and with his feet beat time for dancers and singers.

SINGING

Ancient music has disappeared, with the exception of two songs which, 533 though not very old, seem to give a faint idea of the rhythm and character of the genuine native music. Unfortunately I had no phonograph and could record only the text. The first song was composed about 30 years ago and is always given as an example of the old music. It tells of the landing of some Chinese on Easter Island. It was the first time the natives had seen men with long hair and wrist watches.

I rari te reka hiva	They are wet the joyful foreigners	533
Toe hakavie.	With hair like women.	537
I topa mai ai.	They landed here.	
Mo toona hinete hora	For their watches riding on	
I te rima	Their hands.	
Ana tangi, tangi.	It sounds, it sounds.	

The other old song, composed 40 or 50 years ago, is a short, satirical song which is repeated endlessly at feasts. It tells of the marital disgrace of Aru-manu-vie, a famous fisherman, whose wife had been stolen by a certain Rahi.

Rahi toke vie a Aru-manu-vie.	Rahi stole the wife of Aru-manu-vie.
Maitetuuapai toke mai ai	At Maitetuuapai he took
I te vie a Aru-manu-vie.	The wife of Aru-manu-vie.

On various occasions, Tepano called my attention to old classifications of 533 songs which unfortunately were not very clear to him. He explained that the songs called *a-te-atua* or *hare-a-te-atua* were solemn, had something to do with the gods, and were chanted during great feasts. The *a-te-atua* alluded to the giver of the feast and lauded him. The name *hare-a-te-atua* may be compared to the name of the *areauti* feasts cited by Eyraud (81, vol. 38, pp. 66-67), but Routledge was informed that the *hare-atua* were large houses in which Captain Cook and his sailors were worshipped as gods. However, these large houses were probably *koro* houses in which feasts were held. The songs may well have been called after the place where they were sung.

The *a-te-hakakakai* dealt with war. The *koro hakaapo*, a chant with a "good" meaning, was characterized by the low, quiet tone in which it was sung. A lament or chant recited at funerals was a *riu*, though the confused informants associate this name with erotic compositions (*koko riu*).

Lament

533 E hata tae kava	O bug that does not smell
537 E kakai koe ia, Tau-mahani, i te vie honui e.	You eat, Tau-mahani, the respectable woman.
E hata tae kava e,	O bug that does not smell,
E ka kai koe ia, Tau-mahani, i te vie honui e.	You eat, Tau-mahani, the respectable woman.

Hei songs were always called "bad" but I was never sure exactly what Tepano meant by "bad." He explained to me that these songs were injurious and were directed against an unfaithful woman or against a girl who paid no attention to the love of some man. He said that they were sung by a group 516 of men and women. The women squatted on their knees in front of the men who tramped the resonance box dug in the ground.

I obtained a single sample of a *hei* which was supposedly composed by a woman who had been abandoned by her husband of the Tupa-hotu tribe. After a few days he came back at night, scratching at the door. At first the wife thought that it was a rat and composed the following song:

Tupa-hotu rakerake	Tupa-hotu is bad
Tae tangitangi rikiriki.	I am not crying, not even a little.
Hove e kiore e nekuneku mai nei.	It is perhaps a rat that scratches here.
A koia o ku tata hakahou mai a.	He has come back here.

Only four love songs are remembered by present natives. The first describes a Miru girl who leaves her lover in the morning and is dampened with dew:

E Miru, a ivi rari i te hupe e	O Miru (girl), you are dampened to the bones by dew
I te hupe, hau[39] a Rano-aroi.	By the dew of the Rano-aroi.
Kae pakapaka i topa ro ai	You won't be dry when you go
Ki te roto tatau mahute	To soak the paper mulberry
Mo te nua hute pukao.	To make the cloth for the ribbon of your topknot.

The second chant is supposed to be recited by a girl whose younger sister loves the same man as she does.

E Mea, a tino mamahi rua e ki te iti, ki te nui e.	O Mea, for your body both the little and the big one are fighting.
He tonga, te pua, repa hoa	It is winter, my friend, the flower is very fragrant
Ka eo, ka eo, ka kava nei.	The flower is very fragrant.
He hora, te pua, repa hoa,	It is summer, the flower, my friend,
Ka mariri mai tooku aro nei, aue, aue.	Is withered on my breast, alas, alas.
Ku mataku mai a i te vie honui e,	The older wife is afraid,
He te hotaki mo haroa o te rei, o too rei mata nei.	Here is the wreath to hang an ornament, the ornament is your face.
He tou taina, e Mea e.	O my brother, O Mea.
E Mea a te raa e.	O Mea (Dawn) of the sun.
Taina panioro[40] roa.	Sister indeed like a Spaniard.
I tua i te Ana-heu-neru e.	Behind the Cave-where-the-neru-live.

---

[39] *Hau*: drops of dew at dawn. The girl is symbolized by them.

[40] This word was translated as "Spanish," an interpretation that is confirmed by the last verse; Ana-heu-neru is a cave on the eastern promontory of the island.

In this third chant the girl is compared to a fish whose fins are the girl's 533
topknot. 539

E mau koe i te mate o te manava	You are sick with love
E tupa ki raro ki Ahu Akurenga.	You are a crab that lives below at Ahu Akurenga.
E ika tuutuu pukao.	You are a fish with topknot.
Mo raro koe,	You go down,
E ika, uka hoa e.	O fish, you are my girl friend.
Mo toro-miro tae hahati	For a *toro-miro* tree that cannot break
Hare-pepe[22] a matua vaai a	Seaweed of the parent separated by
Toka roaroa.	The long rock.

A married girl who is shut in the house of her father-in-law and wants to escape to meet her lover, sings the following song:

E Manu e, ka pari mai toto	O Manu, my blood oozes
Hare keri ena aaku i te po, e Manu e.	When I dig under the house, O Manu.
E au tae kai i te kumara	I do not eat the sweet potatoes
O tau korohua nei ko, Maea-te-renga.	Of this old man, Maea-te-renga.

The earliest literary allusion to singing in Easter Island is that by Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 46). He describes a group of women gathered near the landing place who sang and made gestures of welcome. Eyraud describes briefly the singing at an *areauti* feast (p. 350). Loti (146, p. 28) gives the following poetical description of Easter Island music: 533

> They sing, the Maoris; they all sing beating their hands as if they were making a dance rhythm. The women utter notes as soft and fluty as those of birds. The men sometimes make small falsetto voices, thin, quavering, and shrill. Sometimes they produce cavernous sounds like the roars of enraged wild animals. Their music is made of short and jerky phrases, ending in gloomy vocalizations descending in minor tones. They seem to express the surprise of being alive and also the sadness of life. Notwithstanding, they sing in joy, in the childish joy of seeing us, in the pleasure of the small new things we bring them.

Less charming, but certainly more reliable, is the description given by Geiseler (87, p. 40):

> Great attention is paid to singing. Their singing has three parts with a sounding bass. They have a great many beautiful songs which sound quite nicely in this language abundant in vowels, although produced in the monotonous Polynesian way. Apart from game, dance, and love songs they have also chants for the dead, for the dying or wounded people. The principal characteristic of these songs is the deep bass. These songs are sung in a sitting posture with legs bent underneath. They have a leader who gives the pitch. At the beginning of each chant they accord their voices to a sort of scale so that they may appreciate the purity and the unison of the voices. The songs are accompanied with movements of legs and feet which are very lively.

At the time Geiseler visited the island, the natives had been subjected to 533
missionary influence fos a long time and had already learned all the splendid 177
Tahitian *himene* which they still sing. The songs Geiseler collected are still

---

[22] *Hare-pepe*: seaweed in which fish are abundant, especially the *niuhi*.

533 known and do not seem to be very ancient. He obtained some recitations associated with string figures and one love song.

177 The present-day natives are very fond of singing. Their musical lore is abundant, though most of the songs are of Tahitian or Chilean origin. They pick up melodies quickly from seamen. Hymns taught them by missionaries have been transmitted through two and even three generations without the [795 868] slightest change. These hymns consist of European motifs modified by Tahitian influence. Sophia Hei and another woman have a singing school where the girls gather twice a week to practice hymns for Sunday mass. The native choirs are well trained and sing in perfect harmony.

533 The few old songs which are still remembered are sung while sitting on the heels, and the measure is marked by the balancing of the body from one side to the other. The word *rutua* means singing in choir or marking the cadence. In church the women singers squat on the floor. The voice of the leader, who always starts the song, is heard quite distinctly above those of the other singers. I heard the native songs only at church or when especially requested.

In days gone by the natives sang during feasts, and at the time of the 533 changing moon they used to dance and sing in the evening and late into the 535 night. As proof of their ability to improvise short musical pieces I transcribe here a song composed by Maria Ika, my informant's wife, on the occasion of 539 the transporting of the stone image which is at present in the Museum of the Cinquantenaire in Belgium.

Ka totoi ia ahu Orongo,	They have been hauling from the ahu Orongo,
Ka totoi ia ahu Orongo,	They have been hauling from the ahu Orongo,
Ka totoi a te hanga tomo	They hauled those who landed at the bay
Reka hiva e roou korua	The joyous foreigners you take care
A Hanga-one-one mo mau,	Of Hanga-one-one to carry it,
Mo hata i runga i te ahu	To put it on an ahu
Ui uka o te Peretia.	Where the Belgian girls will see it.

Short compositions which describe the cause of a feast or in some way 533 allude to it are still sung by the natives. To celebrate the arrival of the 539 Chilean training ship *Baquedano* a few years ago, the natives had a feast at which they sang the following song, contrasting the stinginess of the crew of the *Araucano,* another Chilean ship, with the more generous behavior of the crew of the *Baquedano.*

E rake rake te *Araukano,*	The *Araukano* is bad,
Te nehenehe te *Baquedano.*	The *Baquedano* is good.

Some 20 years ago the natives composed a song in honor of Edmunds, former manager of the Williamson-Balfour Company, whose native nickname was Moni-hiva. The song is still popular.

E te Moni-hiva, Moni-hiva,	O Moni-hiva, Moni-hiva, 533
I tomo ai kia Roa e,	He landed at Hanga-roa, 539
Te Moni-hiva-arenga e.	O Moni-hiva-arenga.

Estella (79, p. 78) collected five Easter Island songs which are still known by most of the natives. Dr. E. G. Burrows, specialist in Polynesian music, after examining them for me, concludes that these songs are modern Tahitian. Three of the five have a range of one octave, which is possible in what he considers pure Polynesian music but rare, especially in eastern Polynesia. Though none of these songs have a complete European scale, the tonality seems nearer European than Polynesian. None has the characteristic Polynesian emphasis on one principal tone. In rhythm there are some departures from the regular meter of simple European music. This feature is probably Polynesian, for Tahitian *ute* have similar rhythms. 533

No genuine Easter Island music has been recorded. Admiral Byrd made some records of the local music during his short stay on the island. Unfortunately he asked only the young people to sing, and they knew only Tahitian or Chilean songs. Burrows has heard these records and states that the songs were Europeanized either by way of Tahiti or of Chile.

DANCES

ONE-FOOT DANCES

Admiral Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 230) mentions a hopping dance performed by a few natives who climbed on board the *Venus* and danced to amuse the seamen. The same dance was observed by Geiseler (87, p. 41) in 1886: 535

> The dances are different from the usual Polynesian type. While in Samoa they sit and swing their hips, making movements with the arms, here they stay on one foot and extend the other by jerks following exactly the rhythm of the song. From the movement it could be inferred that the so-called recreational dances were quite immoral.

A modified form of this dance, called *upaupa*, still survives and is very popular among the natives. It is always danced by couples who hold each other by the hand and hop first on one foot, then on the other. After hopping thus for a time, they change hands, the man turns in the opposite direction, and both continue circular hopping movements. Sometimes the partners face each other, hopping continuously on one foot. Nowadays the dance has a European character, and the natives told me that it had been taught to them by a French sailor who had been shipwrecked on the island. Twenty-five years ago the natives performed this dance in a more traditional style, as we may infer from a quotation of Knoche (123, p. 202): "The Katenga is a very obscene dance in which a file of men stand opposite a file of women. The dance consists of jumps on one foot with flexed knee. The bodies are turned alternately to one side and then to the other." [177]

535 Knoche (123, p. 202) refers to another dance, the principle of which was hopping:

> The lower end of the *ua* (ceremonial staff) rested between the big toe, and the second toe of the left foot, and the superior part of the staff under the carved head was seized with the left hand and maintained apart from the body. The *ua* was moved rhythmically here and there. The younger men and the boys with miniature *ua*, hopped round the periphery on their right feet, while the left foot hung waving in the air.

[170] In the Marquesas the natives also performed a dance jumping on one foot (104, p. 306).

Thomson's description (215, pp. 468-469) of the poised and complicated posture dance, although not precise, is the only complete document on the refined and elaborate dances of the natives of old:

> The music was furnished by three persons seated upon the floor, who accompanied their discordant voices by thumps upon a tomtom improvised from old cracker boxes, and the dance was performed by an old woman and a young girl, the latter possessing some claim to symmetry of figure. The dancers wore a single loose garment, short enough to expose the bare ankles and sunbrowned feet. Over the head and shoulders was thrown a white cloak, composed of a few yards of cotton cloth, which was sometimes spread open and occasionally made to hide the whole figure as they went through the various evolutions of the dance. This mantle was not managed with any particular skill or grace and seemed to be identified with one particular dance, after which it was discarded for the small dancing-paddle or wand. The weird songs related the achievements and exploits of their ancestors in war, fishing, and love, and the gestures of the dancers were upon this occasion perfectly proper and modest. Some of the movements were suggestive of a rude relationship to the dances performed by the geisha girls of Japan in their odori, and consisted of movements and attitudes calculated to display the elegance and grace of the performers. The peculiar feature of the native dancing is the absence of violent motion; there is no jumping or elaborate pirouettes, no extravagant contortions, and nothing that might be called a precision of step. The lower limbs play a part of secondary importance to the arms and the dancers indulge in no dizzy girations. The feet and hands are kept moving in unison with the slow, monotonous music, while the dancers endeavor to act out the words of the song by pantomime. These islanders, like their sisters throughout Polynesia, have their hula-hula, or dances that partake of passion and abandon, and portray the old story of coquetry, jealousy, and ultimate surrender of the maiden. Soft swaying movements, a gentle turning away, timid glances, and startled gestures, gradually giving place to more rapturous passion, speak plainly enough the theme of the song, though the movements are less graceful and elegant than those which characterize the nautch dances of India. Among the diversified dances, some are performed by men and others by women, but the sexes rarely if ever dance together. Wands are usually held in each hand, but occasionally one and sometimes both are discarded. Feather hats and other ornaments are worn in portraying characters and some of the dances are said to be of obscene tendencies.

Knoche (123, p. 202) mentions briefly a dance he saw in 1912: "Very like the Katenga, but far more monotonous and entirely decent is a dance that the women performed grouped in an inner circle. They make silent movements with the hips and the men who stood in front did not move, but continually stamped on the ground." This dance suggests the modern *hura* or Tahitian dance which is performed by couples.

Tepano demonstrated how the men danced at a feast. Holding a dance paddle in his hands, and with bent knees, he turned and waved the paddle with extraordinary dexterity and swiftness. Unfortunately he did not know details. However, he described the attitudes of the dancers of old. They held a dance paddle (*rapa*) in each hand and advanced, jumping from one foot to the other. Other dancers held larger dancing paddles (*ao*), and swung vigorously with the entire body. Some men carried a wooden image in each hand which they juggled as they sang and marched toward the ahu. They wore wooden pendants and images and carried other accessories such as dance paddles and figures of lizards or of men which they brandished, waved, and handled in various ways. Sometimes they were extended with a sudden movement; at other times they were held near the mouth, passed between the legs, and so forth. Sometimes the dancers made as if to spit on them. 535

The most significant feature of the *kaunga* feast was a dance performed by men and women who Indian-filed along a paved alley. Tepano asserted that the dancers bowed their bodies forward with flexed knees, hopping forward each time they resumed a straight position. They moved the fingers rapidly and uninterruptedly. This description, also given to Brown (*27*, p. 201), was applied by Tepano to all the festive dances that he tried to explain. It might well be the dominant feature of a special dance performed upon any occasion.

MODERN DANCES

The *hupa-hupa* danced nowadays, especially at the request of passing visitors, is a survival of an old hopping dance. On New Year's afternoon I attended the great pageant organized each new year by the natives in honor of the English manager of the Williamson-Balfour Company. This feast is prepared long in advance, and every detail is carefully studied. A month before the feast, regular dance lessons are given in the huts of native instructors. The pageant itself is distinctly modernized. The feast is at the same time a carnival, a pageant, a dance, and a banquet. The most spectacular feature of the feast is the performance of a dance in front of the English Residence. 535 574

> The dancers, men and women, arrived in two groups. Among them were several women dressed in uniforms of officers of the Chilean navy. They stood in one line, each with her hands on her hips, and swayed their bodies to-and-fro. The dance itself was extremely simple, consisting of a few steps forward followed by one or two steps backward. The first row of dancers was led by two girls in brilliant uniforms, one of the girls brandishing a sword and the other the scabbard of the same weapon. Sometimes they turned toward their troupe, uttering commands in the various languages of all the warships which had visited the island. At a given signal, all the dancers moved their arms in a gymnastic motion inspired probably by the exercise or signaling methods observed on board some training ship. If these simple movements were a survival from ancient dances they had taken on a distinctly military aspect and a simplicity to conform with the uniforms and the commands. In unison the dancers lifted and lowered their 535

> 535 arms while slowly stamping their feet as if sometimes hesitating to touch the ground. As far as I remember the tramping was broken by half turns and forward and backward steps, but my general impresson was of constant tramping which was often out of time with the movements of the arms. The leaders of the file danced with quick steps, sometimes approaching each other, then retreating. Occasionally they touched their weapons as if to start a fight. They broke the silence with meaningless utterances in Spanish, French, German, and English.
>
> The measure was marked on two drums, each beaten with one stick. One drum was made from a tin box, the other from wood covered with a skin. The rhythm produced was not unlike that which I heard later in Tahiti.
>
> The first troupe of dancers was followed by another which performed the same dance. A big fellow, strangely dressed, accompanied the movements of the others with contortions of his neck, knees, and face.
>
> The comic interlude from this long, dull dance was furnished by a group of young boys dressed like regular Chilean sailors. Bent double, they executed funny steps, made faces, and behaved in a generally grotesque manner while they kept time to the sound of the drum.
>
> The stamping and shouting of orders in foreign languages would have lasted for hours had not many of the young men yielded to the pleasure of dancing modern Chilean dances—the *cueca* and the *vals*.

The modern natives usually dance Chilean or European dances, but sometimes, especially to please foreigners, they dance the *hura* which is an adaptation of the modern Tahitian dance, learned from a Tahitian native who had recently been on the island. Generally the movements are awkward and without artistic justification.

DRESS FOR DANCES

292 Dress for festive days was similar to that for ordinary days but was probably cleaner and of better quality. The *nua* or tapa cloths, worn on the
302 men's shoulders and around the women's waists, were stained with yellow turmeric and were particularly large. All kinds of headdresses were worn. On festive occasions both men and women paid especial attention to beautifying their faces and bodies with paintings. Tepano states that men had various
[831] symbols, among them a vulva, painted on their breasts. However, this was a typical tattooing for men and probably Tepano confused tattooing with painting.

Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 67), the first European to assist at a feast on Easter Island, gives the following description of the participants:

> Naturally festivals are an opportunity for an ostentatious display of luxury. Everybody goes to them wearing the most precious things he has. There appear the most eccentric dresses. The Kanakas are no longer satisfied with the dresses I described above. They put on anything they can get hold of. They paint themselves more carefully, they resort to the help of hands expert in the art of fixing colours and of tracing on the face capricious lines which they consider very effective.

TALES

538 The only aspect of the old culture that has been preserved by the modern population of Easter Island is the folklore. Some myths and legends were

collected by the early French missionaries and later by Salmon who told them 538
to Thomson (215). Mrs. Routledge (194) apparently made a good collection of the old folklore but published only a few myths. More legends and tales were made known by Knoche (122, 123). Unfortunately his versions are based on texts established by Vives Solar who misunderstood most of his information and added fanciful details to give more color to the narrative. The folklore contained in Brown's work (27) suffers from the same fault. All my material was collected in the vernacular and translated literally. The texts were checked on the island by natives and now are stored in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum. In the English versions presented here, I have tried to follow exactly the original, cutting only the unnecessary repetitions that delight native audiences. I am confident that I gathered all the extant folklore of the island, for at the end of my sojourn natives confessed that they had no more tales to add to my collection. I have no reason to doubt their statement since they always showed real eagerness to help me record the ancient traditions. That I should transcribe the native text was for them a guarantee that their folklore would be preserved forever.

THE CYCLE OF URE-A-VAI-A-NUHE

ORIGIN OF THE BONE FISHHOOKS

Formerly people fished with stone hooks. But the fish did not bite and they could 539
catch neither tuna, nor the *pei* fish, nor any other kind of fish. They came ashore with nothing and they gave the children the *ature* fish that they caught in their nets.

One night, when he was asleep, Ure dreamed that his soul went to the house of Tirakoka. He entered and saw a composite hook that was hanging there. The soul of Ure-a-vai-a-nuhe looked attentively at the hook. He saw also a very small hook and a stone hook which were hanging in the house. The soul returned to the body. When day broke, Ure took human bones and carved a fine hook out of them. Then he asked another man for a stone hook. Ure said, "Let's go fishing tomorrow and I shall catch tuna fish if I go with you." The people said, "It will be a good thing if you catch tuna fish." Ure finished the hook, and the next day went to the beach carrying a line in a basket. He went to Hanga-piko. He took stones for his line and he wound the line round the stone. He and another man arrived with their canoe at the place called Haka-nononga. Ure shook the seaweed to spread the mollusks which are the bait for the *ature*. Then he paddled his boat to the place called Haka-kainga. There he and his helper caught *ature* with their net. When the boat was filled with *ature*, they returned to the place called Haka-nononga. Ure threw the hook while the owner of the boat held it with the paddle. A tuna fish bit the hook and Ure pulled it out. The man who was with him asked, "With what have you caught this fish?" Ure answered, "With a stone fishhook." The man kept silent. Another canoe arrived, for the people had seen Ure pulling out a tuna fish. They came to inquire, "With what have you caught this fish?" "With a stone hook," answered Ure. For the second time a tuna fish bit the hook, and Ure pulled it out. The fishermen saw it and they returned to ask again, "What do you put at the end of your line?" Ure lied for the third time, "With a stone fishhook." Actually he was fishing with his bone fishhook. Once again a tuna bit his hook. Then all the canoes came. They seized Ure's line and pulled it out. They removed the hook and examined it: it was a hook of human bone. A canoe came near Ure's boat and the men hit him on the head with a paddle. They broke his head and Ure was very sick.

THE STORY OF URE

539 Ure came from the house of his father to the beach and climbed a *miro* tree. He stayed on the tree where he fell asleep. His father Vai-a-nuhe was looking for him. When he found him on the tree he brought him food and returned. Ure remained all night long singing:

E Ure-a-vai-a-nuhe,	O Ure-a-vai-a-nuhe,
Ku tikea te aha, te rakutia,	They saw your mouth, your hands,
Maikuku, memea oou,	Your nails, your red nails,
E Ure e, te repa e.	O Ure, the young man.

Two female spirits came at night intending to kidnap Ure. The spirits broke two branches of the tree on which Ure-a-vai-a-nuhe was lying. He climbed higher and continued to sing his song.

There were only eight branches on which Ure-a-vai-a-nuhe could sleep. Each night the spirits broke one. The people heard his song and when there were only two branches left they went to tell Vai-a-nuhe. "Go there lest your son will be caught by the spirits. There are only two branches left before they catch him." Vai-a-nuhe the father left and arrived near the limbless tree. Ure-a-vai-a-nuhe was still singing. His father took him back to his home where the spirits could not kill him.

Ure lived with his father for awhile, but again he disappeared. He hid himself in a hole at Hanga-piko. He stayed in the hole singing:

Ua mata tahi	A single drop of rain
Uka Akoa	Girl Akoa
Ua mata rua	A second drop of rain
Uka Akoa	Girl Akoa
Ua mata toru	A third drop of rain
Uka Akoa	Girl Akoa.

He sang in that way for hours and days. The people told the father, "Ure makes lots of noise." The father answered, "He is my son, he became insane for no reason."

Ure left the hole and went to Vai-rapa. Later he climbed the volcano. He looked around and saw banana trees. He plucked a bunch of bananas. The owner of the bananas saw that a bunch had been cut. He asked the banana tree, "Who cut you?" The tree answered, "A handsome little man cut me." The owner of the bananas looked for Ure and found him. He shut him in his hut. An orphan reared by this man saw that the owner of the bananas was preparing an earth oven to cook Ure. He said to Ure, "You are going to die; they make an earth oven for you." Ure said, "He should not kill me if he wants bulrushes in this lake." The orphan went to see the owner of the bananas and told him about his conversation. This man asked, "Why did he say that?" The orphan said, "I told him that he was going to die and that the earth oven was for him. He answered that if he was killed you could not get bulrushes in this volcano." The man said, "All right, get a white fowl." The orphan took a white fowl, opened, cleaned, and roasted it and brought the intestines to Ure. He cooked food in the earth oven and brought chicken and sweet potatoes to Ure. Ure went to sleep, but in the middle of the night, he went to Anakena. There he took bulrushes and cut them into three pieces. He planted the upper extremities in the Rano-aroi, the stem in the Rano-raraku, and the lower part in the Rano-kao. That very night he planted bulrushes in all the crater lakes. The master of the lake heard at night the roaring of the bulrushes. He said, "At last the lake makes a noise." In the morning he saw the bulrushes and was very pleased.

Ure went to Vai-ro. There he stayed in the water in the form of a hook. An old woman who had come to draw water saw this hook. She took it to her house where she kept it for her husband. Together they admired the hook and put it in safety in a calabash. While the woman was gone to prepare an earth oven, Ure emerged from the calabash. When the man and his wife returned, they found him, and the man asked, "Where does this young man come from?" Ure left.

He was no more a hook but a man. He arrived at Paka-a-tai. There he changed himself into a high and beautiful turmeric plant which everybody admired. The people said, "Look, Ure again made magic." One day some men dug out the turmeric and cut the root. The plant cried, "Ay, ay." They dug deeper and cut the root. The people said, "This is Ure making magic." Ure left and went to the house of his father at Paka-a-tai.

URE-A-OHO-VEHI AND THE TWO SPIRITS

Ure-a-oho-vehi lived at Apina-nui with his wife and his boy, Ure, who was a handsome young man. One day, two female spirits called Kavakava-aro and Kavakava-atua came from Poike to the house of Ure at Apina-nui. The two spirits entered the house and saluted the young man. He greeted them. The two spirits said, "We are going to louse you." The young man said, "All right." The spirits loused him and Ure fell asleep. The spirits went out and made a big noise in order to see whether he was sleeping heavily. One spirit entered the house again, covered Ure with tapa and wrapped him in the mat on which he was sleeping. Then they flew with him to Mount Parehe where they put him in a cave. Ure was still sleeping soundly and did not awaken.

The two women went to a foreign country to look for a poisonous substance called *ioio-rangi*. A black crab climbed the mountain and awoke Ure, "Wake up. You are in another region. You have been kidnapped by the spirits Kavakava-aro and Kavakava-atua. They brought you to this place. Look, they went to get a bad stuff called *ioio-rangi* for you to eat. Do not eat it because you will die. When they give you this substance throw it to me. I am going to take it. Stay there, I shall come back with a chicken from the oven." The black crab left; she was an old woman Pikea-uri (Black-crab).

Pikea-uri arrived at her home and lighted the earth oven. She caught a chicken, plucked, and cleaned it. She cooked it in an earth oven with sweet potatoes. Then she hurried with the food to the cave, for the spirits were about to come back. When she arrived at the cave with her basket, she said, "Eat this food. Fill your stomach before these bad beings come back. Be filled up when they come. Keep some chicken meat for the moment when they give you the poison. When these bad spirits turn their eyes away, throw the poison below where I shall be concealed." The old woman then returned home. The spirits passed by and shouted, "Heh, bad old woman, Black-crab, did you open our mat?" The spirits arrived at the cave of Ure and untied the mat. They gave him the poison, but Ure ate the chicken meat. The spirits said, "He ate it."

"Eh, young woman, he has eaten it." When they turned their faces Ure took the poison and threw it to the old woman. The spirits saw that he did not die and said, "The old woman has opened the mat. That is the reason Ure is not dead." The spirits shouted to the old woman, "We are going to kill you."

The spirits went down to kill the old woman. She fled into a hole below a stone and there remained hidden. The spirits began to dig with a stick. When digging they asked, "Is this hurting you?" The old woman said, "Not at all. It does not hurt me at all." Again the spirits said, "Your legs are cut." The old woman answered, "No, my legs are not cut." The spirits asked, "Isn't your head off?" The old woman said, "Not at all." The spirits became tired and returned to their country abroad.

The old woman, Black-crab, stayed to take care of Ure. One day a boat went out to fish *aturе* as a bait for tuna fish. Ure saw the boat and chanted:

Ure-a-oho-vehi nui.	Ure-a-oho-vehi the big one.
Ana oti tooku matua, e roa marengo,	My father is bald,
E kai tangata mo hatu oou.	He eats people for his ceremonial earth oven.
E Ure e, te repa e.	O Ure, the young man.

Ure chanted again:

Ka hau, e ka hau.	May the wind blow, may the wind blow.
Ngache, ka hau,	May the wind sing,
Te nukunuku Kavakava-aro, Kavakava-atua, kakokâko	The kinky hair of the spirits Kavakava-aro, Kavakava-atua, search
Ure-a-oho-vehi hiki hahove	Ure-a-oho-vehi is dancing outside,
Ure-a-oho-vehi nui	Ure-a-oho-vehi the big one
Ana oti, tooku matua, e roa marengo	It is finished, my father is bald,
E kai tangata mo hatu oou,	He eats people for his ceremonial oven,
E Ure e, te repa e.	O Ure, the young man.

Ure used to chant this every time the canoe went to sea. The people in the canoe heard him.

The father of Ure had put a tapu on the land on account of his son. No earth oven was lighted, no fire was built; no man, no woman and no child played in Apina-nui.

One day those who had heard the chant of Ure went off in their canoes. They went to Rano-kao and descended into the crater to get the moss used in caulking. On their way back they passed through Apina. A woman said to Ure, the father, "There come two men." He said, "Let them come." The woman remarked, "But this place is tapu on account of the child." The father said, "It does not matter. Let them come." The two men arrived and saluted Ure. Ure gathered wood for his earth oven, and cooked in it fowls and sweet potatoes. Then he joined the two men in the house. The men said, "We are here to tell you that we heard this chant every day in our canoes." They repeated the chant of Ure, the son. The father of Ure cried. The two men said, "We are going to Mahatua tomorrow so you can see. Cover your bald head, so that the young man will not jump." The three men arrived at Mahatua where they stayed to collect seaweed. Afterwards they went to sleep. They left the following day. They paddled to a place called Haka-kainga. The two men said to the father of Ure, "Cover your bald head so that your relative will not jump." Ure saw the canoe. He chanted his usual song.

The canoe went back to the shore and Ure the father took leave of these men. He went back to Apina where he gathered fish, eels, and octopuses. He prepared a big feast to which he invited many people. They came to share in the banquet and to help him afterwards. They carried to Mount Parehe the bundles of food and the cords of fishing net. There Ure distributed the fish, the crayfish, the eels, and the octopuses to everybody.

An ugly girl called Anga-ihu-more-apu-a-puakatiki came and received a bundle of fish, eels, and tuna. This ugly girl said, "It is a dirty thing, for this reason we are not going to eat it." They all ate. Then they tied cords to the net. The girl of Puakatiki went into the net and they lowered her to the cave where Ure was. They cried to Ure, "Roll your mat, roll your tapa, put them into the net and you enter it so that we may lift you." He rolled the mat and the tapa; he put them into the net, and then entered the net himself. The Puakatiki girl shouted, "Lift up." The people above the cliff lifted her up. They arrived at the top. The father was very pleased that his son had come back and they returned together to Apina-nui.

TUU-KO-IHU AND THE TAPA CLOAK

A war party of Tupa-hotu, Marama, and Hotu-iti marched against the Miru of Ahu-te-peu and Vai-mata. They arrived at Kahurea where a battle was fought. A man of Hanga-te-tenga appeared wrapped in a stained tapa cloak. The Miru warriors noticed the cloak and wanted it, for it was a sumptuous garment. At night the Tupa-hotu returned to their district and the Miru to Ahu-te-peu. There they spent the evening discussing the beautiful tapa cloak. They were overheard by a servant of Tuu-ko-ihu who reported the conversation to his master. Tuu-ko-ihu said, "This thing will come to me."

After daybreak the Miru warriors marched against the Tupa-hotu and the Ureohei. Another battle was fought. The owner of the cloak stained with turmeric was there fighting. Suddenly his cloak was torn from his neck and flew over his head. He said, "Cloak, go straight ahead." The warriors saw the flying mantle and shouted, "The cloak is flying, it is gone in the air, it is gone." The owner repeated, "Cloak, go straight ahead."

The cloak flew through the air and finally arrived at Ahu-te-peu. It paused over the little and the long ahus near Tuu-ko-ihu's house. From inside his hut Tuu-ko-ihu cried to his servant, "Go fetch my mantle that slid over the little and the long ahus." The servant found the cloak and brought it back to Tuu-ko-ihu.

THE LIZARD WOMAN AND THE GANNET WOMAN

(The origin of tattooing)

The lizard woman and the gannet woman came from their house at Hakarava and went to the bay of Hanga-takaure. The lizard woman asked, "What is the name of this ahu?" "It is Hanga-takaure, the name of this land," answered the gannet woman. "What is Hanga-takaure to myself and to two beautiful women, the lizard woman and the gannet woman?"[illegible] They continued along the south coast and at each settlement the elder sister, the lizard woman, asked her younger sister, the gannet woman, for the name of the place. When she had been told she always replied, "What is this place to myself, and to two beautiful girls, the lizard woman and the gannet woman?"

The two sisters dived into the water and swam to Motu-nui. They stayed there and slept with the young men Heru and Patu. They became pregnant, gave birth to children, and reared them until they were grown. These two women were tattooed on the thighs, the cheek bones, the throat, the lips, the fore arms, the jaws, and marked with circles on the buttocks.

The husbands went to Poike on the main island and slept with two other women who became pregnant and gave birth to children. The husbands returned to Motu-nui.

The children of the lizard woman and the gannet woman had been tattooed on the legs and the jaws. They went to the main island and arrived at Orongo. The older one jumped on a stone of usual size and shouted, "Look at me, brother, as the red new moon." The younger one sprang on a small stone and said, "Look at me like the round moon." They went to Vinapu, to Maherenga, and to Papa-tangaroa-hiro in search of surf-riding. Finally at Otuu they saw men, women, and children watching the surf-riders and the breaking waves. The young men asked the people for surf boards and went out to where the waves were breaking. A big wave reached its peak, then came a flat wave; the young men were carried on the waves and landed on shore. The people shouted, "The surf-riders have landed!" The young men returned the boards to their owners. They went away and bathed in fresh water, then sat by a rock.

Two boys went to a well and drew water. The young men, sons of the lizard woman and the gannet woman, made a spell and broke their calabashes. "Why have you broken our calabashes?" asked the boys. "We don't know. Who are you?" asked the young men. "We are the sons of Heru and Patu," replied the young men. "How could you be sons of Heru and Patu, you are crabs, crayfish, and octopuses." The two men told their

---

[illegible] The questions and the answers of the girls are presented in the form of a chant in which are enumerated all the ahus of the south coast. Since this list may be useful, I reproduce it here:

He ui hakahou a vie Moko: "Ko ai te ingoa o te ahu nei?
Ko Hanga-nui no na ko te kainga."
He ki a vie Moko: "A hara ka Hanga-nui no mai kia au, ki te uka maitaki ko vie Moko, ko vie Kena."

He oho ki Vai-takiho, Hanga-tuuhata, Tama, Te Haangai, Hanga-maihiku, Kiri, Hana-te-tenga, Rungavae, Ahu-mahiha, Oroi, Opiri, Akahanga, Eu, Motu-o-papa, Ana-onero, Huareva, Koekoe, Puku-auke, Pakeie, Rumotu, Hanga-tee, Tarakiu, Tahu, Motu-roa, Hanga-paukura, Papa-tangaroa-hiro, Hanga-hahave, Moai-a-umu, Ahu-meamea, Vinapu, Vai-a-tare, Ahu-rikiriki, Orongo.

father what the young men had said, and the fathr said, "Go and fetch these young men." The two ugly men went to get the young men and together they went to the house of the father. The two young men went into another house where there were two girls. They stayed there and were fed chicken, sweet potatoes, and fish by the father. They seized the girls to sleep with them but the girls did not want that. In the morning the girls saw how beautiful the two young men were and fell in love with them. They seized them and pulled them about, but the young men did not want them. So the young men left and went toward Hanga-nui. The girls followed them to Orohie, to Maio, to Papa-haka-heruru. The young men arrived at Vaikaranga and entered a long feast house for boys and girls. Inside were ugly girls called Angu, who were jealous when *they saw the good-looking girls called Hangu*-arai, and decided to deceive them. All the girls went to the shore to bathe. The ugly *Angu* said, "Let us go to the rocks and jump." The Hangu-arai girls replied, "You jump first and we shall jump after you." One of the Angu jumped. "May she sleep on the rock," said the Hangu-arai. The other ugly Angu said, "She is dead." "No she is just asleep," said the Hangu-arai, "You jump and be finished." The other Angu jumped and died. The Hangu-arai then returned to their husbands, Heru and Patu.

The two mothers stayed on the island. One day the elder went to a heap of rock called Rangi-manu and shouted to the sea, "You Vivivivi and Vaovao come and tear me to pieces." They came and lacerated her and she died. Then the younger sister did the same thing. The tale is finished.

The Bad Spirit Raerae-hou and the Good Spirit Matamata-pea

There were two spirits called Raerae-hou and Matamata-pea. Matamata-pea went to Marotiri and stayed in the house on the island. Raerae-hou went to Hanga-piko where tuna fish were being landed. He asked for an *ature* which was given to him spitted on a stick. On his way back he met a girl, Toi, who asked him to give her the fish. He said, "I shall give it to you over there." The girl thought that he was a real man and went with him to the place where he had promised to give her the fish. She said again, "Give me the fish." The spirit answered, "I am going to give it to you over there." They went on together. At Vinapu, Toi demanded again, "Eh, man, give me that fish." "No, I am going to give it to you over there. Come to the place where I shall give it to you."

They stopped at Hanga-hahave, Hanga-paukura, Hanga-tee, Huareva, Akahanga, Rungavae, Hanga-tetenga, Hanga-maihiku, Hanga-tuuhata, Mata-uri. Every time the girl asked for the fish she received the same answer.

They arrived at Tonga-riki, where the spirit said, "The place where I shall give the fish to you is near. I shall give it to you on the island of Marotiri." They passed Otuu, Ruapu, Papata-mahahine, Voro, Pu. They swam together to Marotiri and climbed to the top.

Raerae-hou said, "Come into the house. I shall heat the earth oven for the fish. The girl entered the house. The spirit Matamata-pea saw her and asked, "Who brought you here?" "A man," she answered. Matamata-pea said, "He is not a man, he is a demon, like me.". Matamata-pea saw the earth oven being lit for the girl. He asked, "Is it your earth oven? Who told you to come here?" "I asked for the fish," said the girl. Matamata-pea repeated, "He is not a man, but a spirit like me. If black smoke rises, don't go, if white smoke rises go out. I shall help you. In Rano-raraku there is a hole open for you. When you get in it, lie on your stomach and conceal yourself below, so that you will not be seen lest you be killed." The girl saw white smoke rising from the earth oven. The spirit said, "Go out, go." The girl left, carried by the smoke. She landed on Rano-raraku and crept into the hole called Pumakari. An old woman saw her and asked, "Who are you? Have you eaten? Have you a belt?" "Here," said the girl. "Throw one end of it to me," ordered the old woman, "So that I may tie sweet potatoes for you to eat." The girl untied her belt and the old woman tied to it sweet potatoes. The girl lifted her belt and found a calabash filled with sweet potatoes. The girl ate them and returned the calabash to the old woman. Then she went to sleep. At dawn the following day, the old woman called again for the belt to be thrown down. Again she tied sweet potatoes that the girl lifted.

Raerae-hou searched for the girl from Mataveri to Hanga-piko, to Vinapu and Vaihu. He finally got tired looking for her. In the meanwhile the girl stayed in her hole fed by the old woman. The girl then left Pumakari and returned to her place. She stayed in a *koro* house at Mataveri. Raerae-hou came to the house. The girl said to the other people, "When he enters, pierce him with your digging sticks; kill him." When the spirit was about to enter the house the people pierced his body with their digging sticks. Raerae-hou ran toward the other door but again he was transfixed with digging sticks. He died and his blood spouted, ran along the rock called Hanga-vai-rapa, and became a shell. The people burned his corpse and reduced it to coal and to ashes. The girl forgot about the incident, for nothing was left of the spirit.

The following year the girl wanted crabs, shellfish, and urchins. The sea was calm, so she went to the shore. There she saw the big shell. She took a stick and lifted the shell. A wave came which took the girl away. She died in the sea and was never seen again.

ORIGIN OF THE TURMERIC

A fragrant wind blew from the Rano-raraku, the perfumed mountain. One day two female spirits came from abroad, attracted by that fragrance. The elder said to the younger, "Let's go and look for the place where this fragrance comes from." "Yes, let us follow the perfumed track," answered the younger one.

They arrived on the island and, following the perfume, they climbed the Rano-aroi. They found there two young men, Hina and Karama, who were working. They exchanged salutations. The young men said, "Pretty girls, come along with us." The girls answered, "Yes, you are good-looking too." Then they asked whence came this fragrance that had reached their country. The young men said, "It comes from us." They stayed there talking and the girls fell in love with them. The young men said, "Return tomorrow." They exchanged salutations again and the spirit girls returned abroad to their homeland.

Hina and Karama had gone to their house where they slept. The girls returned the following day and called on them. They lived with the young men for a while and finally noticed that the perfume came from a mountain called the fragrant mountain, Rano-raraku. They said, "It is from there that the perfume comes. The young men lied to us."

Later the girls abandoned their lovers because they masturbated with stones. They were disgusted and escaped.

TE MOKO-ARANGI-ROA AND THE HELPING SPIRIT

The father took with him his sons, his wife, his sweet potato stems, his yams, his banana shoots, his sugar-cane cuttings, his hens, his cocks, his clothing and his gourds, and went to Mataveri. There his children remembered the youngest boy and said, "A child has been forgotten." The father said, "Leave him there. That is his country." They stayed at Mataveri. The father released the cocks and the hens; and planted his bananas, his sweet potatoes, his sugar cane and his yams.

Moko-arangi-roa (The-face-of-the-long-lizard) remained in Anakena. He planted his bananas, his sweet potatoes, his sugar cane, and his yams. He took two eggs, and buried them in a heap of earth. He built a fire and warmed the heap like a mother hen setting over her eggs. There was not a single hen left at Anakena. These two eggs had been forgotten. Two chickens were hatched from the two eggs, a cock and a hen, which copulated and produced other chickens. Thus Moko-arangi-roa and the spirit who was with him obtained a great many chickens. Moko could not see the face of the demon who was helping him, but only heard his voice. After a certain time the sugar cane, bananas, yams, sweet potatoes and fowl became plentiful.

539 Several years later the two sisters of Moko decided to go to Anakena to eat *patuki* fish, hairy crabs, black crabs, and *tuamingo* fish. They arrived at Anakena and fished. They saw the banana trees, the sugar cane, the yams, the fowl, the sweet potatoes and all these things. They went to pluck bananas and then to the beach to catch *tuamingo* fish. They built a fire to get warm and they cooked the bananas. Moko saw the light of the fire and came with a lance, intending to kill the intruders. He asked, "Who are you?" They answered, "The first Aruturutu and the second Aruturutu." The three wept. Moko ordered, "Put out the fire." The sisters asked, "Who are you?" "I am Moko-arangi-roa." They saw a lizard on his cheek. They put out the fire. Moko said, "If the spirit comes he will kill you. You were saved because I was here." Moko left and plucked some sugar cane and bananas, and gave them to his sisters. They loaded them on their backs and left for the house of their parents in Mataveri. After they had arrived and eaten the sugar cane, they told the story. The father asked, "Who gave you the sugar cane and the bananas?" They said, "Moko-arangi-roa." "Did you really meet your brother?" "We met him."

The spirit said to Moko-arangi-roa, "Pluck bananas and put them in the earth." He buried the bananas in a big ditch where they ripened. They dug out yams and sweet potatoes, broke sugar cane, and tied cocks. They sent a messenger to invite the father to a *koro*. The messenger returned with the father of Moko-arangi-roa. Moko took the bananas, the yams, the sugar cane, and the fowls and gave them to his brothers. They all joined him. When they returned to Mataveri they all cried for him.

RARAKU, THE KILLER OF SPIRITS

All the people had gone to the beach to catch octopuses. Raraku had taken an octopus and bitten its head. He immediately became crazy. He held a rat in his mouth and started to run round the island, with a wooden lizard in his hand.

The spirit Huki-averoroa wanted to kill him but Raraku killed him with his wooden lizard. Then Raraku arrived at Keo. The spirit called Keo appeared to kill him but Raraku struck him with his wooden lizard and Keo died. Another spirit Titeve rose against Raraku, and was killed in the same manner. Moko and three other spirits attacked Raraku but they were killed. Arero (Tongue) rose to kill Raraku and stretched his tongue toward him but he was also knocked down by the wooden lizard of Raraku. Another spirit, Landslide (Emu), rose to kill Raraku: he was also struck by the wooden lizard of Raraku. All the demons were exterminated in this country. Another spirit called to Raraku, "This country is barren of spirits."

Raraku, still running, arrived at Peperenga, then at Ahu-ative. He finally reached Nga-heva-nui. The spirit of that name opened his legs so that Raraku would pass between them. Raraku was not afraid; he passed between the legs of the spirit and lifted him. The spirit fell from the neck of Raraku, though he tried to choke Raraku by pressing his legs together. He finally rolled from the neck of Raraku and was killed with the wooden lizard. This was also the fate of Nga-heva-iti.

The mad Raraku went on running, turning round and round. He arrived finally at the house of his mother. He stayed at her house and ceased biting a rat. Previously nobody went to the places occupied by the spirits, but after Raraku had killed the spirits, the people began to settle there. It was with that intention that Raraku made himself mad. The people were no longer afraid, for they knew that all the spirits had been killed by Raraku.

THE WOMAN WITH THE LONG ARM

Once upon a time there was a woman with a long arm. She had adopted a boy who was given to her by his father. This woman used to catch children with her long arm and eat them. She had eaten all the children of the region except one. The adopted son of the woman of the long arm told this child, "You will be killed. You are the last one." The child said, "Why should she kill me? I am going to catch tuna fish for her."

The adopted child said to the woman with the long arm, "Leave this child. He has said: 'Why should she kill me. I am going to catch tuna fish for her'." The old woman said, "It is true. He won't be killed. Tomorrow we are going to sail in a canoe to catch tuna fish to eat." The child said, "It is good." He arranged everything. At night he said to the adopted boy, "We are going to leave in the morning. You set up a heap of stones."

At dawn the boy loaded the basket and the cords in the canoe. The old woman with the long arm went to the shore and both dragged the canoe to the water and sailed off. The adopted child raised ten cairns. When the canoe was above the place called Haka-nononga, the boy looked toward the shore and saw the cairns. He said to the old woman, "Look, old woman of the long arm, there are many people in front of your house. Can your hand reach them?" The old woman with the long arm said, "From the prow I shall reach them." "Stretch your hand." The old woman stretched her hand. The boy cut it and threw it into the sea. He made for the shore immediately. The old woman of the long arm was dead.

NUNE AND HIS SISTERS

Nune lived concealed in the ahu Hanga-o-honu. His sisters, Hiru-akiru, Manu-aeki, and Topa-hokotahi, used to take food to him. Each day one of the sisters brought *poporo* berries to Nune and then returned to the other sisters.

One day the enemies caught Hiru-akiru and killed her when she was gathering berries. They put her in an oven, cooked her, and ate her. Nune stayed alone and saw that his sister did not come. The following day, Manu-aeki came. He asked, "Where is my sister? She did not come." "She is dead," said the sister, "they killed her." Manu-aeki left and went to gather *poporo* berries for Nune. Three days later she was also taken by the enemies who asked, "Where is Nune?" She said, "I do not know." "If you tell us we shall not kill you, but if you don't, we will kill you." She said, "I do not know." They killed her. Nune again wondered why she did not come with the *poporo* berries. He thought that she might be dead. He cried, "She is dead, she does not come. Alas, my sister of the abundant *poporo* berries."

Topa-hokotahi said to herself, "Manu-aeki did not return. She must be dead, it was her end." Topa-hokotahi gathered *poporo* and brought them to Nune. He asked, "Where is my sister?" Topa-hokotahi said, "She is dead." She then returned to the place where she used to hide.

A spirit asked Nune, "E Nune, hapaki te makoi o tau ao?" (Nune, will you spin a top for our victory?) Nune said, "Later on."

The youngest sister went to get *poporo* berries for Nune. The enemies caught her and asked, "Where is Nune?" "I do not know." "For whom are you gathering these things? For Nune?" "No, for myself to eat." "You are lying." "No." They killed her.

Nune saw that his sister did not come. He said to himself, "She is dead." He wept, "Alas, the girls of the abundant *poporo* berries, Hiru-akiru, Manu-aeki and Topa-hokotahi, are dead." The spirit said, "Nune, spin the top of our victory." Nune finished sewing a bark cloth together with the spirit. The spirit asked again, "Is the seam of your cloth sewn? Spin the top of our victory." Nune left the ahu for the first time to put his cloth in the sun to dry. The spirit said again, "Nune, spin the top of our victory." Nune stretched the cloth outside and cried over his sisters, Hiru-akiru, Manu-aeki, and Topa-hokotahi. "I am alone; alas, my sisters, my sisters of the abundant *poporo* berries."

Warriors came to kill Nune. Nune advanced toward them and killed them. He took his cloth to the ahu Vai-a-hare. He put it in the sun. The men came back again. Nune marched toward them with his spirit. Again he attacked them, struck them, and killed them. Nune wept. He folded the tapa cloth and took it to Hua where he stretched it. The people shouted, "Nune is there, Nune is there," and they came to kill him. Nune marched against them with his spirit. He killed his enemies while crying over his sisters.

The Child Changed Into Nanue

539 Two women went at night to catch *tuamingo* fish. One of them had a little boy called Ahina-oioi, whom she took with her. The mother put the child to sleep and went catching *tuamingo* and crabs. While she was away, a spirit called Hiti-kapura came and took the child. He threw him into a pool of water. The child cried:

E nua e, I oti au,	O mother, this is my end,
I te rima o te varua o Hiti-kapura,	I am in the hands of the spirit Hiti-kapura,
O Ura uranga te mahina.	Reflection of the moon.

The two women heard the voice and said, "Listen, you. The child is crying over there." They went to the child. The mother took the child in her arms, but he fainted. She became afraid and put him back into the pool. The child came back to life. The mother wept for the child. The child also wept and lamented (chant repeated).

The tide rose and the place where the two women were crying was washed by the sea. A wave came and took the child away. The child was changed into a red fish. He swam to Marotiri. The two women followed him along the coast. The women arrived at Orongo and the fish at Motu-kaokao. He turned round and round the rock. The two women wept but the fish still turned round and round. The fish finally disappeared below the islet Motu-kaokao. The name of this fish, very good to eat, is *nanue-ahinaoioi*.

The Turtle Veri-pupura-vai-a-pakia

A man called Vini-aika-noho-ne-ananake lived with his son in a house. They had two friends. One day Vini said to his son, "My boy, when I die, you look. A turtle called Veri-pupura-vai-a-pakia is going to land."

The man died and his son put his body on a platform, then deposited it in the ahu Hanga-o-honu. The two friends took care of the child and helped him prepare the funeral of his father. They made for him the ceremonial earth oven (*takapu*).

One night the child had a dream of the turtle Veri-pupura-vai-a-pakia. He told his dream to his friends. One of them said, "Whom are you speaking to, oh boy? You are a liar." The boy said, "It is true. My turtle has landed." The other man made an earth oven in which he cooked a fowl and sweet potatoes. He gave the food to the child.

The following day the child left and went to Mahatua where he planted bananas, yams, and sweet potatoes. The turtle had really landed at Hanga-o-honu. The friend of the father who had laughed at the boy came and saw the turtle. He danced around it and made magic. He cried, "This is my turtle, Veri-pupura-vai-a-pakia." The child, Vini-a-ore-are, heard about the turtle from other people. He took a chicken, gathered sugar cane, loaded them on his back, and went to Hanga-o-honu. There he saw the man who had laughed at him singing over the turtle. Holding a white chicken, he cried, "You man, you are going to die. Do not chant over the turtle. You are going to die." The man fell down dead. Vini stepped on the turtle and cried over it. Afterwards he looked for the man who had made an earth oven for his dream. He heard that this man had made another earth oven. He had cooked a chicken and sweet potatoes which he wrapped in sugar-cane leaves. With his five sons carrying these bundles he went to Hotu-iti and gave the food to Vini-a-ore-are. Vini asked them, "Are you lost?" The man answered, "I came from my place to see the turtle." Vini-a-ore-are gave him the turtle. The man said, "Your turtle will arrive at Omohi." Vini answered, "There you will catch it." Vini-a-ore-are said to his turtle, "My father, you go to the region of Omohi." The turtle swam. The man and his sons went by land, the turtle by sea. The turtle landed at Omohi and its owner gave it as a present to his brother-in-law.

Uho and the Turtle

A young girl, called Uho, went to the beach to sprinkle her bark cloth. She untied the knot of her stained belt and put it aside. After she had returned home with her calabash full of bark cloth she remembered her belt and said, "Alas, I have forgotten my stained belt." She returned to get it but a turtle had stolen it and swum off with it. Uho shouted, "Leave my stained belt." The turtle replied, "I shall leave your stained belt over there." Uho dived into the water and swam after the turtle. She cried, "Little turtle of the red penis, leave my stained belt." "Over there I shall leave your stained belt." She went on swimming after the turtle and arrived at another land. The turtle landed on the beach of this country and so did Uho. There she married a man called Mahuna-te-raa and gave birth to a girl.

Ohu used to complain:

O te henua mata-po-uri oou,	This country of yours is dark,
E Mahuna-te-raa kenu aaku	O Mahuna-te-raa my husband,
E tae pe uta oe tomatou.	It is not like our country.
Henua mata-maeha i te uinga.	On the bright side.
Aue, nua e, aue koro e, aue matua E, aue nga kope.	Alas, my mother, alas, my father, Alas, the boys [her brothers].

Mahuna-te-raa asked, "Why are you crying?" "My eyes are sore with the smoke of the old woman. That is why they are swollen." The husband told his mother, "Decrease the smoke of your earth oven because it irritates the eyes of your daughter-in-law" who taught her child to sing:

E nua e, maea o runga ki raro koe,	O child, when the stones are above, you get below,
Maea o raro ki runga koe,	When the stones are below, you get above,
E kara koe, e uko,	You put on wings, and fly,
E huruhuru koe, e uko,	You put on feathers, and fly,
E ngutu koe, e uko,	You put on a beak, and fly,
E vae koe, e uko.	You put on feet, and fly.

At dawn Uho went to the beach and asked a bird that was passing by, "Come and take me on your back." The bird answered, "You are very heavy." Uho asked the turtle again, "Come, carry me on your back." The turtle said, "You are very heavy." She asked the little turtle again, "Little turtle of the red penis, come and carry me on your back." "With what are you going to pay me?" Uho called "With my vulva." The little turtle with the red penis shouted, "All right." He came to carry Uho and said, "If I dive, hold me firmly, if I go up, go up too, and if I dive, dive also." They arrived in Uho's land. The father of Uho saw her. He shouted, "Woman, do not come. It is a tapu of the girl Uho." Uho cried, "I am Uho." The father went down and asked, "Who are you?" "I am Uho." The father wept and took her to the house where her mother and brothers were. They all cried. Uho stayed with them.

Much later a feast was celebrated at Vinapu. Uho and her parents went there. The daughter of Uho flew from the land of Mahuna-te-raa, who was the husband of Uho. She arrived at Vinapu where her mother was. The people shouted, "There is a bird, there is a bird. Perhaps it belongs to Uho, the young girl." They threw stones at the bird. When the stones passed above it, the bird went down; when the stones passed under it, the bird went up. The men and the women cried to Uho, "Call the bird; it may be yours." Uho cried to the bird, "Here, here." The bird alighted. She shed her feathers. This bird was a person, the very daughter of Uho. All the men and women shouted, "She belongs perhaps to Uho." All the men, women, and children had a good laugh.

The Story of the Octopus Akaverio of Hanga-tee

An urchin and a shell married. The shell became pregnant and gave birth to the octopus, Akaverio. The octopus nursed by his mother grew up.

539 An old widow made an earth oven with the help of her sons. She lit the earth oven and put food into it. The octopus came from the shore, opened the oven and took away all the sweet potatoes. When she returned the old women saw that the earth oven had been opened. She lit another one, put sweet potatoes into it, and hid nearby. The octopus came a second time and again opened the earth oven. The old woman saw him and said, "You are the one who opened my earth oven." The octopus ran away, but the old woman ran after him and struck him with a stick, cutting one of his legs. Then she lit a third earth oven in which she put sweet potatoes. Again the octopus came, opened the earth oven and took the food. When she noticed that the food was gone, the old woman went after the octopus and cut another of his tentacles. This was repeated seven times.

The octopus cried to the old woman, "The next time you come to the beach I shall strike you and kill you." One day, sometime later, when the sea was calm at Hanga-tee the old woman went down to the beach to fish with her child. She did not remember the threat of the octopus. She saw a big shell and a fat urchin. At the moment that she stretched her hand to get them the octopus Akaverio appeared and pushed the old woman into the sea. The shell and the urchin came out and ate the old woman. The octopus cried to the child, "Return ashore, but if you tell bad tales about me I shall kill you too." The child returned to his home and the octopus stayed in the sea.

THE ORIGIN OF THE YAM ONAKU-O-TE-TAKATORE

There was a man called Itua-orunga-kavakava-kioe who lived near the ahu Rikiriki. He planted sweet potatoes and made heaps of soil to plant yams. He also planted bananas and sugar cane.

The following year he dug out the yams. The bird Haa-rongo passed by. The man who was working in the field called the bird, "Are you the bird that can give me the yam Onaku-o-te-takatore?" He went on working with his yams. He made heaps of soil for them and buried the shoots. He finished planting and waited until the next month. The bird, Haa-rongo, saw a man of Tahai digging out the yam Onaku-o-te-takatore. The bird noticed that the eyes of the owner were turned away from the yam. He alighted, grasped the yam, and stuck his beak into it. The wings of the bird made a noise and the owner of the yams heard him. He turned his head and saw the bird running away with the yam. He shouted "Go straight ahead, go straight ahead." The bird flew away and arrived at Poike in front of the house of the first man. At the house he dropped the yam and returned to his country. The yam germinated, the stems were covered with leaves, and it grew. Suddenly the man noticed on the yam the spot pecked by the bird. He said, "The bird Haa-rongo has brought me this."

THE MAGIC FLIGHT

There was a girl called Renga-roiti who lived secluded in a house. Her mother used to wash her, to comb her hair, and to smear her face with turmeric every day. One day a young man, Repa-a-punga, came up from Mataveri. He saw Renga-roiti who was very pretty, entered her house, and talked to her. Both fell in love and when the young man left they had already decided to marry.

Renga-roiti called on Repa-a-punga in his house and he accompanied the girl home. The mother had gone to the field to dig sweet potatoes. The young people slept together. When the mother came back, she lighted an earth oven and roasted sweet potatoes for her daughter. She shouted to the girl, "Come to be washed." "I am already washed." "Come to be loused." "I have already been loused." "Come to be smeared with red ochre." "I have already been smeared with red ochre." "Come to have your clitoris stretched." "My clitoris has already been stretched." The mother put sweet potatoes into the earth oven and when they were cooked she took them out and put them at the entrance of Renga-roiti's hut. She went to sleep. Repa-a-punga went back at night to the house of the girl. He said, "Let us go down to my house." The girl said, "Before we go, bring me seven bunches of bananas." He brought the banana bunches and the girl stood them against the wall opposite the door. She said to them, "If my mother asks you, 'Come to be loused,' say, 'I have already been loused.' If she asks, 'Come to be washed,' say 'I am already washed.' If she says, 'Come to have your face smeared with red earth,' say, 'My face is already smeared with red earth.' If she says, 'O Renga-roiti, come to have your clitoris stretched' say, 'My clitoris is already stretched.'"

Renga-roiti went with her husband to his house where they lived. Renga-roiti became pregnant.

In the meantime the mother called, "Renga, come to take your bath." "No, I have already taken my bath," answered a banana bunch. The mother said again, "Come to be loused." "No, I have already been loused." The mother said again, "Come to be smeared with *kiea*." "No, I am already smeared with my *kiea* (red ochre)." "Come to have your clitoris stretched." "No, it is already extended." These answers were given by the banana bunches.

The following day, the mother lighted the earth oven and put in the food. She put the sweet potatoes into a basket and placed them next to the door. She called her daughter with the same words as the night before and obtained the same answer.

The seventh day she shouted, "Renga-roiti." The last bunch of bananas cried back, "Renga-roiti left a long time ago, she is not here." The mother entered the house, and saw only banana bunches. She grasped a stone pillow and threw it at the banana bunches which ran away as if they were people to the corner of the house. The banana bunches were crushed and the fibers appeared like a net. It was the end of the banana bunches. The mother noticed also that the sweet potatoes she had put into the house had become spoiled. She wept over her daughter.

Renga-roiti was pregnant. The third month of her pregnancy she and her husband made the first earth oven for her child. They cooked chickens, yams, and sweet potatoes. Another little earth oven, called *takapu*, was lighted for the pregnant woman. The food taken from the earth oven was put in a big basket. They said to the servants, "Take this basket out and go up to the mother of the girl, Renga-roiti, and tell her this is the first *takapu* for the child of Renga-a-punga and Renga-roiti. Say this to the mother." The servants took the food and went up to the house of the mother of Renga-roiti. They repeated the words told by the father of Repa-a-punga.

The old woman said, "I thought that your husband, O, my daughter, was bad. Why didn't you tell me that your husband was a good man?" They ate the chicken and the sweet potatoes from the earth oven.

THE KIDNAPPED SOUL

A spirit from Hotu-iti hated a warrior who lived in Hanga-o-honu. He took the warrior's soul and deposited it in an ahu at Hanga-te-tenga in order to kill him. Another spirit called Mehu-o-hanga-o-honu cried to other spirits, "Eh, people, what are you doing, sitting all the time?" He called Ahiva-kararere, Mata-varavara-ahu-rahai, and Paepae-a-tari-vera.[illegible] These three spirits went to Pui. A heavy rain fell, flooding the country. Paepae went down and opened wide his house above Ahiva-kararere. The evil spirit who was watching the soul of the warrior of Hanga-o-honu saw the large drops of rain fall. He ran so that the rain would not drench him. Paepae arrived and the spirit of Hotu-iti went into the house. No demons were left on Hanga-te-tenga. Ahiva-kararere went to the ahu, and dug the soul of the warrior from the grave in which it had been enclosed. The soul sat on the bird, which flew up. Mata-vara-vara saw that the soul of the warrior had been rescued and returned to Hanga-o-honu. The spirits restored the soul to the body of the warrior. Paepae and the other spirits went back to their country.

[illegible] This tale is understandable only if we remember that the three spirits who saved the warrior are incarnated in different objects. Paepae-a-tari-vera is the spirit of a house (*paepae*), Mata-varavara is a drop of rain, and Ahiva-kararere is a bird. Near La Pérouse there is an ahu with petroglyphs that are supposed to represent the bird-spirit and the rain-spirit.

THE FLOATING TREE

539 An old man, named Rano, knowing that his death was near, said to his son, "After I die, wait eight days, then you will see a tree with its roots and its branches." When the father died, the son took him to Tongariki and buried him. Then he caught chickens for the funeral feast (*papaku*). He returned to the ahu and made an earth oven. He brought the food into the hut of his mother and both ate the funeral earth oven.

On the eighth day after his father's death he went at dawn to the cave Ana-havea. He saw the tree stranded on the shore with branches resting on ahu Tongariki. Men had already climbed upon the tree. The young man cried to them, "Men, leave my tree." The men shouted, "This is your tree, little boy; take the tree of the little boy." On saying these words each seized his penis. When the child continued to protest, the men made more obscene gestures.

The boy returned home and took a white chicken, then went back to Ana-havea. The people had not yet started to cut the tree. The child made signs with a white fowl. "Old man," he cried to the tree, "Go, stand up." The tree began to move and to stand up. It finally stopped. The men said to the child, "Boy, don't do that, leave the tree." The boy did not listen to them. He cried again, "Old man, stand up, go." The tree retired and was again afloat. It disappeared over the horizon. The relatives of the child came and said, "Call back the tree for your relatives." The boy said, "All right." The floating tree came back and was washed ashore. That time it stayed and the relatives cut the branches to make statues, dancing paddles, lizards, paddles, and clubs for killing people.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MATAA SPEARS

The father of three brothers, Pukupuku, Nivaniva, and Iti-iti-a-koro-ua-ronga, was dead and the boys were brought up by their mother at Rano-kao. When they were grown the mother died. The boys had an uncle, brother of their father, but he paid little attention to them, for he had twenty children of his own.

Pukupuku, Nivaniva, and the last-born came down from the volcano to Pua-te-ohe-ohe where they rode the surf. Their cousins rode with them, and afterwards they all landed and warmed themselves in the sun. When they were warm, the cousins said to Pukupuku, "Let us fight a sham battle with spears with calabash shell." They tied gourd shells to shafts as if they were obsidian points. On one side there were the three brothers and on the other side the twenty cousins. The party with the numerous boys got angry and attacked with stones; the three boys ran to Manavai and returned home for the night. On the next day the same thing happened, and on the third day Iti-iti-a-koro-ua-ronga stumbled as he was running away and cut his foot on an obsidian splinter. Pukupuku picked up the fragment of obsidian and cut his hand with the sharp edge. "Tomorrow," he said, "we shall kill them." He took fragments of obsidian and went home. He chipped twenty pieces which he tied against shafts. Next morning he took the spears and hid them along the place where they had been chased every day. The three brothers went surf-riding with their cousins, and afterwards had the sham battle. They retreated slowly, pursued by the twenty cousins. As they passed the place where the first spear was concealed they threw it at the first boy, who died. Thus they killed all but one of their cousins.

The father buried his nineteen children, and then took his wife, his last child, and his chickens, and went to Hotu-iti because he was afraid of the three boys. There he made magic to kill his three nephews. But the brothers went to his house; Pukupuku entered and killed his uncle. He said to the young boy, "Do not care any longer for them. Your father is dead. We are your cousins."

RATOKA

The origin of cannibalism is attributed to a giant, Ratoka of the Tupahotu tribe, who had thirty warriors. Every year he waged war against the Miru of the Tuu district and taught the people of this land to eat human flesh. One day Ratoka said to himself, "I eat the Miru but they do not take revenge." He was overheard by somebody who told the Miru, "There is Ratoka who is boasting that he eats the people of the Tuu district because they do not take revenge."

When the Miru heard that, they prepared themselves for a fight. They marched inland and arrived at Hanga-o-honu. They attacked and killed Ratoka and his thirty warriors. They laid Ratoka's body on a rock called Orangi-tahuahua, marking the level of his head and his feet. The Miru returned, and this time, it was the Miru who ate Ratoka.

MOKO

Moko was the father of the boy to whom the people would not give an eel (p. 378). Moko and his wife lived in Urerou, near Hanga-roa. One day Moko's wife desired to call on her parents and brothers. She said to Moko, "I want to call on your father-in-law and your brothers-in-law." She set out with her little girls. She came to a place called Puna-a-kupenga. A shower fell and the woman and her girls looked for a shelter. Two men who had been surf-riding at Papa-orio passed by and saw the woman and the children just in front of the rock of Puna-a-kupenga. They seized and killed them. They put the bodies on the surf boards (*papa*) and went home to Huhatupu in Vaihu. They scorched the corpses, skinned them, and pulled out the nails of the fingers and the toes. They put the corpses near the fire, lit the oven and cooked them. Rain then obliged the two men to take shelter in their house.

An old woman came to take some fire for her own oven, in which she wanted to cook sweet potatoes. When she saw the nails of the children and the mother she picked them up, leaving in a hurry so that nobody could see that she had taken some fire. She went home and lit her oven and put the nails in a calabash which she kept very carefully.

Moko waited for his wife, but the woman and her girls did not appear. After three Sundays, he went to search for them and arrived at the place where they had been killed. He looked at the front of the house to see whether the children were playing, but no one was there. Moko said to himself, "There are no more children since they do not play in front of the house." Moko left Puna-aku-penga-a-poie and came to the house of his wife's parents. He saluted his parents-in-law and asked, "Where are my children?" The mother answered, "They have not arrived." Moko went on, "But they left home three Sundays ago." The father-in-law said, "Anyhow, they have not arrived."

Suddenly Moko caught a rat, bit it and started to run. He was mad. In his rage, he ran round the island three times. Finally he arrived at the house of the old woman who had collected the nails. She shouted, "Stop, alas, my poor child, stop." Moko said, "I am mad, I am mad." The woman repeated, "Stay here, my child, I have my daughter-in-law and my grandchildren." Moko stopped and threw away the rat he had held in his mouth. The old woman said again, "Yes, I am taking care of my daughter-in-law." She took the calabash. Moko opened it, saw the nails and said, "It is true." He saluted, left, and returned to the house of his father-in-law. He said to him, "I found my missing wife and the poor little girls."

Moko and his father-in-law gathered bundles of food, and invited people to help them. They distributed fish, eels, and tuna. Poie was making the lower part of a big net. Moko said to Poie, "When will you catch fish with your net?" "Tomorrow morning." Moko said, "I shall go with you, wait for me." Moko returned and said to those to whom he had distributed fish, eel, and tuna, "Come with me, but do not forget your spears." They all went with him to Aheru. Moko concealed them along the way from Aheru to a place near Vinapu where Piko-ahau-toki was hidden. These men hid during the night but at daybreak most of them left, only three men remaining. Poie arrived with his net. They went into the sea to let out the net. The men who were to let out the net took off their clothes. Poie said to Moko, "When you see that they are closing the leads of the net, do not interfere with me." Moko replied, "You also do not interfere with me." They entered the water and let the net out. They caught a great many *matiro* fish. Moko took the clothes of the men who were fishing at the moment they were about to close in the net. The men saw him and ran to shore to stop Moko who was flying with their clothes. Moko shouted to the men who were concealed, but no voice was heard. He arrived where the last man Piko-o-hau-toki was hidden. Moko asked, "Are you here?" The man answered, "Here I am." Moko said, "Be silent." Moko stopped, threw away the tapa clothes, The men who pursued him arrived. Moko and Piko-o-hau-toki advanced toward them and killed them. Then Moko went to the house of the people who killed his wife and his children. The murderers were building a *koro* house in Hanga-tee when Moko arrived and killed them. Then he returned to his father-in-law's house.

THE REVENGE FOR THE EELS

Moko's wife bore him a boy, Moko-the-child, and later a girl. This first-born son set out and came to a place where he saw a man catching eels with a snare. The child saw a big eel. He exclaimed, "Eh, man, come here and snare for me this big eel." The man did not come but went on fishing until he had plenty of eels. The child kept calling him, "Come and catch my eel." At last the man came and asked, "Where is your eel?" The child said, "Here." He pointed to the place with his finger. The man saw the eel but he touched it with his stick so that the eel swam away and was lost to the child. He did not want to give up the eel. The boy asked, "Why did you drive away my eel?" The man answered, "It is lost, it did not want to be caught. Look, the eel disappeared."

The child went away, but the man concealed himself near the shore. He returned to the water and with his snare caught the eel. The child saw him and came back. "Give me my eel, you killed it. Give it to me." The man refused and walked back home. The child accompanied him. The man arrived at a *koro* house (house for feasts). The child entered too. The man distributed the eels among the people of the *koro* house. They went out to cook them. In the heap the child recognized his eel.

The eels were cooked and taken into the house to be served. The boy asked again for the tail of the eel he had seen. They gave him just the end. The child took the point of the tail and returned to his home. The father asked, "Where do you come from?" "I come from inland. I was at a feast where they gave me only the end of my eel. This eel was mine, I saw it when it appeared. I called a man, but he made it escape. Afterwards he hid himself and got my eel. I asked him again for it, but he did not give it to me. We went together to a *koro* house. They cooked the eels and while they cooked them, I watched mine. They ate it and gave me only the end of the tail." The father took his club and went out. He entered the *koro* when the people were sound asleep because of all the eels they had eaten. He killed all those who had eaten the eels.

THE FIGHT BETWEEN HETEREKI AND TAEREKA

There were 30 brothers and 30 other men of Miru who practiced fighting every day with sham darts tipped with a piece of calabash. There were also 60 men of Tupahotu, under the leadership of Taereka. The teachers in these mock fights were Taereka on one side and Hetereki, son of Rau-nui, on the other. One day Hetereki and his men were pursued by Taereka. They arrived at Maunga Pui but still the men of Taereka were on their trail. Hetereki Rau-nui arrived at Omohi and, with his young brothers (or cousins), swam to the island Motu-tautara. They stayed there while the enemies occupied the opposite shore. Taereka ordered his men to strew banana stumps (*toro-maika*) on the shore so that their adversaries would believe them to be yams. Their aim was to entice the Miru to leave the island and swim to shore. They did swim to shore. Among them was Rau-nui, Hetereki's father. He arrived at a rock near the shore, but he was knocked down by a big stone hurled at him. Hetereki entered the water at a place called Pora and landed on the islet Motu-tautara. He was followed by three men of Taereka who preceded four others. Behind came several groups of two, three, and four men. Hetereki's men on the islet shouted to him, "Hurry up, the men who follow you are climbing the rock, we shall be their victims (*taau ika*)." Hetereki took off his belt which was drenched, and squeezed the water out. At the moment he finished, the men who were behind him appeared on the island. He had just time to hastily put on his belt. He attacked the first three men and killed them. Four others climbed onto the rock, they were also killed, and so were the other groups. Hetereki descended from the rock and, still slaughtering people, returned to the shore. He found that his father was still living. The 60 men of Taereka were slaughtered, but 30 of Hetereki's men were dead. He left the place Ana-o-hoka, near Ahu-te-peu, and returned to the rock.

First they went to see their father Rau-nui. Rau-nui asked them, "Who are you?" "We are your sons." Then the old man asked, "Where is Hetereki?" They said, "Why do you ask, we are here." "I want to see my first-born son and touch his leg." One of the young men held up his leg. Rau-nui seized it in his hands, but the leg was small and Rau-nui noticed this when he measured it with his hands. So he again asked, "Where is Hetereki?" Hetereki was arriving at Ana-o-naho. The other brothers told their father that Hetereki was near. His feet cracked when he walked. The other children said to their father, "Listen to the cracking noise of Hetereki's feet." Rau-nui asked, "Who are you?" "I am Hetereki, son of Rau-nui." Rau-nui lifted his hands to measure his legs, but his hands were not large enough to embrace the leg of Hetereki. Rau-nui cried, "Never shall you be taken in any war you fight, you, Hetereki-of-the-pressed-nose (Kote-ngatu-a-ihu), O Hetereki, son of Rau-nui." Rau-nui died.

Hetereki wailed over his father. Then he said to his brothers, "Go and tell Taereka to take his 60 dead men and bury them. And you bury our 30 warriors who succumbed." The young men went and told Taereka, "You take your men and bury them, I shall do the same with mine." The men of Taereka went to take the bodies and they buried them in the ahu (*he muraki i runga i te ahu*). The men of Hetereki buried the men killed by Taereka.

The Tupahotu people asked Taereka, "How many of our relatives (*hoou*) have been killed by Hetereki?" "Sixty of my men died." "How many did you kill?" "Thirty." A Tupahotuan said, "A great many warriors died for you, it is not the same with Hetereki who lost only a few men."

Some time later, Hetereki again gathered 60 men of Miru. They set out to fight again with the men of Taereka. One day the Miru people joined Hetereki and attacked the Tupahotu, the Ngaure, the Marama, and the Ureoupaea. The warriors of Tupahotu arrived at Hipa. They were about to be defeated when an old woman appeared. She stood on a heap of stones and shouted:

Ka hoki te taua,	The fight starts again[44]
E renga mitimiti,	The agile warriors (?),
Avai e mai varavara.	They are scattered.

---

[44] This chant, included in the tale, was always very popular on Easter Island. It is one of the few collected by Geiseler (87, p. 47) in 1882. Geiseler gives only the native text under the title "War Song." Another version was obtained by Vives Solar (*222*, p. 299) in 1912. I obtained the same chant from two informants. No two of the four versions are identical and all present divergences so great that one may doubt the accuracy of ancient chants preserved in the memory of natives. No informant had the slightest idea of the exact meaning of the chant, and a great many words were unknown to them. The translation given by Vives Solar is a free interpretation of Tepano's hypothetical translation. Commenting upon the chant, Tepano stated that the Tupahotu got sure feet when they walked but that the Miru were never so handicapped.

This chant was introduced in Mangareva in 1873 by Easter Island refugees. The original text recorded on Mangareva is preserved in the Archives of the Sacred Heart in Braine-le-Comte (Belgium). It contains a few verses which are lacking in the Easter Island version, but are apparently of recent introduction.

Mai taki taki	They swarm (?)
Mai takaure	Like flies
Tua te ahu (Tua te huka).	Behind the ahu (On the rearguard).
He hopu mai koe	You shall wash
Kope a Reitanga	Young man of Reitanga
He nana ia mai koe	You look hither at
Taku rima horo pia,	My hand that washes the dirt,
Kope a Reitanga.	Young man of Reitanga.
Te horo, kai tangata	To swallow, to eat a man
Popohanga.	In the morning.
Ka iri, ka oho.	He goes up, he arrives.
Ka hakaheheu i toona vae.	His feet are trembling.
Haamore na anaana	They were wounded
Ia mora i tua mora.	But they will be cured.
Ka iri, ka ngau	He went up, he bit
Toona vae haamore.	His wounded foot.
Aana i tupa ra, i hoa	Then its [blood] was thrown
Roa ki roto ki te pakahera,	Into the big calabash,
i toona toto.	his blood.
Mae tae hakainu hia mai.	But do not drink it.
Opo toto ngao varivari,	The blood of the throat makes soft
Oone Anakena.	The sand of Anakena.

The warriors of Taereka returned to fight and attacked the Miru. They succeeded in driving them to the sea. The men of Hetereki took refuge on the islets and rocks off the coast from Motu-tapu to Motu-tautara. They stayed on Motu-kaokao, on Motu-iti and on Motu-nui, on Arahorenga, and on Ihu. All the rocks and islets were occupied by the men of Hetereki. Meanwhile, the Tupahotu, Ngaure, Marama, and Ureohei killed the men, women, and children of Miru. The Tupahotu settled in Tuu and occupied Mataveri, Orongo, Hanga-piko, Hanga-roa, and Tahai. The men on the islets, who were not captured, killed the Tupahotu who ventured out to sea.

A year passed. A priest called Uruarei of Tuu-tapu went on a hill and there he turned round performing magic rites to help the Tupahotu exterminate the Miru. He kept turning in a circle performing rites.

One day, two Miru, Tema and Pauavaka, swam from Motu-nui and landed at Pu. They came up at Orongo and later descended into the crater. They saw ripe *poporo* fruits and ate them. When they were filled, they climbed up the slope to the edge of the crater and walked to Hanga-roa. They stopped at Pureva-nunui. There on the hill called Tuu-tapu, the priest Uruarei was turning round and round with the hope that the Miru would be exterminated. In the evening the priest went down to the hill Pureva-nunui where Tema and Pauavaka were concealed. He arrived at his house, but still he was turning around, sometimes in front of it, sometimes behind. He got dizzy and fell down. Tema and Pauavaka hit him with a digging stick. Uruarei, priest of Tupahotu, died. Tema cut off his leg and gave it to an old Miru woman who was the cook of Uruarei. Her name was Vai-ko-te-hukane. They ordered her to carry the leg. She carried it on her back and went to Vinapu, where she shouted to the people on the rocks, "I am carrying the leg of Uruarei, killed by Tema and Pauavaka." The people on the islets answered, "How did the club-footed men succeed in landing?" The woman shouted the same words to the people on all the islets. On the islets they ate only seaweed (*auke*). They did not pay any attention to the old woman. The old woman Vai-ko-te-kuhane reached Hanga-roa where she again shouted to the Miru. At last she arrived in front of Motu-tautara and called: "I am Vai-ko-te-kuhane, on my shoulder I carry the leg of Uruarei killed by Tema and Pauavaka." So she shouted. The people on the islet swam to the shore to meet the old woman. She showed them the leg of the priest. They landed and stayed on the shore. The Tupahotu came to attack them but they ran away because their priest Uruarei was dead. The Miru announced their victory to the people on the rocks. "The victory is with the Miru" (*Ao kia Miru*). Tema and Pauavaka remained in Tuu-tapu. All the Miru landed on the shore in front of their islets. They were happy to be again on the land of their country.

PEPE AND HIS WIFE

There was a Miru man called Pepe who lived with a Haumoana wife. He was a warrior and used to eat people of Tupahotu, Hotu-iti, and Marama. His wife was pregnant and bore him a child. The child was quite old when war broke out between the Miru on one side and the Hotu-iti, Marama, and Ngaure on the other. The Miru people hid themselves in caves. Pepe said to his wife, "Look, woman, if you are discovered do not tell my hiding place, then I shall be able to avenge your death and that of your child. Go and find some place to conceal yourself."

The woman and the child climbed the slopes of Rano-kao and hid there. Pepe went alone to Tahai to look for a hiding place. The enemies hunted for them day and night. One day the woman felt the desire to eat *tuamingo* fish. The next day, very early in the morning, she put the child to sleep in a cave at the foot of the volcano, and she went down to the beach behind the cliff. She fished along the shore. The child awakened and started to cry. Warriors heard him and so discovered him. They gathered and remained with the child, waiting for the mother. At dawn the woman came up from the shore. She entered the cave and saw the warriors. The warriors asked where Pepe was. She replied, "I do not know!" The warriors said, "If you show us where he is we shall not kill you, but if you do not, we shall". The woman was afraid and said, "He hid in a hole (*pu*)." "Let us leave," said the warriors, "it is day." They left the volcano and went down to Tahai. The woman showed where her husband was concealed under the sandalwood tree. The warriors went and captured him. The woman remained with her child. Pepe said to the enemies, "You will kill this woman first, then me." The warriors knocked the woman down with their clubs, she fell on her back and her vulva was seen. Pepe said, "Here lies the dirty one, the bad one who denounced me." Pepe then said, "Now kill the child." They clubbed it to death. Then they took a swordfish bone and stabbed Pepe in the throat. They licked the blood from the dagger.

THE THIRSTY WARRIOR AND HIS CAPTIVE

On the island Motu-nui lived two warriors, one was the prisoner of the other. They stayed there for days and for months. One night, while both were sleeping, the captor groaned, went to sleep again, awoke and groaned again. The prisoner heard him groan and asked, "What is the trouble?" The warrior replied, "I am dying of thirst." Then he fell asleep again. The prisoner got up, and, taking a bulrush float, swam to the main island. He landed near Apukoka and climbed up to the volcano. He cut a banana leaf and dried it on a fire to make it unbreakable. Then, walking on the carpet of vegetation over the volcano lake, he took some moss, cleaned it and soaked it in water, then he wrapped it in the banana leaf and tied the bundle firmly. He climbed to Orongo and then walked down the cliff to Pukoka. He took his float and swam back to Motu-nui. He went to the cave where he slept with the warrior and put the bundle near his head. He went to sleep in the other corner of the cave. He again heard the warrior groaning and longing for water. "What are you longing for?" asked the prisoner. "For water." "Let your hand touch near your head, there is your water." The warrior stretched his hand, touched the bundle. He took it and sucked the water from the moss and quenched his thirst. The captor said, "Your life was in danger, but now you are safe." The warrior had intended to kill his captive and to drink his blood. The warrior went to sleep. The prisoner left, he put the float in the water and swam again to the shore. He escaped to the other side of the island because he was afraid that the warrior would kill him.

VICTORY OF TUU FORETOLD

539 A man from Tupahotu went to Ana-o-hoka to ask for wood to make the rafters of his house. The people of Ana-o-hoka gave him the wood. He loaded it on long poles on his back and returned, passing by Te Kauhanga-o-varu. A god saw him and shouted, "Oh, man who carries the long poles, the victory will be with Tuu. I am the god Hikunene-ko-mo-toi-pua." When the man arrived at Vaipu, the god shouted the same thing. The man went home and told the people what the god had said. The Miru conquered the Tupahotu, slaughtering and eating many. A few hid in caves. After ten years the Tupahotu were victorious, attacking and eating the Miru. Their rule also lasted about ten years.

THE MYSTERIOUS PIRATE

There was a man called Tuapoi who built a big boat. When the boat was finished he told the people to get in. The people said, "Let's go in this boat." At night they lifted the canoe and launched it. They took with them stone, soil, and a big calabash with water. During the day they sailed beyond the horizon, but in the evening they returned in silence. They landed the boat near a stone on the beach and concealed themselves looking for men. That night they saw a few whom they murdered. They put the corpses in the boat and went back to the horizon where they cooked and ate them. When they were satiated with human flesh they fell asleep leaving the boat adrift. The people of the island noticed that several persons had disappeared. They asked, "Who might have taken them away?"

The canoe of Tuapoi landed another night at Ahu-a-reva. The men of the canoe pursued some women fishing there and killed them. Then they captured and killed the people who were above Puhinga. The canoe went off toward the horizon to cook all these corpses. People again wondered why so many men disappeared and why so many women were not seen again.

Another night the canoe landed at Mahatua and the men killed people of that place. Again the canoe went back to the horizon. The following night it went to Hanga-o-homu. The same thing happened at Anakena and Papa-te-kena. People on the land were more and more afraid on account of the disappearance of so many people. They said, "Let us keep awake to see what causes the disappearance of so many women and men." The men kept watch along the shoreline and did not sleep at night.

The canoe landed at Ana-onero, but the Marama people were on the alert and saw its outline and the people who landed on the beach. They attacked and captured them. They said, "It is on account of you that so many men and women disappeared. They were killed and eaten by you." They killed all the men of Tuapoi. They beached the canoe and shouted, "The boat which has been stealing men and women is taken. We are no longer afraid." At dawn they examined the boat. They saw the stones, the soil, and the grass for the earth oven and the calabash for the water.

MATAKAROA

Matakaroa, a member of the Miru lineage, lived at Anakena with his wife and two children. One of his sisters-in-law was married to a Tupa-hotu of Rano-raraku. The Tupa-hotu and Marama started a war against the Miru and slaughtered many of them. Those who escaped hid in caves, but the warriors of Marama and Tupa-hotu were looking for them.

Matakaroa hid alone and went to the house of his sister near Rano-raraku. Later Matakaroa's wife went to the house of the same woman and said, "Take my daughter. I shall go with my son, but you take care of my daughter." Seeing men with feather circlets on their heads, she hastened her steps and arrived at a place called Kumaeangaroa, near Rano-raraku. The pursuers came closer and closer and were about to seize

539

her, when the spirit Rua-haua shouted "People, what are you doing? What is the matter with you?" The warriors stopped and the woman hurried away with her boy.

The woman went down to the crater lake where she met her husband. He asked, "Where is the child?" "He is here." She left the boy with his father and went in search of her daughter whom she had left with her sister. But the girl had been murdered by the sister soon after Matakaroa had left. When the mother arrived, she asked, "Where is my daughter?" The brother-in-law cried, and said: "This bad woman has killed her." Matakaroa's wife took the dead child and returned to the volcano.

One year later the Miru, the Raa, and the Hamea, led by Matakaroa, attacked the Marama, the Tupa-hotu, and the Ngaure. The Marama and Tupa-hotu sought refuge in caves but the Miru searched all these refuges and exterminated all they could find.

THE NGA-RUTI BROTHERS

Once upon a time there were six brothers called Nga-ruti-matakeva. They went to Mataveri and then to Hanga-piko where a canoe filled with tuna fish was landing. One of the Nga-ruti asked for a big tuna which he had seen in the canoe. He finally took it and ran away. The owner of the fish shouted: "Leave that fish here." The thief cried, "I shall leave it over there," and went on running. He gave the fish to another brother, who passed it to a third one, and this to the fourth. The others stayed behind to face the pursuers. A Nga-ruti struck one of the men who was after him and the other brothers joined in the fight. They had gathered stones and obsidian spears. There was a regular battle, but on the Nga-ruti side there were only five men and on the other a great many. At a place called Pipihereko the pursuing party returned and the Nga-ruti cooked and ate their fish.

One day after this fight, the six Nga-ruti went to the volcano and descended into the crater. They looked around and saw a man called the Son-of-the-Rano-kao. The first Nga-ruti marched toward him holding a rope to throw round the neck of Son-of-the-Rano-kao. He went slowly but this was of no avail because his joints were cracking. He passed the rope to the second but the same thing happened again. Three other brothers were in the same condition. Finally they gave the rope to the youngest. He said, "My brothers, you have no strength. I shall kill the old man." He marched with the rope in his hands while Son-of-the-Rano-kao was planting bananas in the crater. The young Nga-ruti hurled the cord around his neck. Then calling the other boys, he said, "Drag the body of our old man." The older brothers tugged at Son-of-the-Rano-kao.

They dug a big earth oven in which they put his body, but they were on the alert for a war party. They took the food out and wrapped it into parcels. When they finished they were surrounded by the enemies. They climbed to the top of the volcano, but there was no way of escape. They left one of their number to watch the food while the other five cleared the way with stones. Then they loaded the parcels on their backs and climbed out of the crater. They returned home with the parcels containing the body of the old man.

A larger war party went to kill the Nga-ruti. The six brothers entered a cave. The enemies built a fire to suffocate them with smoke. After a while a man said, "They are certainly dead on account of the fire we made." So they left. But the Nga-ruti were not dead. They had dug a hole in the cave and buried their noses in it, so they were not suffocated. They left the cave and killed their enemies.

THE MURDER OF THE DAUGHTERS OF RAPARANGI

There was a man called Raparangi who married a woman by whom he had two girls. When they were mature these girls married two men from the Marama tribe. They lived with their husbands at a place called Puku-nga-aha-aha, but used to call on their father.

One day they went to Vaiatare to see their parents. After they had exchanged greetings, the father said, "Go to sleep and return to your home tomorrow. I am going with your mother to fish *tuamingo*. I want to use it as a bait for crayfish." The girls said, "All right." That night when they were asleep, their parents caught an abundance of crayfish, conger eels, eels, and *tuamingo*. They returned from the beach and gave all that food to their daughters. At dawn the mother lit the earth oven and the father went to get banana and sugar-cane leaves. The girls helped their parents, wrapped the fish and the eels into bundles, and put them in the oven. Then they opened the earth oven and stretched out the fish on a mat. At that time Tua and Poike came; Raparangi and his daughters received them and gave them fish and sweet potatoes.

The girls made bundles of the food that they had not eaten. The older took the food and loaded it on her back. They took leave of their parents and brothers. They left and arrived at Vai-tea. When they had set out from their parents' house the two men were still eating, but the older sister saw that now they had almost overtaken them. She said to her younger sister, "When these men reach us, do not die. I am going to die. Even if your intestines are pulled out, my sister, it does not matter. Keep your breath so that we may have our revenge and cause the death of these men. Then you can die." The two men, Tua and Poike, caught the older girl who scratched their faces, but they stabbed her. They turned then to the younger sister. They struck her and cut her abdomen so that her intestines were pulled out. The girls were murdered near the house of their husbands at Puku-nga-aha-aha. The men took the food of Raparangi that the girls had been carrying and loaded it on their backs. Both men had a feather headdress made of *kiakia* feathers. When the younger girl saw that they were gone, she raised herself, took the intestines which had been pulled out and put them back into her abdomen. She wrapped her waist in a cloak and tied it firmly around her abdomen with the cord that she had used in carrying the food. Crawling, she arrived near the house of her husband. She lifted her hand and made signs.

A young man saw her signs and said to the husband, "Some one is making signs over there." The other man said, "Look attentively. Go out to a higher place and look." He went out and saw the fallen body. His wife said to him, "Make a stretcher, go and pick up my sister. Call the people now to carry our stretchers. Take us back to my father Raparangi immediately." The husband went to make stretchers. He called more people who lifted up the older sister and placed her next to the younger one. They carried them to Vaiatare at Hanga-o-honu. There they left the stretchers with the dead girl and the other who was still alive. At dawn they called the people from distant parts of the island so that the girl could recognize the murderers. Everybody came, men, women, and children. The younger girl looked at them. She asked, "How many people are left?" They answered, "There are only two persons left in Aitua. She said, "Go and bring them here. Hurry up, do not tarry."

The messengers went to these two men and said, "Come on, come with us, you may have killed these girls." The men arrived at Vaiatare. The girl said to her father, "These are the murderers." With these words she breathed her last. The people killed the two men.

The Revenge of Ure-atoro-humu-kena

A woman who had been visiting at the house of her family returned with a basket full of human flesh which she had received as a present. With the basket on her back she was hurrying to her hut where she had left her son Ure-atoro-humu-kena. She was surprised by an enemy who killed her and took her flesh. Before dying the woman said, "It's too bad for you. Ure-atoro-humu-kena is going to take revenge and will bite your hand." The old woman died and the people who were taking care of Ure-atoro said, "Why doesn't the woman come back home?"

The foster father of Ure-atoro went to catch tuna fish while the boy went to the interior to dig sweet potatoes with other children. They buried the sweet potatoes that they had gathered and all returned home, except Ure-atoro who was lost. Humuhave, the killer, caught him and threw him with his hands and feet tied, into an enclosure for paper mulberry. After this, Humuhave went to gather wood. When he had a full load he returned and threw it into the enclosure and left to get some more. A fly came by Ure-atoro-humu-kena. It buzzed from Ure's head to his feet, and back to the head, and then untied the ropes. Thus Ure-atoro was set free and escaped from the enclosure. He dug the sweet potatoes he had buried and went down to the shore to his foster father. His foster father saw him and asked, "Where did you come from?" "From the interior," answered the boy, "I was caught. Humuhave tied me and threw me into a mulberry enclosure and then went for wood. A fly came, buzzed from my head to my feet and back. He untied the ropes and that is how I am here now." The foster father decided to build a boat to go to Hanga-piko and there live on tuna fish. He was helped by his brothers and his friends. When the canoe was finished he called people to drag it to Hanga-piko. There it was launched by his brothers and friends. The child Ure-atoro was in the prow of the canoe covered with a net and the fishing lines. Even when the canoe was beached the boy stayed in it. He received for his food sweet potatoes and fish. The murderer was searching for Ure-atoro and that is why his father used to take Ure-atoro with him in his canoe and to cover him with seaweed when he was fishing.

One day the foster father took the boy to sleep in the house alone, convinced that the enemies would not take him at ahu Ata-ranga. Ure-atoro left the house to take a walk. The killer saw him and went after him to capture him. Ure concealed himself, then ran to his house. The foster father noticed from his canoe that the murderer was pursuing Ure, but he was not worried about him and was no longer afraid, for he knew that the child was big enough to take care of himself.

The child grew up and the murderer became so afraid of him that he hid in a cave. The people of Tupa-hotu (the murderer belonged to the Tupa-hotu tribe) were defeated by Ure-atoro and remained hidden in caves. Ure-atoro walked through the country satisfied with his victory. He went around the Tupa-hotu district twice one day and then every day. One day he opened the caves of Hanga-te-tenga and there he found the people who had killed his mother. Among them was Humuhave. Ure-atoro bit his hand and swallowed it. He then cried for his mother who had been killed. He said to the warriors, "Kill your victims."

THE REVENGE OF AIO

Once upon a time there was a jealous man called Aio, who used to strike his wife all the time. One day when Aio had gone to a *koro* feast, his wife went fishing and caught *patuki* and *tuamingo* fish. She made an earth oven and cooked the fish.

When Aio came back from the *koro*, she opened the oven and brought the *tuamingo* fish to her husband. He ate until he was satisfied and then fell into a deep sleep. The woman stabbed his stomach with an obsidian spear. The blood flowed, the intestines fell out from the stomach. The woman took her belongings and went to Vaiatare, but she forgot to take her youngest child.

The child stayed in the house, hungry and crying. He crawled toward his dead father and licked the blood. Four days later an old woman saw the rotten body of the man and this child, whose intestines were filled with the corrupted blood of his father, crying and licking the corpse. The old woman took the child and went down to the beach to wash him. She threw him into the sea and forced him to swallow salt water so that he would vomit the rotten stuff he had in his stomach. His intestines finally subsided because there was no more filth within him. The old woman took him to her house. There he remained and was fed with good food. He lived with the old woman ten years.

Years passed and he became an adult. The old woman had given him the name of Aio. The child asked, "Old woman, who is my father?" The old woman answered, "I am your father." "No, tell me who is my father." The old woman said, "Don't you want me to be your father?" "No, I want my own father." The old woman said, "Your father was killed by your own mother. She lives in the direction of the black clouds."

Aio planted bananas, sugar cane, and potatoes and made heaps of soil for yams. When these plants were ripe, he prepared a big feast above the little mountain called the "Mountain of Aio". He plucked sugar cane and bananas and buried them in a big pit to hasten their ripening. He dug out yams and sweet potatoes and caught tuna, *pei* fish, and eels.

He sent a messenger to his mother in the mountain to invite her with his brothers to eat at the *koro* feast. She came with his aunts, uncles, and cousins. Not a single relative, even far apart, was forgotten. When they arrived the earth oven was opened. Aio said, "My mother and I are going to stay outside. You enter the *koro* house and eat." The uncles, aunts, the brothers, the cousins, the distant relatives entered the *koro* hut and ate. Aio cried to his people, "Put in bananas, put in sweet potatoes, put in sugar cane." "The sugar cane in the house is not finished," said the people in the house, "Stop sending more, be moderate, the house is already full." But Aio said to his men, "Press it, make it tight." They pressed the food in the house very tightly. The people in it could hardly breathe. Then Aio said to his men, "Burn the house."

After this, Aio said to his mother, "I am going to take care of you. I made a pile of sugar cane and shall put the load on your back." The mother said, "Aio, put a smaller load." He piled up more and more sugar cane until the woman succumbed under the weight and died. This was Aio's revenge.

THE REVENGE OF HERA-KEKEU-NUI

Hera-kekeu-nui had caught a turtle which he left in a big deep cave. A man admired the turtle, "Big is your turtle, oh, Hera. His body is full of water." Hera killed the man who had uttered this insult. He stayed there and killed all the people who said, "His body is full of water." The turtle was certainly big and for that reason people admired it for days and months, but Hera-kekeu-nui killed them. Finally Hera-kekeu-nui was defeated by Marama and Ureohei.

Hera-kekeu-nui and Hera-kara-kama who belonged to the defeated party took refuge in the house of a man called Hopohopo. Hera-kara-kama and the children of Hopohopo went to dig sweet potatoes, for there was a famine. Hera-kekeu-nui remained alone with the father, Hopohopo.

Hera-kara-kama and the children of Hopohopo arrived at a place where they looked for sweet potato shoots. The young sons of Hopohopo killed Hera-kara-kama and buried him in the ditch from which they had dug out the sweet potatoes. Hera-kekeu-nui looked for his cousin Hera-kara-kama from the top of Mount Kahu-rea. The young sons of Hopohopo returned to their house. The father asked, "Where is your relative, Hera-kara-kama?" The young men lied, saying that he had returned to his place. Hera-kekeu-nui heard the lies and on the next day went back to his place at Omohi. He planted bananas and went out to fish tuna. When he landed, people said that he had caught a great many tuna fish. Hera-kekeu-nui distributed them among the people. The young sons of Hopohopo heard about this. Their father Hopohopo advised them, "Beware, do not hide the things you have heard about the tuna of Hera-kekeu-nui." But the young men did not listen to him. The three went to Omohi where Hera distributed his tuna. Hera killed two of the boys and loaded the tuna on the third saying, "Carry the tuna. The people whom I killed to take revenge for the death of my cousin Hera-kara-kama, have been exterminated. That is why I killed the two young sons of Hopohopo." The father Hopohopo went up to Mount Kahu-rea. He looked for the young men and saw that only one was coming down. He said to himself, "They are dead, for only one is coming."

ENGO

A warrior, named Engo, constantly looked at the bay of Hanga-roa where another man lived with his wife and two children. One night, while everybody was sleeping he entered the other house, a spear in his hands, and cut the throats of the children. The parents awoke and saw that their children were dead. The woman said to her husband, "Who killed our children?" The parents stayed there with the hope of hearing something about the killing of the children, but they learned nothing.

One day the woman lit an earth oven to cook sweet potatoes. At night the husband said to his wife, "Go out to the earth oven, the food must be done. It is late in the evening; night is coming." The woman went out alone and opened the earth oven. Engo came just at that moment and killed her. The woman died in her earth oven. The husband, seeing that his wife did not return with the sweet potatoes, started to shiver without reason. Unable to move, he lay down. He went at dawn to the earth oven to see what had happened. He saw that his wife was dead. He wrapped her up and buried her.

The husband went in search of the murderer. He went from Hanga-roa to Vinapu, and to Hanga-tee, always listening to rumors. He finally arrived at Anakena where lived Ure-a-toro a warrior who was watching prisoners. Engo also lived at this place where one of his daughters gave birth to a child. The daughter of Engo left with her three children. She arrived at Vinapu by the bay called Hanga-te-pau. There she dug a pit among the loose stones and entered it with her three children. She covered the opening with gravel. People walked above this woman and her children causing them pain. One day two men came to catch crayfish and conger eels, entering the water in the direction of Motu-topu. When they had a full basket they returned to the shore where the woman and the three children were concealed. They left the basket containing the crayfish and the conger eels and went to drink at a place called Ite-tahe-te-vae. The daughter of Engo took the basket and hid it under the stones. The owners looked for it everywhere, but could not find it. One of them said, "Our basket of crayfish has been stolen." Then they departed.

The woman took the basket and with her two children left the place. She arrived at Hanga-parera. There she hid her children in a cave and went to Apuha where lived one of her aunts. The husband of this aunt looked at her and asked, "Where are your children?" "In a cave at Hanga-parera." The aunt said, "Go back and fetch your children. Let us all stay here." The woman returned to the cave, took her children, and went back to the house of her aunt.

The father of the murdered children saw the daughter of Engo and went to kill her. But the aunt shouted, "It is all right. If you take away the people protected by a great man, my husband will kill you." The injured man was afraid. He did not take the revenge for the murder of his children and of his wife killed in Hanga-roa.

THE TWO CANNIBALS

Two men were weeding around banana trees for another man. The owner of the field went to fish shark, and left his red cape on a rock. When the two workers were sure he had left, they seized a child to cook as compensation for their labor in weeding grass around the banana trees.

Later the owner of the land looked for his red cape which had disappeared. He finally found it in a cave where it had been pulled by a child. The owner of the field asked, "Who are you?" The child answered, "I came here to get some fire. These two men took me and put me in this cave to eat me." The owner of the field shouted to the two men, "Get out, go away from my land. I don't like cannibals on my land. Get out, leave." He untied the child and said, "Return to your parents."

THE TWO FRIENDS

A man from Marama came to Hanga-tee. There he met Iri-a-hiva-a-te-kena. Together they made an earth oven and ate the food cooked in it. When war broke out, the young man returned to his home, but Iri-a-hiva-a-te-kena joined a war party and fought. When the war was over they met again. They were good friends and were very fond of each other. Another war started. The young man of Marama returned to Hanga-tee, and joined a war party. This war party arrived at Renga-marere. Iri-a-hiva-a-te-kena was also in the battle. The young man of Marama threw his spear and struck Iri-a-hiva-a-te-kena who was wounded. Dying, he cried to the young man of Marama, "It is I, Iri-a-hiva-a-te-kena, called Raparangi-a-te-kena. We ate an earth oven together at Renga-marere. I am Iri-a-hiva-a-te-kena."

THE JEALOUS SISTERS

The people of Vai-mata celebrated a *paina*. People had come from the Rano-raraku, Vinapu, Mataveri, Hanga-piko, Hanga-roa, Tahai, Maherenga, Riu-o-hatu. Nobody was left behind except two young men from Hanga-piko who were very ugly. These men went to Vai-a-repa where they took a bath. When the older finished washing, he had become good looking. He said to the younger, "Dive also." When the younger one came out of the water, the older shouted, "I became better looking in Vai-a-repa." The younger said, "I am going to sneak into the *paina* at Vai-mata."

They arrived at Puku-kainga-meamea at Ainga-o-ueti. It started to rain. They took shelter near some rocks, for they were afraid of the rain. Drops fell down, dripping down their faces. They called this place Vai-turu (Dripping-water). The rain stopped, and the two young men, Kaha-roau-i-Vai-a-repa and Kakoniau, went to the *paina* at Vai-mata. All the crowd admired them and said, "Here are the men, here are the men." Men, women, and handsome girls and boys could not take their eyes away from those two good-looking men.

Two girls, Kaia-takatore and Hauhau-parera, fell in love with them, and their father invited the young men to the *paina*. In the evening the *paina* feast was finished. Everybody went home.

The father-in-law took the two young men to his house at Ure-kupenga. The girls came too and spent the night with the two young men.

The older girl said to her sister, "Let's go to the beach to fish." They went down to a far-away beach. The younger sister said, "I forgot my spear. I am going back to get the spear I forgot." The older girl advised her, "If you go back, take care not to flirt with your brother-in-law." The younger said, "No, I am not going to flirt with him." Arrived at the house, the younger girl took the husband of her sister. She pulled him down, she pulled him up, but the young man did not want this girl. She scratched him on the face, on the body, and everywhere. The blood ran down. The young man finally escaped and concealed himself in the thatch of the house. The young girl left the house and went down to join her older sister. They fished until they had plenty of food, then they returned. The older sister saw the blood. She said, "You have flirted with your brother-in-law, because there is blood here." The other girl denied it. The older girl asked, "Where are you?" A shrill voice was heard from the thatch. The older woman took banana leaves and made a basin out of them to collect the blood which was running into the leaves. She put the blood back into his body. Then she made a bandage of tapa.

The two girls went out and had a fight. They boxed fiercely. The older came back and saw that her husband was well again. She left him and the girls started another fight. They went down and arrived at Vai-uru. They jumped off the cliff and fell into the water. Both died.

THE UGLY MAN WITH A BEAUTIFUL VOICE

Several sisters lived together in a house at Tuapae. One night a man called Paterangi Heikena went to the house where the girls lived. There he started to sing. His voice was wonderful and the girls fell in love with it. Paterangi returned every night, but never during day time. He used to sing from the depth of his throat and very loud. The girls shouted from the inside of the house, "Enter our house so you may sing more softly." The man entered the house where he sang an *a te atua* in a medium voice. The girls fell in love with him and he slept with them. In the morning Paterangi got up and left the house, then nobody saw that he had an ugly face. He used to return at night, but he always left in the morning and stayed in his house the entire day. 539

The following month, the girls said, "When Paterangi Heikena comes and lies down asleep, let us conceal his breechcloth so that he will not be in such a hurry to leave in the morning. Let us hide his breechcloth." At night, Paterangi came and sang with his beautiful voice the song called *ate-atua* or *koro-haka-opo*. Then he closed his eyes and fell asleep. A girl removed his breechcloth and hid it. At dawn Paterangi searched for it, but could not find it. When day came, the girls saw his ugly face. They said, "Oh, girls, this man we fell in love with is not handsome." Paterangi was ashamed that the girls had seen his ugly face. The girls spat at the ugly Paterangi Heikena though his voice was wonderful.

THE GOOD DOCTOR

In a battle a man had been wounded. After one month his intestines, which had been cut, had not healed. An expert doctor heard about this. He pulled out the sinews of a rat's tail. He went to the patient's bedside and noticed that the sweet potatoes he had eaten could not reach his anus. So he cut and threw away the portion of the intestines which were in bad condition. He put the tail of the rat in the place where the pieces had been removed. The man recovered and was healthy again.

TUPETI, THE SUCCESSFUL FARMER

There was a girl called Vai-ira-ranga-a-tino-ngerengere, famous for her beauty. She lived near Ahaha-o-uta. She went to a feast (*koro*) at Ori where she saw a plantation of sugar cane. She asked, "To whom does this sugar cane belong?" Another woman said, "To Tupeti." She then asked, "To whom do these sweet potatoes belong?" "To Tupeti." "To whom do these yams belong?" "To Tupeti." "To whom do these banana trees belong?" "To Tupeti." "To whom do these chickens belong?" "To Tupeti." "To whom does this house belong?" "To Tupeti."

The girl fell immediately in love with this man though he was ugly. She married him on account of all this food and all the good things that he had.

THE BATTLE OF THE ISLANDS

The four islands, Marotiri, Motu-nui, Motu-iti and Motu-kaokao, were all under the village of Orongo. Motu-nui, Motu-iti and Motu-kaokao had a fight with Marotiri and forced it to retreat. That was a hard fight and Marotiri got so tired that it ran away and established itself off Pui, where it remained alone. The three other islands abandoned the pursuit and returned where they are now.

TABLETS

RONGORONGO MEN

The famous wooden tablets of Easter Island, covered with hieroglyphs, are known as *kohau rongorongo*. This has been erroneously translated as "talking" or "intelligent wood", after the original interpretation by Bishop Tepano Jaussen who divided the word *kohau* into two elements (*ko hau*) and interpreted them thus: "It is a *hau* (hibiscus wood) intelligent." The Bishop ignored the fact that *kohau* is a single word meaning stick, staff, the stem of a plant, or the shaft of a lance. The word *rongorongo* is a complement (*te kohau rongorongo*, the stick of the *rongorongo* men), as evidenced

196
212

196 by the use of other substantives to indicate the nature of a particular tablet
212 (*kohau o te ranga, kohau o te pure*).

As already mentioned (p. 137), the chants associated with the tablets were
212 recited by learned men or bards called *tangata rongorongo*. Reading of the tablets or chanting from them was taught in special huts, comparable to the
533 schools of learning (*whare wananga*) of the Maori. At Te Hare-titaha in
872 Anakena I was shown stone curbs which were supposed to be remains of the most famous school for *rongorongo* men. There were similar houses in other districts. The atmosphere and the methods in these houses of learning were described by some informants on the authority of old men now dead. Unfortunately these traditions are colored by details of the missionary school system:

> [346] The school houses were open sheds with thatched roofs. In the morning the children waited outside the house until they were told by the teacher to enter. To the teacher's salute of *maira* they answered *kokoea*. Each student knelt before a flat stone (*maea rango*), which served as a writing desk. The assistant instructor (*te pahu*) counted the children to find out whether any were missing. The teacher started the lesson by reciting
> [524] a prayer from a tablet. Then the children were taught to make string figures, each of which was associated with a chant that they must memorize. There were chants for love, for the dead, for saving people from dying, for addressing noblemen, and for the multiplication of birds and fish.
>
> [824] Banana leaves were used as copy books and on them the pupils practiced the engraving of signs with a sharp bone from the frigate bird (*makohe*). Te Haha said the copy books were sheaths from the banana trunk (194, p. 214).
>
> According to Routledge, Te Haha was taught by King Nga-ara, but Charli Teao, the nephew of Te Haha, told me that his uncle had been trained by Taki, another uncle of Charli. Taki had been taught by Ngangiriva. Te Haha described King Nga-ara as "holding a tablet in one hand and swaying from side to side as he recited. Besides giving instruction, he inspected the candidates prepared by other professors, who were generally their own sons; he looked at their *kohau* and made them read, on which he either passed them, clapping if they did well, or turned them back. Their sponsors were made per-
> [875] sonally responsible. If the pupils acquitted themselves creditably, presents of *kohau* were made to the teachers; if the youth failed, the tablets of the instructor were taken away" (194, p. 245).

527 Besides the annual gathering and chanting by *rongorongo* men at Orongo during the feast of the bird-man, these learned bards met once a year at Ana-
533 kena to chant for the king. People came from all over the island to hear
545 them "read" from the tablets. This public "reading" must be considered as a general contest between *rongorongo* men and a test of the ability of each.
[643 Visitors arrived with *huhu* (sticks with feathers) to which turmeric was tied, as a courtesy to the king. The food to be consumed during the feast was
293] supplied by the king, who was aided by people of neighboring districts. Te Haha described to Routledge (194, pp. 245-246) one such gathering, which he attended in his youth:

> Both King Nga-ara and his son, Kaimako . . . sat on seats made of tablets, and each had a tablet in his hand; they wore feather hats, as did all the professors. The

> *rongorongo* men were arranged in rows, with an alley-way down the center to the Ariki. 527 Some of them had brought with them one tablet only; others as many as four. The old ones read in turn, or sometimes two together, from the places where they stood, but their 533 tablets were not inspected. Te Haha and his comrades stood on the outskirts, and he and one other lad held *maru* in their hands. 545 If a young man failed, he was called up and his errors pointed out; but if an old man did not read well, Nga-ara would beckon to Te Haha, who would go up to the man and take him out by the ear. Our informant repeated this part of the story identically months later, and added that the Ariki would say to the culprit, "Are you not ashamed to be taken out by a child?" the offender's hat was taken away, but the tablet was not inspected.
>
> The entire morning was spent in hearing one half of the men read; there was an interval at midday for a meal, after which the remainder recited, the whole performance lasting till evening. [578] Fights occasionally ensued from people scoffing at those who failed. Nga-ara would then call Te Haha's attention to it, and the boy would go up to the offenders with the *maru* in his hand and look at them, when they would stop and there [626] would be no more noise. When the function was over, the Ariki stood on a platform borne by eight men and addressed the *rongorongo* men on their duties, and doing well, and gave them each a chicken. Another old man, Jotefa, gave a different account of the great assembly, by which the Ariki sat on his stoop and the old men stood before him and prayed; according to this version they either did not bring their tablets or their doing so was voluntary. In addition to the great day, there were minor assemblies at new moon, or the last quarter of the moon, when the *rongorongo* men came to Anakena. The Ariki walked up and down reading the tablets, while the old men stood in a body and looked on.

In conformance with his supervisory duties Nga-ara is said to have traveled 533
round the island and to have stayed for some while with the experts in each 643
district. Routledge (194, p. 246) heard of a man of the south coast who was considered to be "too big a man to have a school." He also went about visiting and inspecting schools.

Tradition states that when Nga-ara died his body was carried to the ahu [766]
on three tablets, followed by the *rongorongo* men. The tablets were buried with him.

The *tangata rongorongo* of Easter Island are better understood when com- 171
pared with those of the Marquesas and of Mangareva. In the Marquesas 533
the *tuhuna o'ono* was "master chanter, tribal bard, or ceremonial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore" (104, p. 145). He was also the teacher of sacred chants and director of chanting at family feasts. The word *o'ono* is the equivalent of *rongo* since in the Marquesan dialect the *r* is dropped and the nasal velar (*ng*) becomes *n*. In the Marquesas there were tests of the *tuhuna o'ono* by other members of the same profession and contests between *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes (104, p. 229). Any *tuhuna* who was judged in error by a majority of the masters gathered was immediately deprived of his title and could never lay claim to it again.

On Mangareva also there was a class of chanters or "intellectuals" who were termed *rongorongo* (*taura rongorongo*). They were not priests, properly speaking, but were responsible for the sacred chants for important

171 533 festivals. They also attended feasts organized by the king or by chiefs to recite genealogies and chants in praise of nobility. They knew and transmitted to their pupils both sacred and profane lore (28, pp. 304-305).

In the Tuamotus the word *rongo* is applied to formal chants about the exploits or feats of a hero, recited by the *tahunga one*. *Rongo* is also the name of a "mourning chant for a deceased hero."

Reciters and chanters are familiar elements in the general pattern of Polynesian culture, but it is significant that it is only in the eastern part of Polynesia that we find the word *rongorongo* associated with a special class of bards.

171 212 533 The tablets of the Easter Island *rongorongo* were often sticks covered with symbols. In this connection it is important to mention that the *rongorongo* of Mangareva beat the measure with staffs (*kohau*) when chanting. In the Marquesas the ceremonial symbol of the *tuhuna o'ono* was a bundle of three *fau* stakes wrapped in cloth (104, p. 230). Maori orators always held clubs (*taiaha*) in their hands, without which they could not deliver a speech.

TABLETS

114 212 The wooden tablets, covered with rows of small figures, are a puzzle to science and constitute the most complicated problem of Easter Island culture. Though many hypotheses have been, or may be, presented to explain their significance, it is probable that the mystery will never be solved, for data are few.

[322] The so-called hieroglyphs or glyphs of the Easter Island script were incised with shark teeth or sharp obsidian flakes on boards, on sticks, and sometimes on wooden images or ornaments. In the Easter Island collection of Bishop Museum there are small obsidian points which may well have been used for this purpose.

Twenty tablets or fragments of tablets, scattered throughout institutions of the world, have been preserved and a corpus of all the known tablets is being prepared by Dr. Alan S. C. Ross.

The most important collection of all Easter Island tablets is preserved in the Museum de la Congrégation des Sacrés Coeurs de Picpus in Braine-le-Comte (Belgium). The four tablets kept there were collected by the first missionaries to Easter Island and were given to Bishop Tepano Jaussen of Tahiti. The largest one, called Tahua or the "Oar" is 90 cm. long and 14 cm. wide and has 1,547 signs. Another, called Aruku-kurenga, is 41 cm. long and 15.5 cm. wide. A third, called Mamari, is 21 cm. by 30 cm. In the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, there are two tablets, only one of which is authentic. The other, 25.5 cm. long and 5.2 cm. wide, is probably a fake. (See 97, p. 101, fig. 1, pl. 10.) The little tablet in the British Museum, 21 cm. long and 7.3 cm. wide (58), is not ancient. The tablet made of apple-tree wood in the Lateran Museum, Rome (6442), is a crude fake. Two tablets in the Museum of Santiago de Chile were taken by the *O'Higgins* in 1870; one of these is 35 cm. long and 12 cm. wide, the other is 45 cm. long and 11.5 cm. wide. Two tablets purchased by Thomson in 1886 are in the National Museum, Washington. One tablet is preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. There are two tablets in the Museum of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. One of these, given by Jaussen in 1871 to the Russian ship *Vitias*, is 62 cm. long and 14 cm. wide and 114 has 11 rows of signs on each face; the other, purchased by N. N. Miklukho-Maklay during the same cruise, is 42 cm. long and 9 cm. wide and has 9 rows of signs on each face (179, 212 p. 425). In Bishop Museum there are two tablets with the signs partly destroyed and a fragment of a tablet (445) collected by Lt. Symonds of the U.S.S. *Mohican*. One tablet is in the collection of Stephen Chauvet, Paris. The tablet called Keiti belonged to the collection of Bishop Tepano Jaussen. It was given to the library of the University of Louvain which burned in 1914. Fortunately photographs and a rubbing of this tablet were preserved and published by Lavachery (138). Another tablet was given by French missionaries to the Chilean ship *O'Higgins* but it never reached France, its destination. The Musée de l'homme in Paris has casts of most of the tablets in existence.

Only one of the sticks covered with tablet signs, mentioned by Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 71), has been preserved. It was given to officers of the *O'Higgins* in 1870 by Dutroux-Bornier, who thought that it was a weapon belonging to a king (176, p. 676). The stick is 1.25 meters long and 6 cm. thick. It is round and tapers toward one end. There are 13 rows of figures with an average of 115 signs each and an additional row at the thick end. A pectoral (*rei-miro*) in the British Museum has a row of signs carved on it (57) and an image of a bird-man in the American Museum is decorated with a few tablet figures. Thomson (215, p. 535) claims to have brought back a "calabash covered with hieroglyphics similar to those found on the incised tablets," but this specimen disappeared from the Easter Island collection in the National Museum, Washington.

A certain importance has been attributed to the wood of the tablets as a 212 result of the theory that Easter Island tablets may have been imported into the island by the first immigrants. The analyses show that the following woods were used for the tablets: Lauraceae, Myrtaceae, *Fraxinus excelsior*, 824 *Thespesia populnea, Podocarpus latifolia, Pyrus malus* (131, p. 70). The beautiful tablet called the "Oar", whose authenticity has never been questioned, was engraved on a European oar of *Fraxinus excelsior*. Thus it must date from the end of the eighteenth century or the first half of the nineteenth century A. D. This particular tablet, one of the largest and purest in style, was collected by the French missionaries about 1867 or 1869, at a time when natives paid little attention to tablets. The wooden tablets could not have been kept for centuries in rain-drenched, thatched huts, or in caves. How then could these tablets have been saved during thousands of years of migration and war and come to us in the form of a modern European oar?

The signs are incised on both faces of a tablet. Between each row of signs is a low ridge, produced by slightly sunken channels or flutes along which the signs have been engraved. On the tablet called Aruku-kurenga, of which the Bishop Museum has a cast, these channels are 1.5 cm. wide. The channels were produced by longitudinally adzing the piece of wood. The carver must have held the plank in a vertical position with the left hand and formed the plane surface by striking regular blows with his adz. The signs are outlined by angular grooves of varying depth. The skill displayed by the artist is masterly; all the signs are incised with a freedom, a keen appreciation of proportion, and a vigor that only an expert artist could accomplish. There

212 is a good sense of movement and a harmonious combination of conventionalized and naturalistic elements.

The signs are made in boustrophedon arrangement, that is every other line of figures is upside down so that the sequence is continuous. Every line is read from left to right (115, p. 252; 194, p. 242) and the tablet must be turned at the end of each line or else half the lines must be read upside down. The heads of the animals generally face toward the right.

There is great need of a list of all the signs used on the tablets. I have attempted to classify the 1,000 signs which occur on the tablet Aruku-kurenga. Jaussen (115, pp. 259-270) made a general list of the signs of the so-called Easter Island script, but his list is not valuable because it is based on only five tablets, the signs are poorly copied and are repeated, and the classification is based on assumed meaning rather than on form of drawing. A study of many tablets, photographs, and casts shows that, though there are many variations and combinations of signs, the basic figures are few. Apparently the artist paid little attention to uniformity. The principal signs are of men, birds, birdmen, double-headed birds, parts of the body (vulva, hands, and feet), fish turtles, crabs, octopuses, centipedes, plants of various descriptions, implements, weapons, ornaments, ships, celestial bodies, geometrical motifs like series of triangles, lozenges, perpendicular sticks, series of circles, and so forth. These signs are sometimes combined to form strange groups. Some of the associations are casual and must be regarded as a sort of cursive writing, but other combinations may have a definite significance.

Recent informants say that there were several kinds of tablets, each named after its subject. Tablets recording feasts were *tau*; those for the dead, *kohau-o-te-tangata-mate*; those for wars, *kohau-o-te-ranga* (literally, sticks-of-the-expulsions); those for prayers, *kohau-kiri-tuku-ki-te-atua-kia-Rarai-Hova* (sticks-for-the-invocations-to-the-god-Rarai-Hova). In the native version of the legend of Hotu-matua, the first king is said to have founded schools in which pupils were taught to make the various kinds of tablets.

My informant was probably mistaken when he mentioned the *kohau-o-te-ranga* as a special category of tablets. Routledge (194, p. 249) speaks of *kohau-o-te-ranga* as the name of a single tablet, "reported to have been brought by the first immigrants; it had the notable property of securing victory to its holders, in such a manner that they were able to get hold of the enemy for the *ranga* that is, as captives or slaves for manual labour." This tablet belonged to Nga-ara, but was stolen by a man called Kaara, who gave it to an expert chanter, Arohio. The son of Arohio traded it to the French missionaries and it may be one of the tablets at Braine-le-Comte. There were undoubtedly other similar lists of wars.

The *tau* was an inferior writing to record the deeds of a man for whom a *koro* or feast was given. On this occasion a tablet was incised telling "how many men he had killed in war, how many chickens he had stolen." A man named Kapiera told Routledge (194, pp. 251-252) that the earliest *tau* was made by an ancestor of Hotu-matua, the first king of the island. A large tablet contained a list of the lesser tablets "giving merely the name of each hero and the year of his *koro*." The names were enumerated and followed with figures corresponding to the year when the *koro* was celebrated. The numbers went to ten, then began again. "If there were two *koro* in a year, they came under the same numeral." 212

There was also a tablet for *ika* (murdered men). It was known to only one person, "who taught it to a pupil, and the two divided the island between them, the master taking the west and the north coast to Anakena and the pupil the remainder. A connected, or possibly the same tablet, was made at the instance of the relatives of the victim and helped to secure vengeance" (194, p. 248).

Some tablets dealt with ceremonies, and others were part of ceremonies themselves. They were in evidence at *koro*, where Nga-ara and the professors used to "pray for the father" and where a woman went onto the roof of the house holding the "kohau-o-te-pure" (prayer tablet). "In another case, a woman who wished to honour her father-in-law, and at the same time secure fertility, set up a pole round which she walked holding a child and a tablet, given her by Nga-ara while he and other *rongorongo* men who brought their *kohau* at his order stood by and sang" (194, p. 249). Thirteen subjects were dealt with in the tablets. No mention was made either to Routledge or me of genealogies, lists of *ariki*, or the wanderings of the people. [842]

The tablets were said to be tapu and were handled only by the *rongorongo* men and their servants. When kept in the hut they were wrapped in mats and hung from the roof. During war they were regarded by the victorious party as valuable spoils. [784]

Tablets are first mentioned in 1864 by Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 71) who says they were found in almost every house although the natives did not understand their meaning and showed little respect for them. Several years later Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 232) collected some tablets and attempted unsuccessfully to learn the meaning of the incised signs. He gathered the most learned natives who "seemed pleased" to see the tablet and told him its name. Then some started to read the page by "chanting." But others disagreed on the chant and the discouraged missionary gave up his inquiry. Roussel (190, p. 464) scarcely mentions the tablets and assumes that the characters never had a meaning. "The few natives who pretended to know them, recited when tested only ridiculous and meaningless tales." It is worth stressing that Roussel speaks of the tablets in connection with the native chants. 212 114

212 114 Palmer (168, p. 290) writes that a member of the Chilean expedition to Easter Island was told by one of the Padres "that when one of the tablets was found, a lad who was present began to chant its contents, when an old man present stopped him forthwith. Of course the reason for this procedure was given, that the figure-writing had reference to some religious ceremony, of which, as the older convert had abjured the practices, the recital was not judged by him prudent, nor politic to be repeated."

A thorough attempt was made by Bishop Tepano Jaussen of Tahiti, with the help of Metoro Tauara, an Easter Islander working on Brander's plantation in Tahiti, to decipher the five tablets given to him by the missionaries of Easter Island. Metoro Tauara was said to have studied the art of chanting from tablets under three teachers—Ngahu, Rei-miro and Paovaa. Jaussen (115, p. 252) describes the first session with Metoro in the following terms:

> The solemn moment had arrived. I put one of my tablets in the hands of Metoro. He turned it, turned it again, looking for the beginning of the text, and then he started to chant. He chanted the lowest line, from left to right. Arrived at the end, he chanted the nearest line above, from right to left, the third from left to right, the fourth from right to left, like the plowing of oxen. When he arrived at the top line, he passed from the recto to the nearest line of the verso and descended, line after line, like oxen plowing both sides of a hill, starting on the lower side and ending at the bottom on the opposite side. The reader can turn the tablet after each line if he does not want to read the signs upside down.
>
> My interpreter told me that they used to sit in a circle and chant, as if carrying on a ceremony. Besides the word giving the proper meaning of the sign, the chant includes groups of other words added by the fancy of the artists. The learning of these required more work than that of the simple significance of the sign.
>
> To write these signs was very simple, but to learn and chant the rhapsodies of all the tablets was the difficult task. Thus Metoro conceived it. He never tried to teach a sign directly without the chant. When Roussel called the people to read the tablets, each of the pupils whose teachers were dead must have shivered at the thought of finding a tablet which he would not be able to chant. That is why no one dared to present himself. . . . Reading the tablets called Miro, Metoro did not pass to the character opposite the last chanted sign at the end of the recto, but descended diagonally to the bottom of the verso as if he were reading a new tablet. It was the beginning of another subject.

The texts of the purported chants recited by Metoro are preserved in the Museum at Papeete (Tahiti) and copies are in the convent of the Sacred Heart in Braine-le-Comte. A few lines of the text, corresponding to the beginning of the tablet called Aruku-kurenga, were published by C. de Harlez (105) with his translation which does not make sense. A tentative translation of the beginning of the same text is given by Ahnne (2, p. 190) but it is over imaginative. By comparing the text with the tablet, I discovered that 212 most of the sentences chanted were merely explanatory. For instance, about the image of a bird, Metoro would say, "the bird is flying" or "the bird is resting"; about the image of a headdress, "to the headdress." Thus the long text is simply a descriptive catalog. It is rather surprising that Metoro chanted these simple explanatory sentences, since they were improvised by him. However, we must remember that chanting is easy, and Metoro knew that chanting was always associated with the tablets. To illustrate Metoro's method, I shall give part of the 21st row of signs in the tablet Aruku-kurenga with the native text and its translation (fig. 56). 212

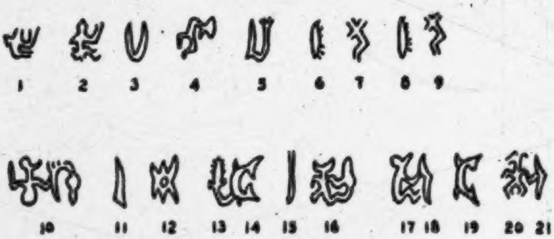


FIGURE 56.—Part of row 21 on tablet Aruku-kurenga.

1. Kua huki: He is pierced.
2. Ko te ariki: It is the king.
3. Tere ki te vai: He went to the water.
4. E tangata moe ra ki te huaga e: The man is sleeping against blossoming fruit.
5. Kua tuu ko te toga: The posts are set up.
6. Ma te tapa mea kua haga: The red yam is growing.
7. Kua haati ia te kava: The kava plant is broken.
8. Ma te tapa mea kua haga: The red yam growing.
9. Kua haati ia te kava: The kava plant is broken.
10. E tangata rua kua oho, kua hua: Two men went, it was blossoming.
11. Ma to ihe: Like the needlefish.
12. E i raa: And the sun.
13. E i te haga (probably huaga) era: It is blossoming.
14. Ko te rei: It is a pectoral (rei-miro).
15. Kua oho ki te henua: He came to the land.
16. Kua tupu ia mua i te aro: It has grown in front of him.
17. E tangata oho era: The man left.
18. Ki to kava e: To your kava plant.
19. Ka oho te rei: Here comes the pectoral (rei-miro).
20. Tangata itiiti: Very little man.
21. Ma to kava: Like your kava plant.

Comparison of the fragmentary sentences with the symbols makes it plain that they are hasty explanations of the drawings. The explanation becomes more obscure when the symbol is conventionalized and therefore less recognizable. Metoro's interpretation is nevertheless useful for it gives the meaning of designs, the significance of which might otherwise be a puzzle.

At about the time of Jaussen, Croft (56, p. 319) who also lived at Papeete, 212
tried to get the Easter Island natives to translate the tablets. He gave up the 114
attempt after one native had read the same tablet three different ways on three successive Sundays. This action is typical of many Europeans who tried to

212 114 translate the tablets. They tackled the problem with the preconceived idea that the signs formed a script, and they angrily dismissed informants who were unable to prove that they were actually reading.

Pinart (178, p. 239) says, probably falsely, that at his time the tablets were used to roll string for fishlines and nets. Geiseler (87, pp. 23-24) obtained only general information about the tablets and that probably from Salmon to whom he had entrusted the study. He says: " . . . wooden tablets with signs for genealogies" were still in the possession of a chief named Hangeto. "This writing was known only by the former kings and chiefs . . . The script was used for two purposes: to send short notices to chiefs of other villages about important events which they did not want to entrust to oral messages, and in the form of tablets, to record genealogies."

Four years later (1886), Thomson (215, pp. 513-526) made a serious attempt to obtain from the natives a clue to the mystery of the tablets. An old man named Ure-vaeiko, who professed to have been under instruction in the art of hieroglyphic reading at the time of the Peruvian raid, claimed to understand most of the characters. Unfortunately he was very pious and "declined to furnish any information, on the ground that it had been forbidden by the priests." Finally he was prevailed upon to read from photographs of the tablets owned by Jaussen. He recited legends fluently "though it became evident that he was not actually reading the characters. It was noticed that the shifting of position did not accord with the number of symbols on the lines, and afterwards when the photograph of another tablet was substituted, the same story was continued without the change being discovered . . . . He explained at great length that the actual value and significance of the symbols had been forgotten, but the tablets were recognized by unmistakable features and the interpretation of them was beyond question."

Routledge (194, pp. 250-251) knew an old man on Easter Island named Tomenika who was said to have been acquainted with an inferior kind of *rongorongo* known as the *tau*. Her visits to this old man were limited, however, by the fact that he was old and leprous. At one interview Tomenika was given a pencil and sheet of paper on which he drew "three vertical lines first of noughts then of ticks." He gave a name to each line and proceeded to recite. "He obviously used the marks simply to keep count of the different phrases." On another occasion he designed rows of glyphs and recited as he had done before, "the signs taking the place of ticks; anything from three or four to ten words were said to each sign. If he made a variation when asked to repeat, it was transporting the order of two phrases; evidently the signs themselves were not to him, now at any rate, connected with particular words."

212 754 Little if any credence can be attached to present-day information about the significance of the tablets. However, Charli Teao, nephew of Te Haha,

formulated a theory which expresses ideas that could neither have been invented in modern times nor transmitted by European contacts. 212 Charli Teao 754 was convinced that each sign was connected with a special song of magical virtue. Thus, a person who wanted to impose his will on another had to take a tablet, look at a sign, and chant the appropriate formula. The combined power of the charm and of the drawing might even cause death. [778] The tablet signs (*rona*) had the same mana as identical signs engraved on skulls or rocks. They could make people successful in any activity symbolized by a design (fishing, dancing). Modern natives have a superstitious fear of the tablets. I was told that three years ago a man called Beriberi found a fragment of tablet. Soon after several members of his family died; believing them bewitched by the tablet, he burned it.

Teao pretended that his uncle had taught him the symbolic value of certain signs. 212 For instance, two birds lined together meant friendship, an octopus was a charm to cause death, and so on. For several reasons, I strongly distrust his interpretation, though perhaps he was right when he asserted that many signs represented gods. One of the most frequently repeated tablet signs shows the god Makemake.

The various attempts to decipher the tablets establish only one fact: the tablets were never read, but were used during chanting. Even now the natives pretend to know tablet chants. Had early European inquiries conceived the tablets as something other than an actual script they might have solved the problem of the Easter Island tablets with a few questions.

It is highly significant that all natives who were asked to interpret an individual sign explained what it represented and never gave it a phonetic value. Even if we assume that all the experts who were interrogated were only partially initiated into the science of writing, it is strange that no one tried to spell the signs. With only a glance at the tablet they started to chant. Even a little schooling would have taught them enough to spell a few letters or a few syllables if the signs had some phonetic value. Further evidence will show that the Easter Island symbols were not a script.

Many interpretations of the tablets have been given by scholars or amateurs 212 who tried to solve the problem without the help of natives. 114 A detailed review of the opinions formulated by these investigators is beyond the scope of this book, the more so since they have been summarized by Lehmann (139, pp. 261-264) and by Gusinde (93, pp. 333-337). On the other hand, it is advisable to refute a few errors which have become almost traditional.

Many interpreters regard the tablets as genealogical tables (Meinicke, 152, vol. 2, p. 234; Geiseler, 87, p. 27; Thomson, 215, p. 517; Meyer, 159; Gusinde, 93, p. 336; Haberlandt, 97, pp. 97-100). This is purely hypothetical and unsupported by tradition or native statement. No Polynesian people has lists of ancestors which require 1,600 signs to record. It may be argued that several descent lines are included in one tablet or that information

212 114 as to the sex, the time of birth, and the deeds of the person involved might have been committed to the signs. However, there is no indication that some figures had mnemonic value and others a symbolic meaning. If lines of ancestors were indicated by the rows of signs, we might expect the repetition of certain groups of symbols corresponding to the name of an ancestor, but repetition is exceptional. There are no signs, no divisions, no stop marks which would facilitate the recitation of genealogies.

To substantiate by direct evidence the genealogical interpretations of the tablets, Geiseler (87, p. 27) gives to the sign representing Makemake the symbolic meaning of "birth", and to the sign of the vulva the meaning of "legitimate marriage." These translations are obviously mere guesses. Further, Geiseler makes the absolutely false statement that the two signs are generally combined. Thomson (215, p. 517) adopts Geiseler's views without giving new evidence. Haberlandt (97, p. 100) concludes that the tablets are genealogical lists, although he is well aware that the "signs are too variegated and too intricate" for such a record.

Of the tablet chants recited for Thomson one was a creation chant explaining the formation of nature after the pattern of a human genealogy (p. 320)—a literary theme dear to the natives of eastern Polynesia. If the tablets were accessories to chants, they must have been associated with genealogies, for lists of divine and human ancestors were chanted at the feasts. But association does not prove that the tablets were devices for recording genealogies. The form of the Polynesian genealogies excludes entirely the use of geometrical and naturalistic figures merely to count people.

532 212 114 In spite of statements to the contrary (139, p. 263), there is neither a single rock nor a single stone statue on which inscriptions have been carved. Isolated figures identical or similar to those of the tablets are carved on rocks and on the walls of caves, are painted on stone slabs, or engraved on skulls. But they do not form an inscription. This absence of inscriptions on an island where rock carvings abound is significant; one may well wonder why people who were so prone to trace designs on either hard or soft rocks have never immortalized a name or an event with an inscription, if they had a knowledge of script. The symbols which appear on tablets and elsewhere are: the design of the vulva; *rei-miro* (pectorals); figures of birds (sooty terns and frigate birds), sometimes with a double head; the bird-man; the *ao* (dance paddle), though designs of *ao* are rare and indistinct on the tablets; fish; and rarely men (two petroglyphs near Rano-raraku recorded by Lavachery, and design in the interior of a cave on the island of Motu-nui). The resemblance between the style of the tablet signs and that of the petroglyphs is striking.

212 114 Many authors (81, vol. 38, p. 71; 215, p. 517) have seen among the naturalistic symbols on the tablets some forms, unknown on Easter Island, which indicate the locality whence the first settlers came. Thus Hevesy has interpreted what is probably a pelican with a long curved beak as an elephant and the bird-man as a monkey. The signatures of the chiefs to the deed of possession, drawn up when the Spaniards annexed the island in 1770, have been used as evidence of the existence of script on Easter Island. However, with the exception of a bird figure, these signatures are composed of meaningless scrawls not connected with the tablets. The treaty of Waitanga, signed by Maori chiefs, has tattooing marks and other designs in lieu of signatures.

EASTER ISLAND SCRIPT

212 121 Thus far no methodical analysis has been made of the signs on the tablets. Such a study is a slow and complicated task because of the abundance of signs, the innumerable variants of each sign, and the many combinations of signs. It is necessary to determine how many times each sign is repeated on a tablet and how often it occurs in each row. Contiguous signs and sequences must likewise be recorded. If the signs are a form of writing and correspond to

words or syllables, groups or sequences of them will be repeated many times, especially for a Polynesian language. I have been able to analyze only a few tablets, devoting most of my time to the long tablets called Aruku-kurenga and the Oar. A cursory examination of the three tablets preserved in the Museum of Santiago de Chile convinced me that the results would have been the same. I wish that investigators who enjoy greater leisure than I would apply my method to other tablets. It is the only way to establish the true nature of this writing. Any other method results in mere speculations, without scientific value.

The first step in analysis is to find the limits of each individual sign. The figures are either isolated or linked to the contiguous ones. Though sometimes loose, these connections seem to be intentional. I am strongly inclined to believe that these compound signs have no definite meaning of their own independent of the elements which compose them and that they are the conventional products of a sort of "cursive writing." On the tablet Aruku-kurenga and on the Oar there are several groups of signs which are identical. The symbols which compose them are similar but in some groups they have been joined together; in others they are disconnected. Apparently the connections between the signs had no significance.

However, there are some combinations which are so close that they actually form a new and special sign (fig. 57). For instance, a sign becomes the head of a human body or combines with another to form a fantastic being. But even when signs are fused together, it is possible that each retains independent value.

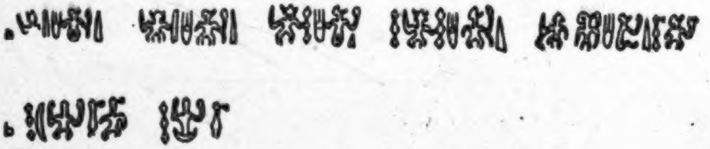


FIGURE 57.—Sequences of identical signs in row 1 of tablet Aruku-kurenga.

The second step in analyzing the tablets is to determine whether variants of a sign have a particular meaning. The naturalistic symbols representing human beings or animals are seldom twice identical. Sometimes the variations are insignificant, sometimes more important, but they rarely suggest definite intention. It is inconceivable that a particular significance would be given to the presence or absence of an arm or a leg, the position of the head, or the form of a hand. If some of these variants recurred consistently they might indicate independent symbols, but they do not. In table 5, I have listed the signs used in the tablet called Aruku-kurenga, giving each sign and all its

212
121

variants. Many differences in the carving of the signs have resulted from lack of space or the nature of the contiguous sign.

On the tablet Aruku-kurenga identical sequences of signs are rare. In row I, group *a* is repeated five times, group *b* twice (fig. 57). The sequences are not always identical. In the last *a* group the second sign is a bird, whereas in the preceding groups it is a stick. In the second *b* group, the crescent has been shifted from a vertical to a horizontal position replacing the feet of the contiguous figure; the last sign is lacking.

In row VI a sequence of four signs is repeated three times. Here again the similarity between the groups is not perfect. The second sign in the first group has a conventionalized head of a man, which in the other two groups is replaced by a bird (the tern). As these sequences occur in the same line, they do not give complete evidence that they express the repetition of the same idea. The artist may well have repeated a sequence to fill the line, or for a simple decorative or psychological reason. More puzzling is the repetition of sequences in different rows. A group of 12 signs in row IX reappears in almost identical form on the other side of the tablet in row XIII. A group of four signs occurs twice in row XV and twice in row XVII.

On the large tablet called the Oar, groups of signs are more frequently repeated. One group of three signs is repeated six times in the same row. Eight repetitions of the same sequence of signs almost fills another line. The groups are not identical, but the variations affect only two or three signs; the others remain the same and keep the same order.

Repetition of the same groups of signs would be of the utmost importance if they were more frequent. The few repetitions I cite here occur on two large tablets of about 1,000 and 1,500 signs respectively, and are not conclusive evidence of the existence of a definite system of transcription. Identical sequences in the same line may have been more or less automatic, for the artist may have repeated his grouped signs until he no longer had them in mind. This explanation is hardly acceptable when the repetitions are far apart, but it is not known whether the artist copied some model or whether certain associations of signs were imposed by tradition. If the tablet reproduced a chant, there would have been more repetition at definite intervals. Some signs may have been associated because of their symbolic meaning and would thus have a definite significance. Groups of signs show that the variants had no particular value. A sign could be replaced by another sign, the outline of which was only slightly similar. For instance, one bird might be replaced by another kind of bird, a personage by a personage of more conventionalized form.

In counting the signs of tablet Aruku-kurenga I considered the groups as one sign in order to avoid confusion, though I am well aware that most of the compound signs should be broken up into their component elements. The total number of signs thus counted is 960, of which 95 are primary signs, a figure which corresponds more or less to the total number of symbols used by the Easter Island *rongorongo*. In the other tablets I found only four or five signs which did not appear on the tablet Aruku-kurenga. The listing of the primary signs is difficult. Many signs can be considered either unique or simple variations of other signs. For the sake of clarity, I have considered compounds as new signs whenever the two elements were closely fused. Many signs have been considered primary symbols, though they may be only variants of others which are poorly carved or distorted by lack of space. Allowing a margin for this unnecessary enlargement of the list, we may estimate the number of symbols used by the tablet carvers at about 100.

The figure most frequently repeated on the tablet is that of the tern (*manu-tara*). In the tablet Aruku-kurenga it appears 149 times, including both naturalistic and conventionalized representations of the bird and innumerable variants of the bird-man motif, in which the head of the *manu-tara* surmounts a more or less human body. Logically the *manu-tara* symbol includes the design of the bird-man in a sitting posture (fig. 57, *a*), but, as the outline of this figure is constant throughout the tablet, it may be regarded as an independent symbol. The above symbol occurs 34 times on the tablet Aruku-kurenga which brings the total number of bird-men to 183. In other words, a fifth of the tablet is covered with this one symbol, which is that of the most important god of Easter Island.

The second most common sign is that of a man whose head is conventionalized in the shape of a lozenge. It is repeated 94 times on the Aruku-kurenga tablet. The same head, attached to the body of a turtle, has been figured 7 times. The outline of a frigate bird has been carved 32 times. That of another bird with a long beak, a species of pelican, 10 times. I counted 20 fish among the symbols.

Bird-men and human personages constitute about a third of the total number of signs. There is no evidence that these personages have special significance each time they appear. This leaves about 600 signs, including 90 different symbols. There remains a narrow range of repetition for each symbol. Of the more or less geometrical symbols, the most frequent is the representation of the feather streamer (*maro*) which occurs 41 times and is generally connected with one of the two contiguous symbols. There are 20 different symbols which occur only once.

The tablet called the Oar has about 1,500 signs. On it the *manu-tara* or the personage with a *manu-tara* head is repeated 142 times, the frigate bird 80, and the pelican 41 times. Birds represent a little less than a fifth of the total number of signs. One row of the Oar tablet, in which there are 80 signs, repeats the frigate bird 17 times and the *manu-tara* 15 times. Thus, more than a third of the tablet is composed of two bird signs. These bird signs are not grouped, and cannot be considered as a part of identical words.

If this script were phonetic or syllabic there would be constant repetitions of groups. But the number of different signs is too large and the repetitions of sequences are too rare for such a system.

The Easter Island script may be a form of pictography. It has all the requisites for picture-writing—naturalistic representations intermingled with geometrical signs suggestive of conventionalized symbols. An evolved form of pictography for the recording of chants would be possible in the general pattern of Polynesian chants, dealing with fish, birds, men, etc. Concrete ideas would lend themselves readily to graphic representation. It seems logical to suppose that the tablets were mnemonic devices for recording chants which were also memorized. The Cuna Indians of Panama and the Ojibwa of North America invented similar methods of writing. The Ojibwa memorize their chants but reproduce them on birch bark by means of signs which somewhat resemble those of Easter Island. Around each word cluster a group of words which form a stanza. Attempts to read the Easter Island tablets with the help of natives have indicated that each sign corresponds to a number of words. If the Easter Island tablets are pictographies, it is curious that the symbols are so highly conventionalized and that their number seems to be more or less fixed.

[171]

Pictographies generally have more variety and richness in the choice of figures and symbols. It is unlikely that all the inscriptions dealt with the same subject, as the monotonous repetition of symbols seems to indicate. The signs always cover the piece of wood on which they are carved; this is particularly striking in the tablet, the Oar, where the signs entirely cover both faces of a European object. The wood used for the tablets was selected casually, and no attempt was made to shape it. The furrows for the signs were carved before the signs were incised. It is not possible that the *rongorongo* knew in advance that a chant would fit the tablet. The "text" was adapted to the tablet and not the tablet to the "text."

The length of a tablet and the number of signs indicate that a tablet does not represent one special chant. Though Polynesian *rongorongo* were capable of chanting throughout an entire night without interruption, they recited many chants in succession, or made a single chant long by tedious enumeration—for instance, of the anatomical features of a god or of a hero. If the long tablets represent several chants, where did one stop and another begin? Though there is much to indicate a primitive pictography the hypothesis must not be accepted unreservedly.

There is no doubt that the signs had symbolic value and that they were not purely decorative. An unshaped piece of wood did not call for decoration as did the carved objects. The few signs whose value is known clearly refer to a god (Makemake) and to a magical symbol (the vulva), connected with particular aspects of the religious cult. Birds treated in exactly the same style as those on the tablets are carved on rocks, especially in caves and at Orongo where the ceremonies dedicated to Makemake were held. All the traditions and all the statements of the natives agree that the tablets were associated with memorized chants. It is the nature of this association which is unknown and which forms the nucleus of the problem. There is no reason why Easter Island priests needed mnemonic devices which were unnecessary to priests of other Polynesian islands. No system can be disentangled from an analysis of the signs, and, as tradition was suddenly interrupted, any solution of the problem is hypothetical. Taking into consideration all the data and the several possible explanations of the tablets, I propose the following tentative explanation of the tablets.

The tablets were originally staves (*kohau*) used by the *rongorongo* men to beat the measure when chanting. They were decorated with carvings that became associated with chants. The symbols formed a sort of pictography in the sense that each glyph was associated with a particular sentence or group of words in a chant. The symbols did not correspond exactly to a specific chant, but each tablet could be used with many chants and several sentences were linked with each image. Since the connection between the chant and the tablet was rather loose, the signs became conventionalized and traditional.

This is what Routledge's informant meant when he said that "the words were new, but the letters were old." The magical or ornamental character of the signs superseded their pictographic value. If the symbols were originally carved on a wooden stick the boustrophedon character of the "writing" would be easily understood. 212

Similarly, among the Ojibwa and the Cuna Indians the symbols are used specifically to increase the sacredness and the power of the words. That certain of the Easter Island signs had magic value is evidenced by their use on sacred skulls and on rocks in a sacred place. There must be a psychological link between representations of symbols on wooden tablets and on the other objects.

I am perfectly aware of the hypothetical character of my theory, but this hypothesis will serve until it is demonstrated that the ordinance of the signs on the tablets corresponds to a real system.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN MNEMONIC DEVICES

The main difficulty in solving the problem of the tablets lies in the lack of any convincing parallel in Polynesia. The Maori had notched staves (*whaka-papa-rakai*) that were displayed when reciting genealogies, each notch corresponding to an ancestor. However, these staves were not mnemonic devices but merely accessories that materialized the long series of ancestors to the eyes of the audience. 171 212

The closest parallels to the Easter Island tablets are the mnemonic devices of the Marquesans which consist of a cylindrical bundle woven of coconut fiber with knotted cords hanging from it. The bundle is often shaped like a human figure and is supposed to contain the story of the gods. Some bundles represent genealogies, each knot corresponding to a man or a woman. Others were used in connection with chants and tales. The bundles were sacred objects belonging to the priests. They were given to children at a feast where they recited chants and genealogies. Without the bundles, the genealogical lists had no value. (For a further discussion of Marquesan mnemonic devices, see Von den Steinen, Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1928.)

There is a remote possibility that chants were also represented by knots in the Cook Islands. In the Tuamotus and the Society Islands chants were embodied in material objects: sticks, plaited pandanus, or coconut leaves. After each chant, the priest deposited on the marae the object that represented the chant.

These examples show that in other islands mnemonic devices developed into sacred accessories associated with chanting that had only a remote link with their original function.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

212

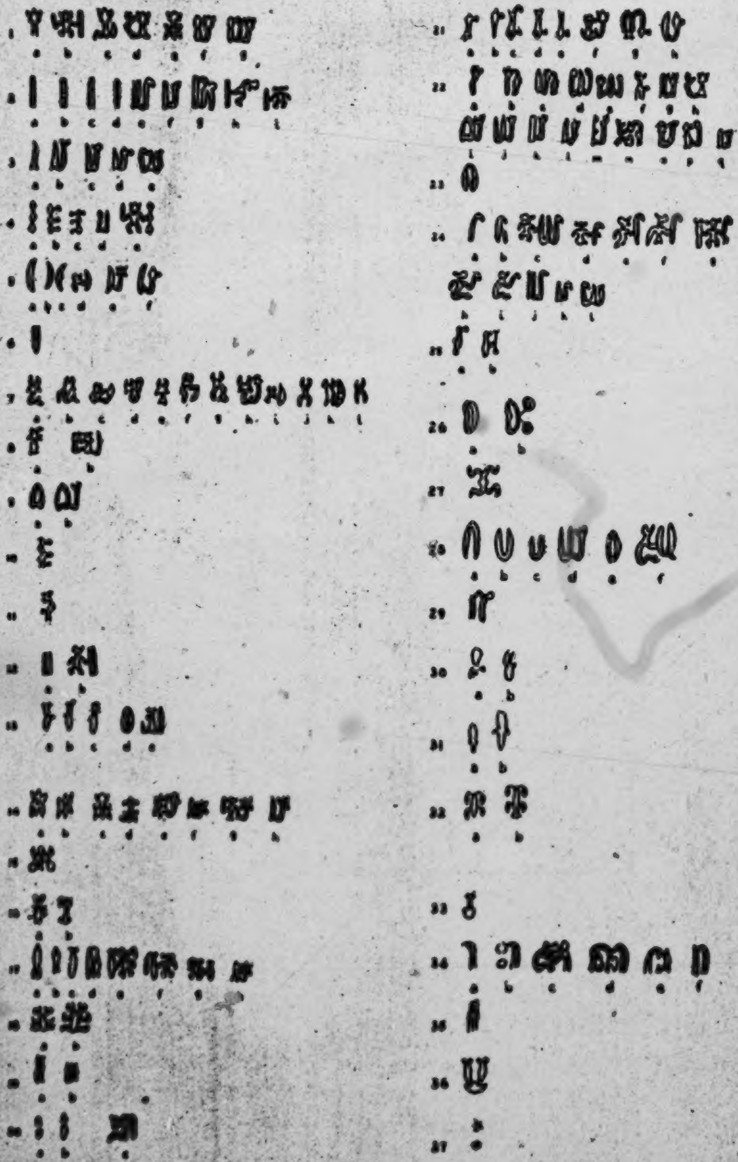


FIGURE [illegible].—Signs on tablet Aruku-kurenga.

212

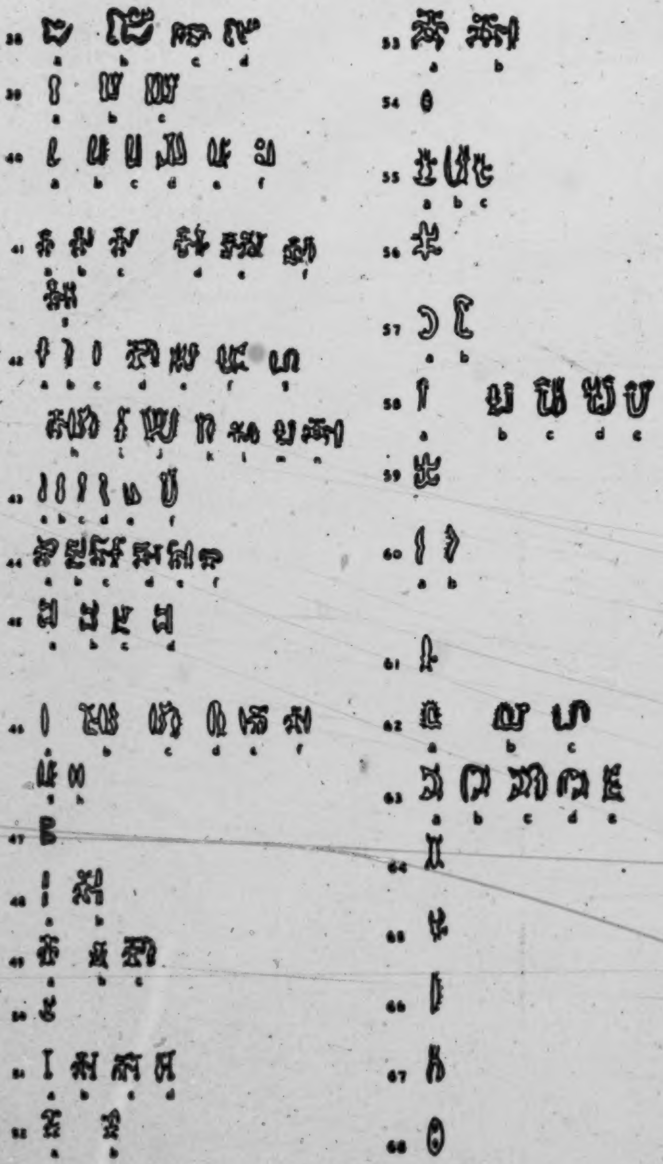

38 a b c d
39 a b c
40 a b c d e f
41 a b c d e f g
42 a b c d e f g h i j k l m n
43 a b c d e f
44 a b c d e f
45 a b c d
46 a b c d e f g h
47
48 a b
49 a b c
50
51 a b c d
52 a b
53 a b
54
55 a b c
56
57 a b
58 a b c d e
59
60 a b
61
62 a b c
63 a b c d e
64
65
66
67
68

FIGURE 58.—Signs on tablet Aruku-kurenga (Continued).

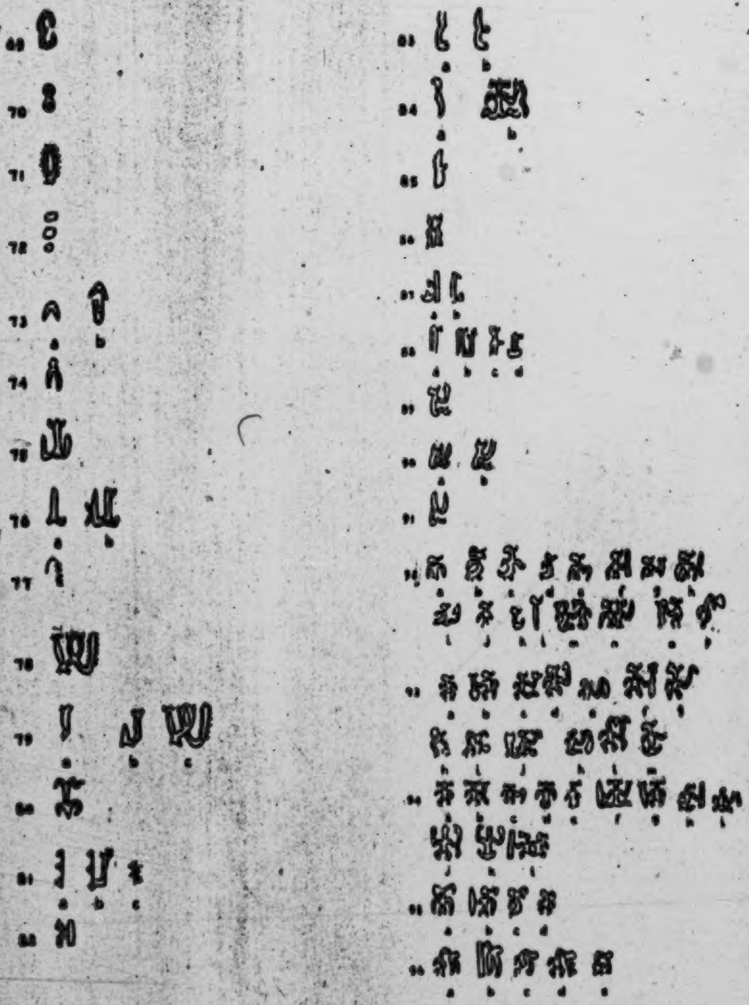

69
70
71
72
73 a b
74
75
76 a b
77
78
79 a b c
80
81 a b c
82
83 a b
84 a b
85
86
87 a b
88 a b c d
89
90 a b
91
92 a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p
93 a b c d e f g h i j k l
94 a b c d e f g h i j k l
95 a b c d
96 a b c d e

FIGURE 58.—Signs on tablet Aruku-kurenga (Continued).

A Hungarian linguist, Mr. de Hevesy, has supposedly found striking similarities between the Easter Island symbols and a script recently discovered in the Indus Valley at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. This theory, accepted by many, needs a thorough revision and an analytic study such as the one I attempted in a special article (154).

TABLE 5. SYMBOLS USED ON THE TABLET ARUKU-KURENGA: ANALYTICAL LIST OF THE SIGNS[28]

1. Symbol characterized by triangle with two hornlike appendages. Appears 14 times: as head of human figure (6), isolated in rows V, IX, XII (3), combined with other figures (5). Two combinations: in some symbols the triangle is part of symbol and forms a head on a body as in *b-c*; combination in others possibly accidental, or may be independent.

2. Symbol isolated, appears 23 times: in row V (5); *b-d* are variants or morphologically close to symbol; *b* in rows VII, XV, XVI (3); *c-d* in rows III, VI (2).

3. One of the most common symbols, occurs 20 times: combined as in *b* (12); as in *c* (1); as in *d* (1).

4. Occurs 17 times: most lozenges have human ear on one side; rarely combined as in *c* and *d*.

5. Symbol simple but rare, isolated (6): *b* and *c* probable variants.

6. Symbol represents vulva, not restricted to tablets but carved on rocks and boulders: occurs on tablet (10); connected with adjacent symbol (1), but as same group appears divided farther on, we may assume combination is casual in row I.

7. Numerous variants of symbol, outline of a large sea animal, probably a whale. Appears 16 times, never reproduced identically. Form *g* illustrates how signs were modified by fancy of artist; carver added a hand to one fin of *b* (3) with no apparent purpose to form *g*. Body of animal has been interpreted as human leg, distorted outline of whale's body and fins suggesting appearance of two limbs to carver. Sometimes body of whale terminates in appendage at lower limbs as in *c*; sometimes combined as in *h* and *i* (2). Forms *j-l* seem to be related to *i*, though this cannot be ascertained; occurs 5 times: combined (4); isolated in row XI (1).

8. Symbol common on other tablets, appears here only 4 times combined in row XXII (*b*).

9. Symbol appears twice in row V: isolated (1), combined with hand (1).

10. Occurs 7 times.

11. Symbol closely related morphologically to preceding one: appears 7 times, never combined.

12. Occurs twice: isolated (1), combined with bird-man (1).

13. Occurs 15 times: concentrated chiefly in row IX (8) and row XIII (4); enclosed in oval in *d* (1).

14. Symbol interpreted by Metoro as sun or fire. Occurs isolated 14 times: combined into single symbol *c-d*; connected with fish, bird, or crescent *f-h*.

15. Appears once in row VI.

16. Insect or sea animal: sign *a* occurs in line V (2); *b* isolated in row VII.

17. Isolated fish occurs 25 times: fish held by frigate bird, *e* (4), by tern (1), by human figure, *f* (12).

---

[28] Bold-faced arabic numerals correspond to numbered rows on figure 38 and italic lower-case letters refer to lettered parts on the same figure. Roman numerals correspond to order or rows as given by Jaussen. Row I is at the base of the convex side and along the longest edge of the tablet. Numbers in parentheses indicate number of times a sign is found on the tablet.

18. Crab or crayfish: in rows VII and VIII (3).

19. Appears isolated 8 times, combined as in *b* (2).

20. Occurs 3 times (rows I, II); *c*, row XVII.

21. Appears 4 times as in *a* and *b*. Reversed position in *c-e* (6). In rows IX and XIII this symbol has symbol 13 on each side.

22. Represents hand: isolated (5); combined into single sign with fruit, *b* (9); next to bird-man with open hand in rows IX, XI, XII, XIII; combined in sign *c* (1), in *d* (3), in *e* (1), in *f* and *g* (2), in *h* (3); *i* is isolated; *j* occurs in rows XV and XVI; *k* (5); *l* (1); *m* (2).

23. Appears twice in row II, preceding sign of hand.

24. Probably conventionalized adz: appears isolated (14), concentrated in rows IV-VI. Occurs in row VI (11), combined with human figures and bird-men (8). Total: 22 times.

25. Appears 12 times.

26. Occurs as single sign (1), as compound sign *b* (1).

27. Appears only once.

28. Symbol has opening up 10 times, down 4 times; provided with small barbs in *c*.

29. Occurs 3 times: in row XVI (2) the two sides are contiguous.

30. Occurs in rows XIV and XXII with hand up or down (2).

31. Two isolated figures, possible variants of same symbol.

32. Symbol formed of two ovals hanging from larger oval or from outline of fish: occurs as in *a* (3), as in *b* (2). Total 5.

33. This symbol should hardly be listed as it is carved near edge at place where symbols are reduced and simplified: occurs only once in row XVI.

34. Symbol never isolated: occurs 6 times. Combined with pectoral (*rei-miro*) (2).

35. Appears only once, row XVI.

36. Isolated symbol, row XVI.

37. Isolated symbol, row XVII.

38. Symbol represents animal whose body suggests eel, head suggests bird-man: in *a* sign is isolated, occurs as in *b* (7). Variants show clearly affinity of this animal with bird-man in symbol 92, *b*. Total: 11 times.

39. Never isolated, figures in two compound signs with symbol 1, each appearing only once.

40. Same as in 39.

41. Extraordinary personage represented 8 times.

42. Metoro interpreted this sign as yam or flower, probably banana blossom. Sign appears in form *a* (1); form *c* (5); form *b* always connected with other compound signs but usually so loosely that it may be inferred that the artist linked them with contiguous symbols for design. Sign combined with hand in *l* may form special symbol (9). Total: 25 times.

43. Five signs, rather indistinct, classed together because of resemblance, but this classification is perhaps arbitrary

44. Headless personage represented 6 times in combination.

45. Symbol never isolated but has independent meaning, as it is associated with other geometrical figures; probably a conventionalized outline of legs: form *b* (6); *b* and *d* in row XVIII, each (1).

46. Conventionalized pole: isolated (5), in combination (8).

47. Sign appears only once, row X.

48. Sign appears isolated only once, in combination *b*.

49. Design of turtle appears only twice, rows IX, XII; *c* possible variant of same symbol.

50. Occurs only once.

51. Represents plant: isolated (3), combined with different figures in *b*, *c*, *d* (6).

52. Occurs in rows VIII, XVIII, and XIX (3).

53. Conventionalized turtle (7).
54. Sign appears only twice.
55. Occurs 4 times, in combination (1).
56. Represents lizard; occurs only twice.
57. Two variants of same symbol.
58. Occurs 4 times, never isolated.
59. Occurs 3 times.
60. Appears without barbs (2), with barbs (4).
61. Isolated symbol in row XII.
62. Isolated, occurs 3 times; combined with bird-head (2), with fruit (1).
63. Sign represents pectoral (*rei-miro*): occurs isolated (4), combined (4), duplicated as in *e* (1).
64. Occurs in combination in row XII (1).
65. Symbol isolated, perhaps reduced as consequence of its position in corner.
66. Symbol occurs in row XII (3), in row XXI (2).
67. Occurs in row XII (2).
68. Isolated, in row XIX.
69. Occurs in rows XIX and XXI (2).
70. Isolated in row XXI.
71. Symbol supposed to represent headdress (*hau*): in row II (7), in row XXII (2). Total: 9 times.
72. Series of circles, usually in groups of three but sometimes of two, one of the most common signs (27).
73. Occurs 4 times: placed above sign representing vulva (3), upon symbol 74 (1).
74. Occurs twice.
75. Compound symbol whose elements cannot be dissociated.
76. Appears isolated on other tablets, occurs here only once, as compound.
77. One of the most frequent signs, appears 41 times, usually connected with contiguous sign.
78. Compound sign, occurs only once.
79. Element occurs in different compound signs, never isolated.
80. Isolated sign.
81. Sign appears in only 2 combinations, *b* and *c*.
82. Occurs 3 times.
83. Represents leg, occurs 8 times.
84. Occurs only 3 times, always in combination.
85. Isolated in row VII.
86. Isolated sign, probably combined.
87. Two isolated signs occurring in same row IV at short interval.
88. Symbol and its compound occur 10 times.
89. Bird-man represented in same posture as on petroglyphs and at Orongo (34).
90. Outline of figure same as preceding symbol; beak and head are same size but head suggests sea animal on symbol 92, *b*, (14).
91. Another figure in same position (3).
92-93. Symbol represents bird, probably tern (*manu-tara*); occurs 149 times. The god Makemake was incarnated in this bird, hence motif most frequently carved on rocks or painted on slabs. It is difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate between representation of this bird as an animal and as a human being with bird-head.
94. Next to bird-man motif this human figure is the most frequently carved on tablet; occurs 94 times.
95. Represents frigate bird; variations few, all indicated in list; occurs 32 times.
96. Represents a species of pelican. Occurs 10 times.

CONCLUSIONS

174 The supposed mystery of Easter Island rests on the assumption that the culture of this speck of land was too elaborate to have been produced by the natives who lived on it when it was discovered by Europeans. In the opinion of many people, the monuments of this island are the expression of a refined and powerful civilization which was obliterated either by a natural disaster or by invasions. Those who hold that a cataclysm is responsible for the disappearance of this civilization believe that Easter Island is the remnant of a submerged continent or archipelago. Such views rest on mere speculation and not on observed facts.

174
133 When white men first landed on Easter Island, its surface and the outline of its coast were about as they are now. J. R. Forster was the first to suggest that a volcanic eruption was responsible for the wreck of a primitive Easter Island civilization. Geologists are unanimous in rejecting this explanation. No volcanic outbursts have occurred on the island since time immemorial. The rocks that cover the plains and look as if they had been shelled from the craters were actually shaped by weathering of the basaltic surface.

Like other volcanic islands of Polynesia, Easter Island contains no rock that would indicate a connection with continental formations. Moreover, the island is surrounded by great depths of water which preclude the possibility of a recently sunken land in its vicinity. As Chubb (50, p. 42) writes: "No perceptible movement of emergence or submergence has taken place since the post pleistocene fall in sea level, that is according to Daly, during the last 3,500 years."

The theory of a sunken continent is no more substantiated by anthropological facts than by geology. For instance, how can we reconcile the position of the ahus around the coast with the hypothesis that the island was formerly more extensive? It is true that several ahus are now threatened by the sea but these are built on the edge of cliffs of volcanic ash. Ahu Ohau is on the verge of the cliff, and the right wing was cleft into two by a fissure when I saw it. Probably by now the greater part of the ahu has crumbled into the sea, as did Ahu-rikiriki, on the western slope of Rano-kao. But the waves act very slowly on the basaltic part of the coast. The ahus built there will survive for a long time, unless they are destroyed by human hands. On the whole, it is evident that the ahus were built near the coast where they stand today.

Brown (27) supports the hypothesis that Easter Island is the remnant of a sunken archipelago, basing his contention on the purported discovery of an austral land by the buccaneer, John Davis. Supposedly, Davis was the last to see this land, which has never been identified. Brown should have asked himself how a cataclysm so great as to submerge an archipelago could have passed unnoticed in the eighteenth century and he should have questioned the accuracy of the position given by Davis to this land. If Davis discovered a land, it must have been Mangareva, the aspect of which corresponds to his description. Even if we admit that such an archipelago may have existed, there is no reason to suppose, as does Brown (27), that the Polynesian inhabitants needed to use Easter Island for the burial of their dead. There is no record of any Polynesian using a special island as a cemetery. 133 174

Neither the origin nor the end of the Easter Island culture can be interpreted through the theory of geologic change. Easter Island is not the remnant of a sunken continent or archipelago, nor was its civilization prematurely destroyed through volcanic eruptions.

Many scientists feel that the ancient Easter Island civilization was so remarkable that they persistently refuse to link it with the rest of Polynesia. The fact that the inhabitants at the time of discovery were Polynesians does not deter them. The usual solution of the problem has been to assume that these Polynesians represent a second wave of immigrants who occupied the island after previous people had developed a richer civilization than that brought by the invaders. But whence came these first settlers of the island? Of the many theories advanced to explain Easter Island civilization the only one that deserves scientific recognition is the hypothesis of its Melanesian origin. Physical anthropologists were the first to establish a link between the natives of Easter Island and the Melanesians. Under their influence, Balfour (9) pointed out several traits that in his opinion showed conclusively a relationship between these two regions of Oceania. His arguments can be summarized as follows: 174

> 1. An obsidian point of a type similar to the obsidian spear head (*mataa*) of Easter Island was found in the Yodda Valley in New Guinea. 2. The aquiline nose of the Easter Island wooden images suggests the Papuan type. The ear deformation of Easter Island natives is typical of Melanesia. The protruding mouth of the stone statues recalls the treatment of the mouths of carved images on boat prows of the Solomon Islands. 3. Bird-men are represented in both Solomon Islands and Easter Island art. 4. The frigate bird, as outlined on Easter Island, is a favorite motif in Solomon Islands ornaments. 5. The red tuff cylinders of the Easter Island statues represent artificially bleached hair, and bleaching of the hair is common in Melanesia (and Samoa).

These cultural parallels between Easter Island and Melanesia are exceedingly vague and indefinite. Obsidian points have been found by the hundreds on Easter Island; the New Guinea specimens are few. What makes the analogy striking is the correspondence between form and material. Obsidian could not be worked in the rest of Polynesia, since volcanic glass does not exist outside of New Zealand and Easter Island. The early settlers of Easter Island either must have carried the idea of using obsidian directly from New

Guinea or resorted to this material independently on Easter Island prompted by the abundant deposits of Mount Orito. In New Guinea obsidian was seldom used; it played an important part only in the industry of the Admiralty Islands. The obsidian blades of the Admiralty Islands have little, if any, resemblance to the Easter Island spear heads. Thus unless we suppose that Melanesians from the Yodda Valley came directly to Easter Island, the chances are in favor of the reinvention on Easter Island of the working of obsidian.

I doubt that physical anthropologists will readily accept racial connections based on conventionalized wooden images. Balfour himself makes little of this parallel and suggests that the accentuated curve of the nose is an attempt to show the retrocession of the cartilaginous extremity of the nose after death. There is certainly an analogy between the ribs and the depressed abdomen of a single wooden image of the Chatham Islands and the Easter Island *moai kavakava*; otherwise the Moriori style of carving has nothing in common with Easter Island conventions. Balfour interprets this single analogy between Easter Island images and the Chatham Islands images as another sign of a Melanesian substratum in the Easter Island culture. His contention is that Melanesian elements formed part of the Moriori culture, but I do not think that this hypothesis has been proved beyond doubt. I feel that we cannot consider as a Melanesian culture trait an artistic convention which is lacking in Melanesia. Balfour also sees an analogy in the treatment of the mouths of Easter Island figures and the mouths of some prow images of the Solomon Islands. I fail to see this purely subjective analogy. The images he produces as parallels have a sort of snout but nothing reminiscent of the thin, protruding lips of the Easter Island images. The analogies between the designs representing frigate birds are more logical. But, as the Solomon Islands and Easter Island carvings are both naturalistic and represent the same species of bird, analogy is not particularly important. There are few ways of figuring the outline of a frigate bird.

Balfour's parallels appear to be superficial resemblances of a few traits selected at random in an area conspicuous for the divergence of its local cultures. Nothing fundamentally important is shared by Easter Island and Melanesian cultures. The analogies which are stressed are indirect and based on more or less hypothetical assumptions. Had Melanesia been the center of a culture superior to that of Polynesia, we might suppose that the excellence of Easter Island culture was due to Melanesian influences. But nothing in the Melanesian culture shows why it should have brought about a superior culture in Polynesia. Dr. Shapiro has given various reasons that militate against the Melanesian origin of part of the Easter Island population. His researches show beyond doubt that such a theory is based on false assumptions.

If we dismiss the Melanesians as originators or stimulators of the Easter Island culture, the impulse toward higher achievements might be credited to an unknown people who settled on Easter Island either before or after the early Polynesians arrived. However, a detailed examination of all the archaeological remains on the island convinced me, as it did other impartial visitors, that Easter Island culture is one. All the stone structures belong to the same general type. The stone implements discovered up to the present show a remarkable unity and can be linked with stone implements in the rest of Polynesia. The giant statues stood on the ahus, typical Polynesian structures, built by the ancestors of present natives. The simple fact that stone house curbs were used to support the huge images shows that the people who erected them had the same type of house as Easter Islanders of the nineteenth century. The Easter Island language does not contain a single word which would indicate a foreign element. Few peoples are destroyed without leaving at least several words as testimony of their existence. All place names on Easter Island are purely Polynesian.

It is true that the tradition of the Long-ears and the Short-ears might be interpreted as pointing to the simultaneous existence of two races on the island, but the Long-ears were the direct ancestors of present natives. If the tale were true the Short-ears should have destroyed the Long-ears. The famous ditch of Poike is a natural formation and the ancestors of the present inhabitants built the monuments, though according to the legend, they were the work of the slaughtered Long-ears. This legend, perhaps ancient in its origin, may have been modified in recent time, since the practice of deforming the ear was discontinued.

Gusinde (95, pp. 352-355) tried to link Easter Island to the "Frei-mutterrechtlichen Kulturkreise." I give a brief summary of his arguments:

> Cultivation with the hoe, practiced by women; women's ownership of the fields; boatlike shape of the houses; earth oven; decidedly vegetarian diet of the natives; lack of condiments, even salt, for food; importance of cannibalism; outrigger canoe. The most striking evidence for the matrilineal character of Easter Island culture is the supposition that the soil is tilled and owned by the women. This feminine aspect is confirmed by the widespread use of stones with engraved symbols of the vulva which were set round the fields as boundary marks. These stones, according to Gusinde's information, were put on corners near the entrance to the fields. The inheritance went from mother to daughter. When a land changed ownership, the engraved stone was removed. Near these stones there were smaller ones of the same kind. No other significance is attached to them.

This summary of Gusinde's article shows how a conscientious and serious scholar can be misled by erroneous information. Gusinde probably got his data from Estella or Knoche, both of whom were unprepared to carry on ethnological inquiries. It is not true that the women till or have tilled the soil. Here, as in the rest of Polynesia, cultivation is man's work. The fields are not and were not owned by the women, and the succession usually went from

174 father to son as elsewhere in eastern Polynesia. The natives were vegetarian only by force of circumstances. Other than fowls and rats they had no meat: Even fishing was not very productive, as the island is not surrounded by coral reefs. As to the other traits typical of the "Frei-mutterrechtlichen Kulturkreise", they are common to all Polynesians. According to Schmidt and Koppers they all belong to the "Frei-Vaterrechtliche Kulturkreis."

All the dissention comes from the postulate that the Easter Island culture is fundamentally different from other Polynesian cultures and that two races, one of which was Melanesian, must have contributed to its building.

Several authors have attempted to show parallels between Easter Island culture and the civilization of the South American Indians (161). These parallels are so fanciful or naive that I do not think it worthwhile to discuss them here. A word must be said, however, about the supposed discovery of two Easter Island spear heads in an Indian grave in Chile (3). The two specimens are no doubt from Easter Island but the circumstances of their discovery are so obscure that they cannot be taken as evidence of early intercourse between Chile and Easter Island. For sixty years Chile has been flooded with artifacts brought from Easter Island by the crew of the *Baquedano*.

Now that we have established the fact that Easter Island was occupied by a single wave of immigrants belonging to the Polynesian race, another problem faces us: where did these Polynesians come from and when did they settle on the island? The best we may hope for is to link Easter Island with some Polynesian culture area. Local cultures throughout Polynesia show a basic similarity, but they have developed peculiarities which give them a more or less distinctive pattern.

All the essential features which characterize Polynesia as a whole are found on Easter Island. As appears natural from its geographical position, Easter Island is associated most closely with southeastern Polynesia and New Zealand. None of the distinctive culture traits of western Polynesia, listed by Burrows, was recorded on Easter Island. On the other hand, a great number of the features proper to central and marginal Polynesia formed part of its culture. These are: bark-cloth retting, direct outrigger attachment, carved human figures, Rongo as primal god, procreative myth of the origin of mankind, and nights of the moon. To this list established by Burrows could be added, the stone platform or ahu, widespread in marginal Polynesia though lacking in New Zealand.

174
171 There is no doubt that Easter Island belongs to the marginal sub-area of central Polynesia culture. But in attempting to link Easter Island culture with a specific group of islands within this area we are faced with a considerable

174
171

difficulty. No specific region of central or marginal Polynesia shows a marked and distinctive resemblance to Easter Island.

With New Zealand, Easter Island has in common: the short-handled club (*patu-patu*); the long, narrow-bladed club (*taiaha*); adzes of Easter Island type 2; the horizontal method of thatching; bone needles; simple bone hooks, composite hooks; *hakari* stages for accumulating food; *tu-ahu* isolated and separate from the marae; the use of the word *koro* as term of address for father.

The Tuamotuan parallels are: plan and general aspect of the hut; plank canoes with bow-shaped strut; stone platform in the marae; feather headdress; creation myth of man; Rongo and Tangaroa as ancestors of the king; and dialect. According to Churchill (51) the Easter Island language is nearer to the Tuamotuan than to any other Polynesian dialect.

Analogies with Mangareva are particularly numerous: pavement in front of the houses; plank canoe with raised ends; general type of paddle; some features of the wooden images; confinement of chiefly children; full tattooing of the body; use of the word *ivi-atua* for priest and of *hurumanu* for commoner; type of the sacred structures; burial vaults in the marae; exposure of the corpses on a scaffold; *rongorongo* (professional chanters) association.

Marquesan parallels are: fowls; tapa images; big stone statues on platforms; carving of high relief figures; cutting of stones; long, narrow-bladed staves; perforation of the ears; full tattooing of the body; conventionalized figures with big eyes; *rongorongo* association.

Hawaiian parallels are: horizontal method of thatching; composite hooks; stone mortars; stone platform or *ku-ahu* of the heiaus; stone platforms of Necker Island.

Between Rapa and Easter Island there is no specific parallel, though Rapa is considered by many as the home country of the Easter Islanders. This view is an illusion created by the modern name of Easter Island, Rapa-nui (The-big-Rapa).

The hypothesis of a Mangarevan migration to Easter Island presents two important inconsistencies. First, the Easter Islanders could not have obtained their fowls from Mangareva where there were none; and second, they did not apply the word marae to their sanctuaries. Fowls might have disappeared from Mangareva as pigs did in the seventeenth century, but this is not likely. On the other islands the introduced fowls multiplied even without man's care. The word marae is absent in the Easter Island vocabulary, where only the old term ahu is applied to the sacred stone structures. The fusion of the assembly court (marae) and the stone platform (ahu) into a single monument is a later Polynesian development that occurred in the central area. In the Marquesas we have both terms: ahu being widely used in the north and *mea'e* in the south, a geographical distribution suggesting influences from the Society Islands or the Tuamotus.

If, because of these two inconsistencies, we should discard Mangareva as the homeland of Easter Islanders, the Marquesas would be the only acceptable solution. The Easter Islanders could not have come from the Tuamotus, for all their cultivated plants indicate a high island as the only possible source of their culture.

The Marquesan culture as we know it is, no doubt, very different from that of Easter Island, but the traits which differentiate it are later local

174 171 developments that distinguish the Marquesas from the rest of Polynesia. To pay attention only to the specialized forms of the Marquesan arts and crafts and to take for granted that from the very beginning the Marquesan culture was strongly individualized is a procedure as arbitrary as projecting into the past the present features of the Maori civilization.

It is true that the Easter Island house is entirely different from the Marquesan type, but the structure of the Easter Island house was conditioned by the lack of wood.

The Marquesan ahus or *me'ae* are widely different from the Easter Island ahus, but Emory thinks that there is nothing ruling out a basic similarity. The irregular Marquesan structures grew out of the primitive platform and court adjusted to steep valleys which did not favor the regular disposition of a platform and court. If the Mangarevans came from the Marquesas, they might have retained the primitive form of the stone sanctuary, a type that is closely connected with the Easter Island ahu. We do not know whether the Easter Islanders used to build a sacred house near their ahus. The famous *koro* houses may be connected with this category of houses.

The most striking resemblance between the ahus in the Marquesas and on Easter Island is their use as burial places and the presence of stone statues on the highest platform. There were no statues on the Mangarevan maraes. Of course the conventions of the Marquesan stone images are widely different from those of Easter Island, but we know that this style must be more or less recent in the Marquesas since it does not occur anywhere else.

The Marquesans like the Easter Islanders were completely tattooed, but the motifs had little in common. They were inspired by artistic patterns that developed independently in the two areas.

Easter Island and Marquesan arts have nothing in common except for the big-eyed representation of the human face that is practically identical in the Marquesan wood carvings and in the Easter Island petroglyphs.

The association in the Marquesas of chanting and some sort of mnemonic device (knotted string) bears a resemblance to the tablet system. Though the relation between the two traits is not striking, it may rest on the same fundamental idea.

174 If the Easter Islanders really came from the Marquesas we must assign an early date to this migration and put it in a period when the Marquesan culture was still undifferentiated and closely connected with that of the Mangarevans and the Maori. The clearly marked affinities between Mangarevan and Marquesan culture have been established by Dr. Buck on the basis of comparative studies. The Mangarevans and the Marquesans share not only a great many culture traits but a series of words for economic plants. These analogies between Mangarevan and Marquesan cultures are responsible for

174

the difficulty that we have when trying to determine the exact point from which the Easter Islanders migrated.

In this study I have reached the following conclusions: culturally Easter Island has traits in common with each of the regional cultures of marginal Polynesia. We cannot assume that each of these regional cultures has directly influenced Easter Island or that Easter Island immigrants came from each of these separate islands. The only possible explanation for this great number of parallels is that the Easter Islanders left central Polynesia at an early date, before any of the later local cultures had developed. We must suppose that at one time the ancestors of the Tuamotuans, Mangarevans, Marquesans, and Maoris resided in the same group of islands and had a single culture. After centuries of isolation on the different islands that they reached by successive migrations, they elaborated and changed their primitive culture, stressing some of its aspects and dropping others. If the Easter Island culture was an offshoot of some specific Polynesian culture, it would have preserved more traits characteristic of its original source. Easter Island culture, like the other regional cultures of Polynesia, developed and stressed certain aspects of the common heritage. The analogy between Easter Island culture and that of New Zealand seems to indicate that the ancestors of both peoples left central Polynesia at approximately the same time. At that period the ahu had not yet been fused with the marae and Tangaroa was not yet the great god of mythology. The Easter Islanders may have been among the early emigrants who spread toward the east, occupying the Tuamotus, Mangareva, and the Marquesas. After a sojourn in the Marquesas or in Mangareva, which was perhaps not long they sailed toward the east and discovered Easter Island. At the time when they left Mangareva or the Marquesas the two cultures had not developed the specific pattern they had when Europeans discovered them in the nineteenth century. The Mangarevan genealogies date back to the twelfth century, but traditional history mentions early immigrants who settled on these islands and then left for other countries, leading a restless life. Hotu-matua and his followers might have been a defeated tribe of Mangareva.

Because of lack of wood, the art of navigation degenerated on Easter Island. Wood became a precious substance, like jade in New Zealand, hence ornaments were made of wood. The only local invention made by the Easter Islanders seems to have been the wooden tablets. Their meaning is obscure; they might have been some sort of primitive pictography, but even this is not definite.

Each region of Polynesia stressed and perfected an aspect of its culture. The Marquesas specialized in tattooing until it became their most perfect expression of native art. The Maoris turned their skill to wood carving, tattooing, and the fabrication of jade ornaments. If we keep in mind the achievements of the other Polynesian cultures, the giant statues of Easter

174 Island do not seem so exceptional or contrary to the Polynesian genius. They also represent a specialization and an achievement which local conditions explain sufficiently without the interpolation of a sunken continent or Melanesian invasion.

The aim of this book has been to show that Easter Island is a local Polynesian culture which developed from an archaic and undifferentiated Polynesian civilization. But I hope that another lesson may be drawn from this book—the fact that cultures are not static, that they do not need external stimulus and influence to develop and reach some degree of perfection. On the most solitary inhabited island in the world, Easter Islanders were able to develop and perfect the culture which they received from their Polynesian ancestors to the west.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Agassiz, Alexander, Reports on the scientific results of the expedition to the eastern tropical Pacific: Mus. Comp. Zoology Harvard College, Mem., vol. 33, pp. 53-62, Cambridge, 1906.
2. Ahnne, E., Les hiéroglyphes de l'Ile de Pâques: Soc. d'études océaniennes, Bull., vol. 5, no. 47, pp. 185-193, Papeete, 1933.
3. Aichel, Otto, Österinselpalaeolithen in prähistorischen Gräbern Chiles: Cong. Internat. des Américanistes, Compte-rendu de la 21ème session (pt. 2, Göteborg, 1924), pp. 267-269, Göteborg, 1925.
4. Aitken, R. T., Ethnology of Tubuai: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 70, 1930.
5. Amasa, Delano (correctly Delano, Amasa), A narrative of voyages and travels in the northern and southern hemispheres, Boston, 1817.
6. Andree, Richard, Ein Moi Toromiro (Hausgötze) von der Österinsel: Globus, vol. 76, pp. 389-390, Braunschweig, 1899.
7. Baessler, Arthur, Neue Suedsee-Bilder, Berlin, 1900.
8. Bahnson, Christian. Ethnografien, 2 vols., Copenhagen, 1900.
9. Balfour, Henry, Some ethnological suggestions in regard to Easter Island, or Rapanui: Folklore, vol. 28, pp. 356-381, London, 1917.
10. Balfour, Henry, The statues of Easter Island: Folklore, vol. 32, pp. 70-72, London, 1917.
11. Bandy, M. C., Geology and petrology of Easter Island: Geol. Soc. America, Bull., vol. 48, pp. 1589-1610, 1937.
12. Barclay, H. V., Easter Island and its colossal statues: Geogr. Soc. Australasia (South Australian Branch), Proc. (11th Session, 1897-98), vol. 3, pp. 127-137, Adelaide, 1899.
13. Barclay, H. V., Mission à l'Ile de Pâques (Communication faite par M. Jules Garnier): Comptes rendus des séances de la Soc. de Geogr. et de la commission centrale, 1899, pp. 169-176, Paris, 1900.
14. Beasley, H. G., Pacific island records; fish hooks, London, 1928.
15. Beechey, F. W., Narrative of a voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait (1825-28), 2 vols., London, 1831.
16. Bédault [Bidault] de Grésigny, Léonce, Piéces préhistoriques de l'Ile de Pâques (Australie): 6ème Congr. préhist. de France, pp. 268-270, Lons-le-Saunier, 1913.
17. Bergman, Bengt, "Easter Island" in the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden: Ethnos, vol. 2, pp. 102-115, Stockholm, 1937. This article contains the translation of Sparrman, Anders, Resa omkring Jordklotet i sällskap med Kapit. J. Cook och Hrr. Forster, Åren 1772-75, Stockholm, 1818.
18. Behrens, C. F., Histoire de l'expédition de trois vaisseaux, 2 vols., La Haye, 1739.
19. Bennett, W. C., Archaeology of Kauai: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 80, 1931.
20. Best, Elsdon, The Maori, 2 vols., Wellington, 1924.
21. Best, Elsdon, The Maori canoe: Dominion Mus., Bull. 7, Wellington, 1925.
22. Best, Elsdon, The stone implements of the Maori: Dominion Mus., Bull. 4, Wellington, 1912.
22a. Bidault de Grésigny, see Bédault . . . (16).
23. Bonin, Gerhardt von, A contribution to the craniology of the Easter Islanders (with a note to table VIII by G. M. Morant): Biometrika, vol. 23, pp. 249-270, London, 1931.
24. Branchi, E. C., L'isola de Pasqua, Santiago de Chile, 1934.

25. Brigham, W. T., The ancient Hawaiian house: B. P. Bishop Mus., Mem., vol. 2, no. 3, 1908.

26. Brigham, W. T., Ka hana kapa: B. P. Bishop Mus., Mem., vol. 3, 1911.

27. Brown, J. M., The riddle of the Pacific, London, 1924.

28. Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa), Ethnology of Mangareva: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 157, 1938.

29. Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa), Ethnology of Manihiki and Rakahanga: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 99, 1932.

30. Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa), Ethnology of Tongareva: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 92, 1932.

31. Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa), Mangaian society: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 122, 1934.

32. Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa), The Maori craft of netting: New Zealand Inst., Trans., vol. 56, pp. 597-646, 1926.

33. Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa), The material culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki): Bd. Maori Ethnol. Research, Mem., vol. 1, 1927.

34. Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa), Samoan material culture: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 75, 1930.

35. Burrows, E. G. Western Polynesia, a study in differentiation, manuscript in Yale University Library.

36. Buschan, Georg, Illustrierte Völkerkunde, vol. 2, Stuttgart, 1923.

37. Butaye, Isidore, Ile de Pâques; un mot des tablettes et des statues colossales de l'Ile de Pâques: Ann. des Sacrés Coeurs, n. ser., 8ème année, no. 1, Paris, 1901.

38. Caillot, A. C. E., Mythes, légendes et traditions des Polynésiens, Paris, 1914.

39. Capitan, L., Contribution à l'étude des rapports de l'Amérique avec l'Océanie: les bois parlants et les pierres taillées de l'Ile de Pâques: Soc. des Américanistes de Paris, n. ser., vol. 17, pp. 300-304, Paris, 1925.

40. Caroll, A., The Easter Island inscriptions: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 1, pp. 102-106, 233-253, 1892; vol. 6, pp. 91-93, 1897.

41. Casey, R. J., Easter Island, New York, 1931.

42. Chamisso, Adalbert von, Reise um die Welt mit der Romanzoffischen Entdeckungs-Expedition in den Jahren 1815-1818, 4 vols., Berlin, 1864.

43. Chapin, J. P., The Templeton Crocker Pacific Expedition: Sci. Monthly, vol. 41, pp. 281-285, Lancaster, Pa., 1935.

44. Charlin, Carlos, Ensayo bibliográfico sobre la isla de Pascua: Seminario de derecho publico, Bol., anexo 1, Santiago de Chile, 1935.

45. Chauvet, Stephen, L'Ile de Pâques et ses mystères, Paris, 1936.

46. Chauvet, Stephen, Outils anciens et de formes inédites (en obsidienne éclatée) ressortissant à la civilisation de la pierre polie de l'Ile de Pâques: Soc. préhist. française, Bull., vol. 32, pp. 406-408, Paris, 1935.

47. Chauvet, Stephen, Présentation d'un hameçon de l'Ile de Pâques: Soc. préhist. française, Bull., vol. 32, pp. 406-408, Paris, 1935.

48. Choris, Louis, Voyage pittoresque autour du monde, Paris, 1822.

49. Choris, Louis, Vues et paysages des régions equinoxiales, Paris, 1826.

50. Chubb, L. J., Geology of Galapagos, Cocos, and Easter Islands: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 110, 1933.

51. Churchill, William, Easter Island; the Rapanui speech and the peopling of southeast Polynesia, Washington, 1912.

113

52. Clark, B. F., Reporting calling at Sala-y-Gomez and Easter Islands (letter from the Commander of the *Sappo* to Rear-Admiral Algernon Lyons): Roy. Geogr. Soc. Australasia (South Australian Branch), Proc. (11th Session, 1897-98), vol. 3, pp. 143-146, 1899.

53. Cook, James, A voyage towards the south pole and round the world (1772-75), vol. 1, 2d. ed., London, 1777.

54. Cooke, G. H., Te Pito te Henua, known as Rapa Nui . . . : U. S. Nat. Mus. Rept., pt. 1, pp. 689-723, 1899.

55. Couteaud, Dr., Les origines de l'Ile de Pâques: Rev. de l'Ecole d'Anthrop. de Paris, 20ème année, pp. 86-87, 1910.

56. Croft, Thomas, Letters accompanying presentation of photographs of hieroglyphics from Easter Island: California Acad. Sci., Proc., vol. 5, pp. 317-323, 1873.

57. Dalton, O. M., The Easter Island script: Man, no. 78, 1904.

58. Dalton, O. M., On an inscribed wooden tablet from Easter Island (Rapa-nui), in the British Museum: Man, no. 1, 1904.

58a. Delano, Amasa, see Amasa (5).

59. Desmedt, Maurice, Les funérailles et l'exposition des morts à Mangareva (Gambier): Soc. des Américanistes de Belgique, Bull., pp. 128-136, 1931.

60. Dixon, R. B., The building of cultures, New York, 1928.

61. Dixon, R. B., Oceania: The mythology of all races, vol. 9, Boston, 1926.

62. Drapkin. Israel, Contribución al estudio antropológico y demográfico de los Pascuenses: Soc. des Américanistes de Paris, Jour., n. ser., vol. 27, pp. 266-302, 1935.

63. Dumont d'Urville, J. S. C., Voyage au Pôle sud et dans l'Océanie, 10 vols., Paris, 1841.

64. Dunbabin, Thomas, Slavers of the South Seas, Sydney, 1935.

65. Du Petit-Thouars, Aubert, Voyage autour du monde sur la frégate "La Venus" (1836-39), 4 vols., Paris, 1841.

66. Easter Island wood carvings: Mus. Univ. Pennsylvania, Bull., vol. 6, pp. 21-29, Philadelphia, 1935.

67. Echeverria y Reyes, Anibal, Datos sobre los jeroglíficos de la Isla de Pascua: Congr. Interna. de los Americanistas, Actas (7th session, Buenos Aires), p. 444, 1910.

68. Edge-Partington, James, A "domestic idol" from Easter Island (Rapa-nui): Man, pp. 73-74, 1904.

69. Eich, Georges, Lettre de P . . . : Ann. des Sacrés Coeurs, n. ser., 5ème année, no. 11, pp. 415-423, Paris, 1898.

70. Ellis, William, Polynesian researches, 4 vols., London, 1840.

71. Emory, K. P., The archaeology of Mangareva: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 163, 1939.

72. Emory, K. P., Archaeology of Nihoa and Necker Islands: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. 53, 1928.

73. Emory, K. P., Archaeology of the Pacific equatorial islands: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 123, 1934.

74. Emory, K. P., Ethnology of the Tuamotus, manuscript in B. P. Bishop Museum.

75. Emory, K. P., The island of Lanai: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 12, 1924.

76. Emory, K. P., Review of Bulletin de la Société des Américanistes de Belgique for December 1932: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 42, pp. 125-126, 1933.

77. Emory, K. P., Stone remains in the Society Islands: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 116, 1933.

113

78. Emory, K. P., Tuamotuan stone structures: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 118, 1934.

79. Estella, Bienvenido de, Los misterios de la Isla de Pascua, Santiago de Chile, 1920.

80. Estella, Bienvenido de, Mis viajés a Pascua, Santiago de Chile, 1921.

81. Eyraud, F. E., Lettre du F. Eugène Eyraud au T. R. P. supérieur général: Ann. de l'association de la propagation de la foi, vol. 38, pp. 44-71; vol. 39, pp. 250-259, Lyon, 1866-67.

82. Forster, G., Florulae insularum australium prodromus, Göttingen, 1786.

83. Forster, George, A voyage round the world in H.B.M.'s sloop "Resolution" (1772-75), London, 1777.

84. Forster, J. R., Observations made during a voyage round the world, London, 1778.

85. Fuentes, Francisco, Reseña botánica sobre la Isla de Pascua: Mus. Nat. de Chile, Bol., vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 320-337, Santiago de Chile, 1913.

86. Gana, I. L., Descripción científica de la Isla de Pascua: Biblioteca Geográfica é Historica Chilena de L. Ignacio Silva, vol. 1, pp. 11-52, Santiago de Chile, 1903.

87. Geiseler, (Kapitänlieutenant), Die Öster-Insel, Berlin, 1883.

88. Giglioli, E. H., La collezione etnografica del Prof. Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, pt. 1, Australasia, Firenze, 1911.

89. Gill, W. W., Jottings from the Pacific, London, 1885.

90. Gonzalez, Don Felipe, The voyage of . . . to Easter Island in 1770-71 (translated by B. G. Corney): Hakluyt Soc., 2d ser., vol. 13, Cambridge, 1908.

91. Gracia, Mathias, Lettres sur les Iles Marquises, Paris, 1845.

92. Gray, H. St. G., Another type of "domestic idol" from Easter Island: Man, no. 96, 1904.

93. Gusinde, Martin, Bibliografía del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile, vol. 2, nos. 2-3, pp. 201-383, Santiago de Chile, 1920-22.

94. Gusinde, Martin, Catálogo de los objectos originarios de la Isla de Pascua conservados en este Museo: Mus. Etnología y Antropología de Chile, Pub., vol. 3, pp. 200-244, Santiago de Chile, 1922.

95. Gusinde, Martin, Mütterrechtliche Eigentumsmarken von der Österinsel: Anthrop. Gesell. Wien, Mitt., vol. 60, pp. 352-355, 1930.

96. Haberlandt, M., Die Schrifttafeln der Österinsel: Globus, vol. 61, pp. 274-277, Braunschweig, 1892.

97. Haberlandt, M., Ueber Schrifttafeln von der Österinsel: Anthrop. Gesell. Wien, Mitt., vol. 16, pp. 97-102, 1886.

98. Hall, H. U., The orator's staff: Museum Jour., Mus. Univ. Pennsylvania, vol. 15, pp. 293-309, Philadelphia, 1924.

99. Hall, H. U., A woodcarving from Easter Island: Museum Jour., Mus. Univ. Pennsylvania, vol. 16, pp. 125-131, Philadelphia, 1925.

100. Hamilton, Augustus, Fishing and sea-foods of the ancient Maori: Dominion Mus., Bull. 2, Wellington, 1908.

101. Hamilton, James, Massacre at Easter Island; letter of . . . Lahaina, June 9th, 1856; The Friend, p. 50, Honolulu, July 1856.

102. Handbook to the ethnographical collections, British Museum, London, 1925.

103. Handy, E. S. C., Houses, boats, and fishing in the Society Islands: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 90, 1932.

104. Handy, E. S. C., The native culture in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 9, 1923.

105. Harlez, C. de, L'Ile de Pâques et ses monuments graphiques, Louvain, 1896.

106. HARRISON, J. P., Exhibition of photographs and implements from Easter Island: Roy. Anthrop. Inst. Great Britain and Ireland, Jour., vol. 3, pp. 177-178, London, 1873.

107. HENRY, TEUIRA, Ancient Tahiti: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 48, 1928.

108. HENTZE, CARL, Notes sur l'Ile de Pâques. Perruque de la statuette Pinart (Trocadéro): Soc. des Américanistes de Belgique, Bull., pp. 118-119, Brussels, December 1932.

109. HORNELL, JAMES, The canoes of Polynesia, Fiji and Micronesia; vol. 1 of Haddon, A. C., and Hornell, James, Canoes of Oceania: B. P. Bishop Mus., Sp. Pub. 27, 1936.

110. IM THURN, EVERARD, The island of the stone statues: Nature, vol. 105, pp. 583-584, London, 1920.

111. IVENS, W. G., Island builders of the Pacific, Philadelphia (n.d.).

112. JAUSSEN, TEPANO, Les bois parlants de l'Ile de Pâques: Soc. des Etudes Océaniennes. Bull., vol. 5, no. 55-56, pp. 537-542, 583-588, Papeete, 1936.

113. JAUSSEN, TEPANO, Destruction d'une Chrétienté: Les Missions Catholiques, vol. 6, pp. 382-386, Lyon, 1874.

114. JAUSSEN, TEPANO, L'Ile de Pâques. Historique et écriture: Bull. de Géorg. Hist. et Descriptive, no. 2, pp. 240-270, Paris, 1893.

115. JAUSSEN, TEPANO, L'Ile de Pâques. Historique et écriture: Bull. de Géogr. Hist. et Descriptive, no. 2, pp. 240-270, Paris, 1893.

116. KARUTZ, Mittheilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde zu Lubeck: Internat. Archiv. f. Ethnogr., vol. 13, pp. 151-155, 1899.

117. KNAPP, G., Deux statuettes de l'Ile de Pâques; Soc. Neuchâteloise de Geogr., Bull., vol. 20, pp. 464-466, 1910.

118. KNOCHE, WALTER, Beobachtungen und Erkundigungen auf der Österinsel: Deutschen Wissenschaftl. Vereins zu Santiago de Chile, vol. 7, pp. 401-402, 1920.

119. KNOCHE, WALTER, Cráneos marcados de la Isla de Pascua: Revista Chilena de Hist. y Geogr., vol. 12, pp. 344-346, Santiago de Chile, 1914.

120. KNOCHE, WALTER, Ein atypisher Kopf aus Pechstein von der Österinsel: Zeit. f. Ethnol., vol. 60, p. 386, Berlin, 1929.

121. KNOCHE, WALTER, Einige Beobachtungen über Geschlechtsleben und Niederkunft auf der Österinsel: Zeit. f. Ethnol. vol. 44, pp. 659-661, Berlin, 1912.

122. KNOCHE, WALTER, Ein Märchen und zwei kleine Gesänge von der Österinsel: Zeit. f. Ethnol. vol. 44, pp. 64-72, Berlin, 1912.

123. KNOCHE, WALTER, Die Österinsel, Concepción de Chile, 1925.

124. KNOCHE, WALTER, Tres notas sobre la Isla de Pascua: Revista Chilena de Hist. y Geogr., vol. 2, pp. 442-466, Santiago de Chile, 1912.

125. KNOCHE, WALTER, Vorläufige Bemerkung über die Entstehung der Standbilder auf der Österinsel: Zeit. f. Ethnol., vol. 44, pp. 873-877, Berlin, 1912.

126. KNOCHE, WALTER, Waren die Toromiro der Österinsel Marionetten?: Zeit. f. Ethnol., vol. 59, pp. 95-98, Berlin, 1928.

127. KOTZEBUE, OTTO VON, A voyage of discovery into the South Sea and Bering Straits, 3 vols., London, 1821.

128. LACROIX, ALFRED, Composition minéralogique des roches volcaniques de l'Ile de Pâques: Comptes rendus des séances de l'Acad. des Sci., vol. 202, p. 527, séance du 17 fevrier, Paris, 1936.

129. LAPELIN, T. DE, L'Ile de Pâques: Rev. maritime et coloniale, vol. 35, pp. 105-125, 526-544, Paris, 1872.

130. La Pérouse, J. F. de G., Voyage de . . . autour du monde, Paris, 1797 (English translation, London, 1798).
131. Lavachery, Henri, Les bois employés dans l'Ile de Pâques: Soc des Américanistes de Belgique, Bull., pp. 67-71, March 1934.
132. Lavachery, Henri, Contribution à l'étude des statuettes en bois de l'Ile de Pâques: Soc. des Américanistes de Belgique, Bull., pp. 13-43, June 1932.
133. Lavachery, Henri, Easter Island, Polynesia: Smithsonian Inst., Ann. Rept. Board of Regents, pp. 391-396, 1936.
134. Lavachery, Henri, Ile de Pâques, Paris, 1935.
135. Lavachery, Henri, La Mission Franco-Belge dans l'Ile de Pâques: Soc. Roy. de Geogr. d'Anvers, Bull., pp. 3-51, 1935.
136. Lavachery, Henri, Notes sur l'Ile de Pâques. Perruque de la statuette Pinart (Trocadéro): Soc. des Américanistes de Belgique, Bull., pp. 118-119, December 1932.
137. Lavachery, Henri, Notes sur l'Ile de Pâques: Soc. des Américanistes de Belgique, Bull., pp. 96-100, Brussels, August 1933.
138. Lavachery, Henri, Tablette Keiti: Soc. des Américanistes de Belgique, Bull., pp. 101-102, August 1933.
139. Lehmann, Walter, Essai d'une monographie bibliographique sur l'Ile de Pâques: Anthropos, vol. 2, pp. 141-151, 257-258, Salzburg, 1907.
140. Lesson, P. A., Les Polynésiens, leur origine, leur migration, leur language, 4 vols., Paris, 1880-84.
141. Linton, Ralph, Archaeology of the Marquesas Islands: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 23, 1925.
142. Linton, Ralph, The material culture of the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Mem., vol. 8, no. 5, 1923.
143. Lisiansky, Urey, Voyage round the world, 1803-1806, London, 1814.
144. Loppé, Etienne, Note sur une sculpture en pierre d'Ile de Pâques: L'homme Préhistorique, nos. 6-8, 15th year, pp. 172-174, Paris, 1928.
145. Loti, Pierre (Julien Viaud), Expedition der Fregatte "La Flore" nach der Österinsel 1872: Globus, vol. 23, no. 5, pp. 65-68, Braunschweig, 1873.
146. Loti, Pierre (Julien Viaud), Reflets sur la sombre route, Paris (n.d.).
147. McKern, W. C., Archaeology of Tonga: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 60, 1929.
148. Maclay, Miklukho, N. N., Ostrova Rapa-Nui, Pitkarn i Mangareva: Isvestia Imperatorskago Russkago Geographicheskago Obshchestva, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 42-55, 1872.
149. Maclay, Miklukho, Ueber die "Kohau rogo rogo" oder die Holztafeln von Rapa-Nui: Gesell. f. Erdkunde, Zeit., vol. 7, pp. 79-81, Berlin, 1872.
150. Mahler, Richard, Siedelungsgebiet und Siedelungslage in Oceanien: Internat. Archiv f. Ethnogr. Suppl., vol. 11, Leiden, 1898.
151. Martinez, Eduardo, Vocabulario de la lengua Rapa-nui, Isla de Pascua, Santiago de Chile, 1913.
152. Meinicke, C. E., Die Inseln des Stillen Oceans, Leipzig, 1888.
153. Métraux, Alfred, Easter Island sanctuaries: Ethnol. Stud., vol. 5, pp. 104-153, Göteborg, 1937.
154. Métraux, Alfred, The proto-Indian script and the Easter Island tablets. (A critical study): Anthropos, vol. 33, pp. 218-239, 1938.
155. Métraux, Alfred, Numerals from Easter Island: Man, vol. 36, no. 254, 1936.

156. Métraux, Alfred, Polynesian traditions of voyages to Easter Island: Soc. des Américanistes de Belgique, Bull., pp. 129-138, Brussels, December 1937.

157. Métraux, Alfred, Relief carving on stone in Polynesia: Ethnos, vol. 2, pp. 340-344, Stockholm, 1937.

158. Métraux, Alfred, Two Easter Island tablets in the Bernice P. Museum, Honolulu: Man, vol. 38, no. 1, 1938.

159. Meyer, A. B., Bilderschriften des Ostindischen Archipels und der Südsee: Königl. Ethnogr. Mus. zu Dresden, Pub. 1, 1861.

160. Meyer, A. B., and Jablonowski, J., 24 Menschenchädel von der Öster Insel: Königl. Zool. und Anthrop-Ethnogr. Mus. zu Dresden, Abh. und Ber., vol. 9, no. 4, 1901.

160a. Miklukho-Maklay, N. N., see Maclay (148, 149).

161. Moeller, Klara von, Die Österinsel und Peru: Zeit. f. Ethnol., vol. 69, pp. 7-22, Berlin, 1937.

162. Moerenhout, J. A., Voyages aux Iles du Grand Océan, 2 vols., Paris, 1837.

163. Mott, A. H., Notes on Easter Island: Lit. and Phil. Soc., Liverpool, Proc., vol. 35, pp. 159-191, London, 1880-81.

164. Mouly, R. P., Ile de Pâques, île de mystère, Paris, 1935.

165. Ollivier, Pacôme, Lettre du R. P. . . . au T.R.P. Euthyme Rouchouze: Ann. de l'association de la propagation de la foi, vol. 38, pp. 46-51; vol. 39, pp. 250-259, Lyon, 1867.

166. Oyarzun, Aureliano, Ronas de la Isla de Pascua: Congr. Interna. de los Americanistas (25th session, La Plata, 1932). vol. 2, pp. 107-111, Buenos Aires, 1934.

167. Oyarzun, Aureliano, Toromiros de la Isla de Pascua: Revista Chilena de hist. nat., vol. 25, pp. 133-140, Santiago de Chile, 1921.

168. Palmer, J. Linton, Davis or Easter Island: Lit. and Phil. Soc., Liverpool, Proc., vol. 29, pp. 275-297, London, 1875.

169. Palmer, J. Linton, Observations on the inhabitants and the antiquities of Easter Island: Ethnol. Soc., London, Jour., vol. 1, pp. 371-377, 1869.

170. Palmer, J. Linton, On some tablets found in Easter Island: Lit. Phil. Soc. Liverpool, Proc., vol. 30, pp. 255-263, London, 1875-1876.

171. Palmer, J. Linton, A visit to Easter Island, or Rapa Nui, in 1868: Roy. Geogr. Soc. Jour., vol. 40, pp. 167-181, London, 1870.

172. Palmer, J. Linton, A visit to Easter Island, or Rapa Nui: Roy. Geogr. Soc., Proc., vol. 14, pp. 108-119 (discussion p. 117), London, 1870.

173. Park, H. J., The hieroglyphics of Easter Island: Roy. Anthrop. Inst. Great Britain and Ireland, Jour., vol. 3, pp. 370-383, London, 1874.

174. Park, H. J., Note on five hieroglyphic tablets from Easter Island: Roy. Anthrop. Inst. Great Britain and Ireland, Jour., vol. 5, pp. 248-250, London, 1876.

175. Petri, Helmut, Eine Schädelserie von der Österinsel: Anthrop. Gesell. Wien, Mitt., vol. 66, pp. 17-29, 1936

176. Philippi, R. A., Iconografía. De la escritura jerográfica de los indígenas de la Isla de Pascua: Univ. de Chile, Ann., vol. 47, pp. 670-683, Santiago de Chile, 1875.

177. Philippi, R. A., Sobre la Isla de Pascua: Revista de Santiago, vol. 3, pp. 227, 292, 424, 442, Santiago de Chile, 1872-1873.

178. Pinart, Alphonse, Voyage à l'Ile de Pâques: Le Tour du Monde, vol. 36, pp. 225-240, Paris, 1878.

179. Piotrowski, A., Deux tablettes, avec les marques gravées de l'Ile de Pâques, de la collection de N. N. Miklouckho-Maklay (Musée d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnographie de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie): Rev. d'Ethnogr. vol. 6, pp. 425-531, Paris, 1925.

180. Powell, W. A., Detailed report upon Easter Island, or Rapa-nui: Roy. Geogr. Soc. Australasia (South Australien branch), Proc. (Session 1888-89), vol. 3, pp. 138-142, Adelaide, 1899.

181. Prat, Augustin, La Isla de Pascua: La Tarde, January 7 and 10, Santiago de Chile, 1903.

182. Rahm, Gilbert, Observaciones sobre los grupos sanguineos en la Isla de Pascua: Soc. Biologica de Concepción (Chile), Bull., vol. 56, pp. 59-64, 1931-32.

183. Rahm, Gilbert, Die Rätsel der Österinsel: Die Umschau, vol. 38, Frankfort a.m., 1934.

184. Ratzel, Friedrich, Die Naturvölker Ozeaniens, Amerikas und Alten: Völkerkunde, vol.. 2, Leipzig, 1886.

185. Rivers, H. R., The statues of Easter Island: Folklore, vol. 31, pp. 294-306, London, 1920.

186. Roggeveen, Jacob, Extracts from the official log of Mynheer J. Roggeveen (1721-22): Hakluyt Soc., 2d ser., vol. 13, London, 1908.

187. Ropiteau, André, Une visite au Musée missionaire des Pères des Sacrés Coeurs de Picpus: Soc. des Etudes océaniennes (Polynésie orientale), Bull., vol. 5, no. 55, pp. 518-527, Papeete, 1935.

188. Ross, A. S. C., Fontes lingnae Paschalis saec. XVIII: Soc. des Américanistes de Belgique, Bull. pp. 15-39, Brussels, March 1937.

189. Ross, A. S. C., Preliminary notice of some late eighteenth century numerals from Easter Island: Man, vol. 36, no. 120, 1936.

190. Roussel, Hippolyte, Ile de Pâques: Ann. des Sacrés Coeurs, nos. 305-309, pp. 355-360, 423-430, 462-466, 495-499, Paris, 1926.

191. Roussel, Hippolyte, Vocabulaire de la langue de l'Ile de Pâques ou Rapa nui: Le Muséon, nos. 2-3, pp. 159-254, Louvain, 1908.

192. Routledge, C. S., The bird cult of Easter Island: Folklore, vol. 28, pp. 337-381, London, 1917.

193. Routledge, C. S., The mysterious images of Easter Island: Wonders of the Past, by J. A. Hammerton, vol. 3, pp. 791-804, 1924.

194. Routledge, C. S., The mystery of Easter Island, London, 1919.

195. Routledge, C. S., Survey of the village and carved rocks of Orongo, Easter Island, by the Mana Expedition: Roy. Anthrop. Inst. Great Britain and Ireland, Jour., vol. 50, pp. 425-451, London, 1920.

196. Rüdinger, N., Die Rassenschädel und Skelette in d. Königl. Anatom. Anstalt zu München: Archiv f. Anthrop., vol. 20, p. 116, Braunschweig, 1892.

197. Saxberg, H. O., Easter Island, the mystery of the Pacific: Pan-American Union, Bull., vol. 35, pp. 897-908, Washington, 1912.

198. Schüller, Rudolf, Ergänzungen zur "Monographie bibliographique sur l'Ile de Pâques", par le Dr. W. Lehmann: Globus, vol. 92, pp. 270-271, Braunschweig, 1907.

[illegible]9. Schulze-Maizier, Friedrich, Die Österinsel, Leipzig.

200. Seligman, C. G., Note on an obsidian axe or adze blade from Papua: Man, no. 91, 1915.

201. Seurat, L. G., Légendes des Paumotu: Rev. des Traditions Populaires, vol. 20, pp. 433-440, 481-488, Paris, 1905.

202. Shapiro, H. L., Mystery Island of the Pacific: Nat. Hist. vol. 35, no. 5, pp. 365-377, New York, 1935.

202a. Schmidt, Hans, Die Steinbilder-Typen der Österinsel und ihre Chronologie (Doctor's thesis of the University of Hamburg), 1927.

203. Shortland, Edward, Traditions and superstitions of the New Zealanders, London, 1854.

204. Skinner, H. D., The Easter Island figures: Folklore, vol. 33, pp. 296-299, London, 1922.

205. Skinner, H. D., The Easter Island script: Polynesian Soc. Jour., vol. 41, p. 323, 1932.

206. Skinner, H. D., The Morioris of Chatham Islands: B. P. Bishop Mus., Mem., vol. 9, no. 1, 1923.

207. Skinner, H. D., Manuscript in B. P. Bishop Museum.

208. Skottsberg, Carl, The natural history of Juan Fernandez and Easter Island, Uppsala, 1920.

209. Smith, S. P., History and traditions of Rarotonga: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vols. 28, 29, 30, 1919-21.

210. Steele, R. H., Experiments in Kaitahu (Ngai-Tahu) methods of drilling: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 39, pp. 181-188, 1930.

211. Steele, R. H., The Maori sewing-needle: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 39, pp. 310-314, 1930.

212. Stokes, J. F. G., Ethnology of Rapa, Manuscript in B. P. Bishop Museum.

213. Stolpe, Hjalmar, Pask-ön: Ymer, Tredje Arg. H. 5, pp. 150-199, Stockholm, 1883.

214. Stolpe, Hjalmar, Ueber die Taetowierung der Öster-Insulaner: Königl. Zool. und Anthrop.-Ethnogr. Mus. zu Dresden, Abh. und Ber., Festschrift, no. 6, 1899.

215. Thomson, W. J., Te Pito te Henua or Easter Island: U.S. Nat. Mus., Ann. Rept., pp. 447-552, 1889.

216. Thrope, W. W., An inscribed wooden gorget from Rapanui (Easter Island); Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 33, pp. 149-150, 1924.

217. Thrum, T. G., Hawaiian temple structures: B. P. Bishop Mus., Sp. Pub. no. 7, pp. 86-90, 1921.

218. Tregear, Edward, Easter Island: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 1, pp. 95-102, 1892.

219. Valenzuela, Zósimo, La Isla de Pascua, Santiago de Chile, 1912.

220. Vives Solar, J. I., Una antigua guerra en la Isla de Pascua: Rev. Chilena de Hist. y Geogr. vol. 23, pp. 237-320, 1919.

221. Vives Solar, J. I., Orejas grandes y orejas chicas: Rev. Chilena de Hist. y. Geogr. vol. 34, pp. 116-121, 1930.

222. Vives Solar, J. I., Rapa Nui: cuentos Pascuences, Santiago de Chile, 1920.

223. Vives Solar, J. I., Te poki Rapanui (El niño Pascuense), Santiago de Chile, 1923.

224. Volz, Wilhelm, Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Südsee: Archiv f. Anthrop. vol. 22, pp. 97-160, Braunschweig, 1894.

225. Watelin, L. C., Note sur l'ecriture de l'Ile de Pâques: Soc. des Américanistes de Belgique, Bull., pp. 63-66, Brussels, March 1934.

226. Weisser, Sammlung von der Österinsel: Original-Mittheil aus der Ethnol. Abt. d. Königl. Mus. zu Berlin, vol. 1, p. 2, Berlin, 1885.

227. Williams, H. W., The Maori whare: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 5, pp. 145-154, 1896.

228. Williamson, R. W., The social and political systems of central Polynesia, 3 vols. Cambridge, 1924.

229. Young, J. L., Remarks on phallic stones from Rapanui: B. P. Bishop Mus., Occ. Papers, vol. 2, no. 25, p. 31, 1904.

230. Zumbohm, Gaspard, Lettres du R. P. . . . au Directeur des Annales sur la mission de l'Ile Pâques: Ann. de la Congregation des Sacrés-Coeurs de Jésus et de Marie, vols. 5-6, Paris, 1879-80.

INDEX

000

ahu 283-289, 38, 125, 132, 302-303
abortion 101
arrowroot 158
art,
    petroglyphs 270-272
    painting 272, 294
arum 155

barkcloth 213
barter 48, 169
beards 219
belts of tortoise shell 235
birds 18
bird cult 331-341, 125, 314
boats 144
boundaries 142-143
bows and arrows 354
burial 115-118

cannibalism 150-151, 75-76, 329-330, 334
carrying poles 164
carved wooden pendants 233-234
carvings in caves 332
cave shelters 192
    homes 128
    workshops 178, 192
ceremonies, general 103, 148
chanters of genealogies 136, 137
charms 330-331
    for revenge 148
chastity 104
communal boats 144
cooking 162-163
cord (*hau*) 183, 210
cord, netting 183
crop tapus 152
cultivation 112
    of food plants 13-15, 153
cults, bird 331-341
curios 48, 148, 169-170, 249-250
cutting implements 272-283

dance paddles 267-269, 300
dances 334
dancing 359-362
descent groups 120
digging sticks 152

disease (tuberculosis, smallpox, scrofula, syphilis) 21
    treatment of 341-343
dishonesty 144-146
distention of ear lobes 228, 73, 95
divine mana 130-131
division of land 121
domestic animals, introduction of 39, 44, 64-65
dreams 102, 118
duels 148
Dutroux-Bornier 45-46, 142, 150
dyes 158

earth oven 162-163
egg hunt 125
emigration 22
etiquette 164
European contacts 36-49
eyeshades 19

famine food 160
feasts 103, 105, 111
    birth 103
feast house 105, 348
feather headdresses 219-227
    feather circlets 220-223, 19
    conical caps 225
    containers 225
    crescents 223-224
    diadems 223
fire stick 161
first-born son 103, 133
first fruits 134
fishhooks 174-180
    composite 180
    one-piece 174-180
folklore 362-389
food, birds' eggs 331, 332
fowl 19
fuel 161-162
funeral expenses 117
furniture 201

games, war 149
genealogies of kings 88-94
gifts 103
    exchange of 100-101, 111
government 135-136

greetings 140-142
guilds 137

hair 219
hats 19
    women's 226
hau trees 17
head, sacredness of 103-104
headdresses for statues 300-302
    miscellaneous 226, 227
headgear 219-228
    wreaths 220
hibiscus 16
Hoa-haka-nana-ia 298, 336, 306
Hotu-matua 56-65, 15, 35, 93, 94, 121, 123, 126, 127, 129
houses 194-200
    house foundations 194-196
    door 198
    framework 196-197
    interior 199
    modern 200
    pavement 199
    size 200
    thatching 197-198
human sacrifices 329-330
hunt for eggs 125

illegitimate children 109
images 249-263, 291-308, 344-345
    lizard 265-266
    paina 344-345
    stone 291-308
        transportation of 297-298, 304-306
    wooden 249-263
        care of 259, 260
        significance of 260-263
incarnations 309, 311, 313, 316, 341, 375
incest 109
infant betrothal 109
infidelity 111, 114
inheritance 107, 143
insects 18
insignia 130, 135
insignia of office 222, 231
introduced plants 153, 159

introduced trees 15, 153
invocations for rain 310, 330

kidnapping 42-43, 91-92
king, his
    boat 132
    burial 132
    dress 132
    foods 131-132
    home 132-133
    ornaments 132
kites 353

laments 117
language 30
law 146
learned men 137
legend
    cannibalism 382, 387
        origin of 377
    cloak of Tuu-ko-ihu 366
    fishhooks, bone 363
        origin of 363
    hieroglyphs 389-411
    jealousy 385, 388
    kidnapping 375
    kohau rongorongo 389-411
    magic flight 374-375
    magic of Ure 365
    murder 383-384, 386-387
    octopus 373-374
    revenge 377, 378, 384-386
    rongorongo men 389-392
    script 400-411
    spears (*mataa*), origin of 376
    spirits 365, 368-369, 370, 371, 375
    surgery 389
    tattooing, origin of 367
    turmeric, origin of 369
    turtles 372-373
    yam, origin of 374
leprosy 22
lineages 126-128
    geographical distribution 127
lizard images 265-266
lizards 18
Long-ears 55, 69-74

Makemake 309, 311-315
masks 140

masonry 290-291
massage 342
medicine 160, 161
miraculous birth 130
mourning 118

navel, cutting rites 64, 65
    tying of 102
number of inhabitants 20-21

offerings of food 118
omens 102
ornamentation 219-248
    belts of tortoise shell 235
    breast ornaments 230-232
    carved wooden pendants 233-234
    hair 219
    neck 229-230
    painting 236
    skin dyes 236-237
    tattooing 237-248
    whale-tooth ivory 230
    wooden balls 233
ornaments 108

painting 236, 272, 294
paper mulberry 213-215
payment for services 137, 342
peat 161
percussion plate 354
perfume 158
persecution of vanquished 149-150
petroglyphs 270-272
pharmacopoeia 342-343
physical characteristics 24-36
pia 158
Pito-te-henua 64
plaiting 210-212, 113
plants, cultivation of 13-15
    introduction of 39, 44, 64
polishers 282
prisoners of war 120, 139
property 142-144
prostitution 36-37, 107-108
protection of defeated people 120, 150

quarries 291-293, 273, 294-297, 303, 38

Rapa-nui 95
rat 19

recruiting of labor 42-43, 91-92 ovo
reed mats 210
refuge 139, 150
    in caves 42-43, 192
revenge 87, 88, 147-148, 149
    ritual 147-148
rock carvings 106
Rongo 127
rongorongo 65
    men 135, 137
royal insignia 130, 135
rubbing sticks 161
ruins 128-129

sacrifices, human 329-330
script 137
seclusion rites 105
separation 113-114
sex abnormalities 108
sexual license 106, 107-108
sheep shearing 47-48
shell trumpet 354
Short-ears 55, 69-74
shuttles, netting 183-184
skin dyes 236-237
slings 165, 354
snares, for eels 190-191
songs 355-359
souls 118, 119
spear points 166-168
sports 351-354
standards 135
statues, overthrow of 87
staves 169
stone carvers' guild 137
stone house foundations 194-196
stone enclosures 213
stone statues 14, 38, 86-88
    destruction of 86-88
sweet potatoes 153-154

tablets, origin of signs 65
talismans 258, 263-265, 266-267
Tangaroa 127
tangata-honui 132
tangata rongorongo 135, 137-138
tapa beaters 213
    beating 213
    garments 216-219
    making 113

000

tapus 116, 327-328, 131-132, 152, 337, 339
  eating 113
  fish 173
taro 154-155
tattooing 237-248, 103, 109, 134
theft 144-146, 36, 38, 47
  punishment of 146-147
tops 353
transportation of food 164
transportation of images 297-298, 304-306
tufa hats 38
Tuu-ko-ihu 62-64, 74, 260-261, 262, 304, 349
tumu 122-123
twins 134

umbilical cord, disposal of 102
umu 162-163

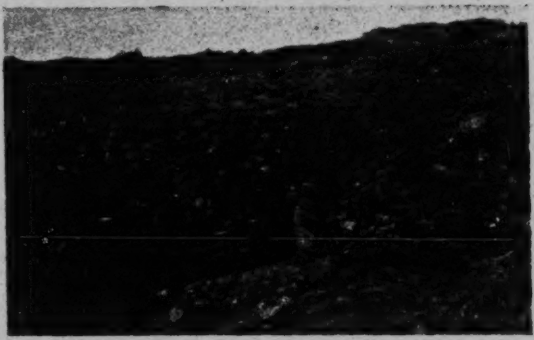
voyages, traditional 94
vulva motif 106, 109
war 149-151, 138, 120
  games 149
watchtowers, turtle 189-190
whale-tooth ivory 230
wigs 148
wooden,
  balls 233
  hand 269
  ornaments 15
  statues 15
  tablets 17
workshops 178, 192

133

A

B

312
333



C

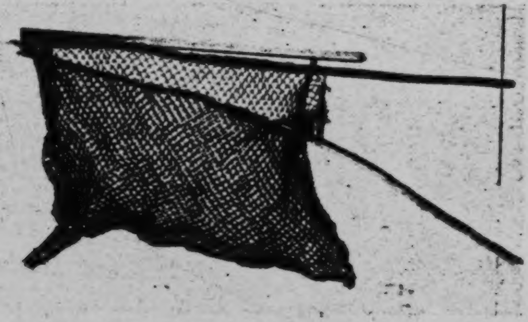
A, VIEW OF RANO-RARAKU FROM THE SOUTH; *B*, ANAKENA BAY; *C*, CISTERN AT LA PEROUSE.

[End Plate I]

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940

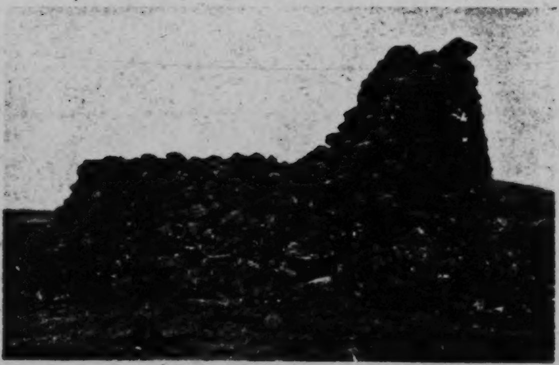
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

227
286



A

349
333



B

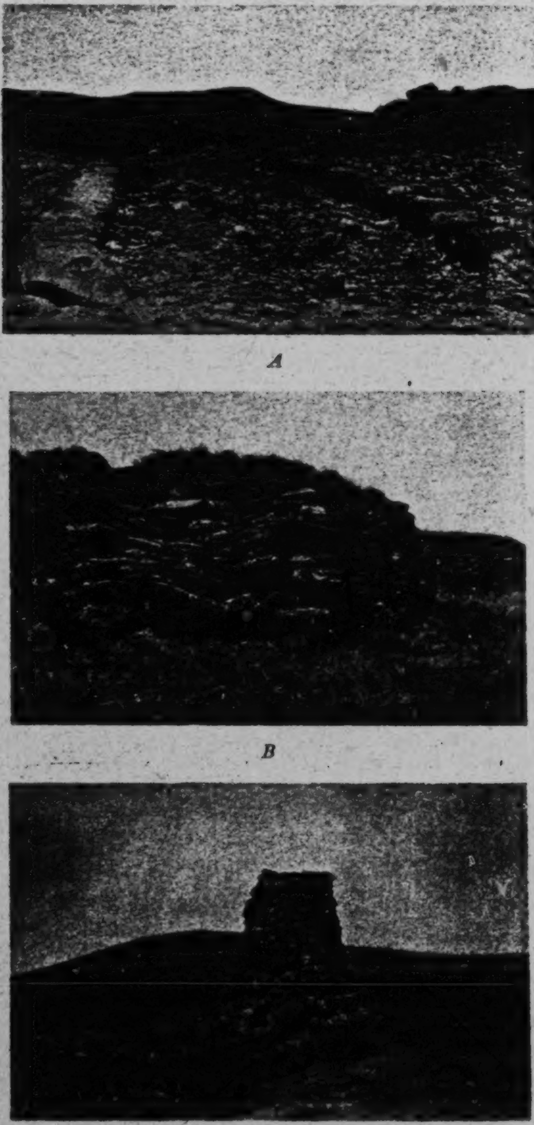
285

C

A, DOUBLE-HANDLED DIP NET, BAG 76 CM. DEEP, 140 CM. LONG, MESHES 2 CM. WIDE, POLES 149 AND 161 CM. LONG (MUS. F. VOLKERKUNDE, BERLIN, VI.4962); *B*, TURTLE WATCHTOWER (TUPA) NEAR LA PÉROUSE; *C*, REED MAT (MUS. F. VOLKERKUNDE, BERLIN, VI.4970).

[End plate II]

172
342
333

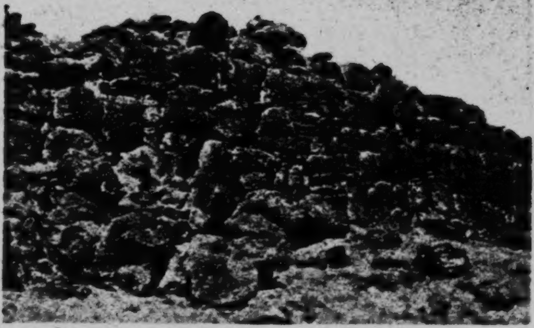


[784]

A, STONE FOUNDATION OF A HOUSE; *B*, STONE HOUSE AT ORONGO; *C*, TAPU PILLAR (PIPI-HEREKO) NEAR AHU TONGA-RIKI ON THE SOUTH COAST.

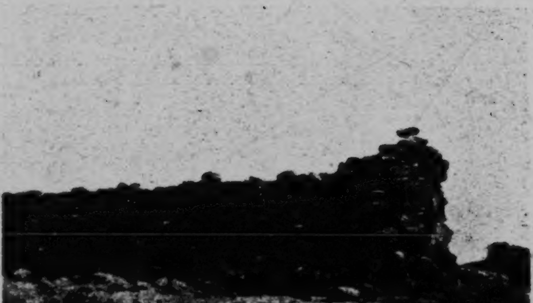
[End Plate III]

778
172
333



A

B



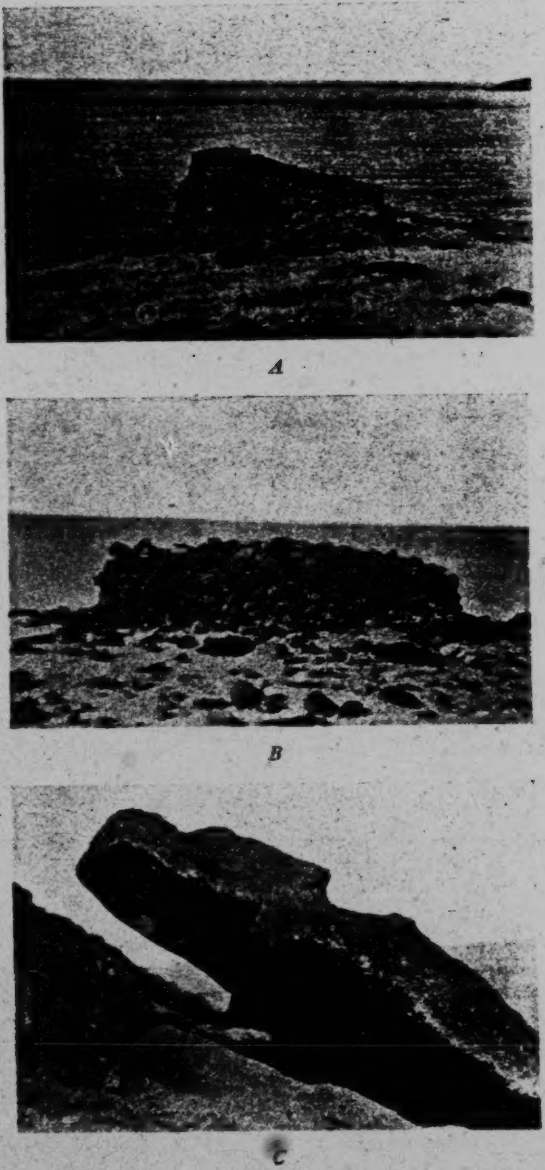
C

A, FACADE OF AHU HANGA-O-HONU MADE OF FITTED, SQUARE SLABS OF BASALT; *B*, AHU TAVARI, SEMI-PYRAMIDAL TYPE (*AHU PAEPAE*); *C*, *AHU POEPOE* NEAR AHU MAHATUA ON THE NORTH COST.

[End Plate IV]

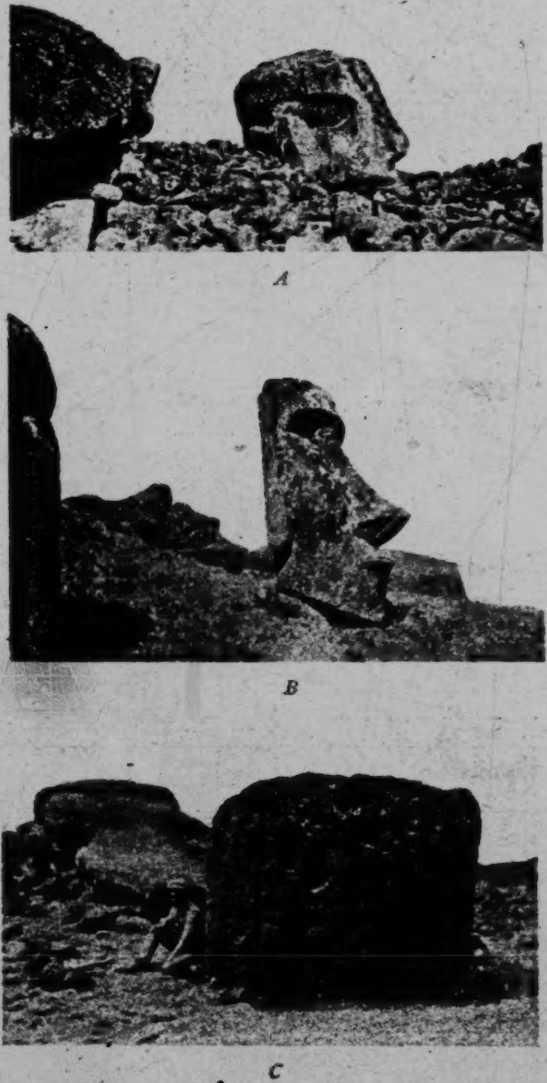
778
172
333

316
532



A, AHU-TE-AVA NEAR ANAKENA, WEDGE-SHAPED AHU; *B*, RECTANGULAR AHU NEAR ANAKENA; *C*, UNFINISHED STATUE AT RANO-RARAKU, ATTACHED TO ROCK BY FLANGE.

[End Plate V]

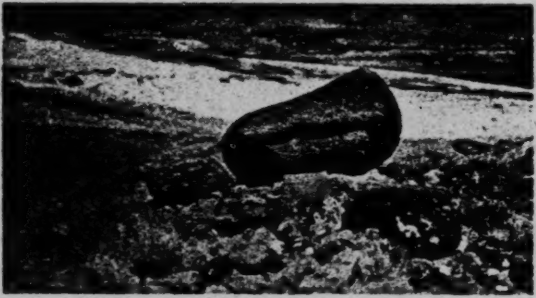


A, HEAD OF STATUE ON AHU TONGA-RIKI; *B*, STANDING STATUE AT RANO-RARAKU; *C*, STONE HAT, AHU-TE-PITO-TE-KURA.

[End Plate VI]

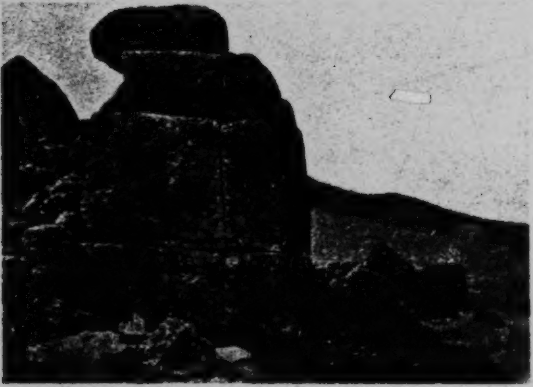
1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940

OY2 Easter Islanders OY2



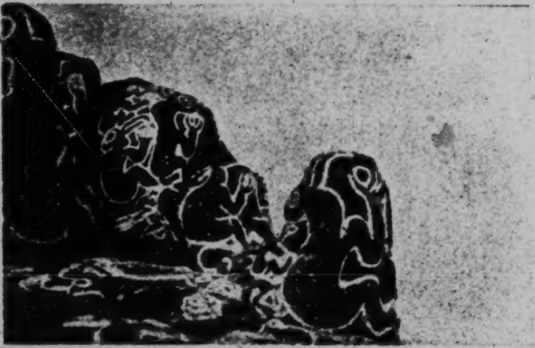
532

A



778
333

B



532

C

A, STATUE FROM AHU NEAR ANAKENA BAY; *B*, AHU VINAPU, CORNER; *C*, PETROGLYPHS AT ORONGO.

[End Plate VII]